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# The American Catholic quarterly review



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THE  
AMERICAN  
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW

Under the Direction of  
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS, REV. J. F. LOUGHLIN, D. D., REV. JAMES P. TURNER AND  
MR. JOHN J. O'SHEA.

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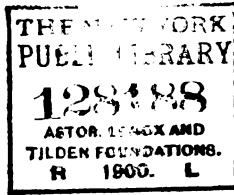
*Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas  
vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.*  
S. AUG. EPIST. cccxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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VOLUME XXIV.  
FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1899.

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## MISSIONARY COUNTRIES, OLD AND NEW.

NOT very long ago, just a little while before this strange revolution which is taking place in the colonial world of Spain, a venerable and learned authority gave it as his opinion, that there was no future before the Latin Catholic nations, but to step down and become missionary countries, like any Protestant or infidel land. Now, when we recall the circumstance, it seems a noteworthy coincidence, that the distinguished and singularly erudite gentleman should have been himself a Spaniard.

Since that time, the relics of the Spanish colonial empire in America and Asia have passed in large part under the control of a non-Catholic government; and, as a matter of course, they have no other prospect from an ecclesiastical point of view, except to become missionary countries. Since that time also, the African estates of Portugal, which was the other great colonizing and evangelizing power of former days, seem to have passed over, under bond and seal, to a couple of the great northern nations. At least a right of preëmption is now vested in Germany and England; and there is left to the ancient suzerain only the melancholy duty of delivering over 914,000 square miles, from ancient Guinea on the northwest to Mozambique on the east, when the buyers shall call for their goods. And, whatever position these domains may have had in other times, or might have aspired to, under Catholic Portugal, they must needs henceforth be content with the lot of Catholic missions under Protestant powers. Again, two nations, which were never conspicuous for colonial expansion, but were equally brilliant with Spain and Portugal for evangelizing far-off countries, for enlightening the

heathen in the shadows of darkness and shedding divine dews in the valleys of death, have each received a check which has wounded them to the heart. France has enjoyed a protectorate over all the Eastern missions in Syria; and she has merited the position richly for the fund of heroic zeal, which she has poured forth in every line of Christian devotion. Now, the encroachments of a northern power have rendered it necessary for his Holiness to reassure her that, in his policy, her position remains unchanged and her prestige undimmed. But the necessity for such a reassurance reveals the gravity of the shock which France has received; and the emergency, which a Pontifical statement has met for once, may soon develop into a political friction which no ecclesiastical measure can ease. Italy, too, late and slow in the race of nations, may have thought in her religious heart, when she started on her colonizing venture about the quarters of Abyssinia, that her children and her priests could take a share in the civilizing of the world. We have little doubt that her priests and the children, who still remain to her of her ancient faith, would have fallen no wise short of her best antecedents in the old missions of Japan and India. Nor will they fall short thereof in other lands and under other skies. But, as to Abyssinia, what became of her grandiose ambition as a united kingdom, and what became of her devout aspirations as a Catholic people, will appear about as interesting to the antiquary as her Pompeii or Herculaneum, which he digs up from the ashes of Vesuvius—and about as important, too.

### I.

When our authority expressed his opinion, that the Latin Catholic nations seemed to have no future before them but to become missionary countries, he conveyed the meaning that the cradle-lands of Christianity in Europe would take rank, by a retrograde movement, with lands and people which, by a law of progress, had mounted from being nonentities to a recognized position under the government of the Church. Australasia, Alaska and Matabeleland are missionary countries under the Propaganda. The people of the two fair peninsulas of the Mediterranean, who had seen the Christian Church and been cradled by her, long before the barbarians beyond the pale had come within reach of her voice, and that other brilliant nation also in the center of Europe, which had been itself the very center of all medieval life and civilization, were in our days to step down from the vantage-ground of Christian tradition, thought and instinct; were to be disowned, in a measure, as incapable of sustaining any longer the full constitution of ecclesiastical legislation and organic life; and were to sink to the level of any infidel or Protestant

nation in Europe, Asia or Africa. A great fall, if possible; and a great dishonor, if probable. For a great honor it has ever been to present the full features of Christian life and manhood in the body corporate of a nation, instead of the mere adolescence of promise, or the infancy of hope. An honor undoubted for a Christian nation to be neither unformed, nor deformed. And a dishonor immeasurable, after being a source and dispenser of light and doctrine to the new-coming races of the world, now to sink, and hear them salute: So thou too art fallen, and become even as one of ourselves!

In Church parlance, a missionary country corresponds very much to what a "territory" of the Union is, compared with a State. We shall not enter into technical particulars, and distinguish with precision the missionary from the canonical state of national organization. For the free and discursive view, which we wish to take of the phenomenon before us by means of parallels and analogies, we shall consider as missionary all countries, where the Church has been impeded in the course of her functions, whether by the total want of a Christian state to help her, or by the apostacy of a state once Catholic, and now alien to her purposes and constitution. In this sense, we rank as missionary all the states which are non-Catholic, though like England, an ancient isle of Saints, they may have received baptismal grace a thousand years before the Reformation, or though, on the contrary, like Prussia, they may have scarcely been christened, before being seduced to heresy. We reckon as missionary those nations which have come into existence since the fifteenth century, and quite irrespective of the Church's influence, like this American Republic; or which, developing and forming after the same date, had begun indeed under the full influence of the Church's control, but ended otherwise through the vicissitudes of politics. In this sense, Catholic Canada became a missionary country. Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines are in the act of undergoing this change, as certain facts, which have occurred already, indicate only too plainly. It is what might have been expected. There is no arguing about canonical rights with a military governor; and the administration of soldiers, however upright, is quite proof against fine points of Church canons, especially when the soldiers are American and the Church and her canons are Roman.

If we inquire for reasons, why the old stock of Catholic nations in Europe should undergo such a change, we are reluctant to admit the possibility of any reasons being adequate; still we can discern as many of them as there are consequences and effects of a century of revolutions. The relations of the state with the Church have been so strained by the men in charge of the secular power; they have been so entangled and so often snapped, that merely to mention the



twenty-eight last years of freemason government in Italy will recall to the mind a whole drama of bitter antagonism to the Church on the part of that state, whose one prime duty, if Christian, was to assist her. In Portugal, Spain and France, the central power has been dominated by anti-Christians, since Pombal, D'Aranda and Choiseul prepared the way for the great infidel Revolution of last century. All the machinery of concordats and Christian antecedents, of property rights and official relations, of nominations and stipends, has been wrenched and turned against the Church with the refined arts of constitutional and other methods, till her property has been expropriated, her institutions dispersed, her episcopate silenced, her very Sacraments and altars invaded and controlled. In older times, when men were so minded, they took a straighter path; they simply carried off both state and Church and became Protestant. Now Protestantism is generally dead. The age of revolution and infidelity has succeeded. And such is the magnitude of the question, which emerges from the environment, that his Holiness, when addressing the French Catholics some years ago, declared the very discussion of divorce between Church and state to be reserved for the Head of the Church alone.

Let us take a few random instances from these months just passed. The funds for repairing Churches and supporting them, or what is called "la Fabrique," have long been in the hands of that faithful trustee, the state; and a stone cannot be touched, nor a salary drawn, without the cognizance and active coöperation of state officials, oftentimes Jews. In addition to other grievances, they have lately subjected the administration of the Fabrique to a system of auditing and examination, which of itself, like a genuine "constitutional" measure, will eat up the greater part of the revenues of parishes. Church money is always legislated away well, when it is turned in to other receivers than the Church itself. The Cardinals of France addressed a letter to the government, praying for a delay in the application of so injurious a law. The answer came in the form of an insolent rebuke from a M. Sarrien to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, telling him that Bishops were forbidden to consult together; that their powers are strictly limited to the district, whence they derive their title; that the Ministers "from the height of the tribune" have made frequent declarations against any such notion as the character of "mixed matter" (canonical and civil combined), in what concerns the revenues of ecclesiastical institutions; and that consequently the request of the Prelates is denied, that they be allowed to take a part, as representing the Church, in compiling regulations on the subject in question.

At Turin, last September, a great congress of 300 masonic lodges

met under the presidency of the Grand Orient of Rome, the Jew Nathan. The resolutions are identical with the policy so far pursued by the government of Italy; and, where the government policy will now advance farther, will be precisely on the lines where the resolutions run beyond it. On the subject of religious corporations, pious works of charity, and the appropriation by the state of all religious foundations heretofore made for educational purposes, the vote was passed in favor of "concentration, transformation, re-arrangement (*raggruppamenti*), reform." Another resolution insisted upon the enforcement of a universal education, which should be lay and revolutionary, moral and physical, in all public and private schools, for the entire youth of Italy. Another provided for the fuller and immediate development of the masonic female lodges—to reach more effectually the sanctuary of the household and the family hearth. The men who pass these resolutions are themselves the rulers of the country.

At Florence, meanwhile, the art of "souping" is going on apace, in the evangelical schools of American and English proselytisers. On the roll of last year, there were 151 pupils in the day schools, and 170 in the Sunday schools. The poverty of the Italian poor is so grinding, that a mouthful to eat is more precious than the faith. Mgr. More observes that they say in excuse, the Italians will never become Protestants. That is quite true, he adds; because the poor children will be neither Catholic nor Protestant; they will become nothing at all. This, however, is not directly to our purpose. It is only an aggravation, imported by foreigners, to pile up the ills of the Catholic Church, already weighed down by an infidel state.

We are not possessed of strict premises, from which to draw by accurate reasoning any conclusion as to the future of such old Catholic countries, nor of the Spanish colonies now separated from their natural religious base. In moral and social affairs, mixed with the changing contingencies of politics, no syllogisms can be formed, nor rigid inferences deduced. We can but summon up certain analogies, and leave our readers to draw such inferences as seem likely and probable. But one point we beg to emphasize as sufficiently clear. It is that no change of canonical institution, no loosening of Catholic bonds, nor even the possible defection of great numbers of Catholics from their mother the Church, can in any light, or under any pretext whatever, be considered as an advance of Protestantism, as an accession to its territory, still less as a victory. The issue between Catholicity and Protestantism on the score of expansion was closed two centuries ago. Since then, while the Catholic Church has lost in one place, has gained in another, has moved over the world like the vital power she always is in governing men, and

not unlike the mighty tides ever ebbing and flowing of the free wills which she governs, never in all this time has an accession been made to what was once called Protestantism. This form of belief has not even held its own, in any part of the world. It has lost its prey in the direction of Catholicism; it has lost in the direction of infidelity; and what the Church has lost has never accrued to Protestantism. The thousand-and-one arms of non-Catholic propaganda have been only so many levers of nineteenth century indifference.

We shall now venture to offer some analogies, from the history of the past and the present, as a possible ground for inferences, with respect to the course of the future.

## II.

We conceive that five or six different types may be comprised in the general notion of a missionary country. In the first place, there is a social condition such as faced the Apostles, when they beheld stretching out before them a whole world more or less civilized, with no visible agency friendly to them, some of the powers that were being positively hostile to them, but all existing in a condition of more or less stable civilization. This stability of peace and order was itself a preparation for the delivery of the Gospel. For, indeed, according as any stage in human life is higher in the possession of God's natural gifts, is it also a stage nearer to the reception of His supernatural graces. And the enjoyment of quiet, steadiness and intelligence, is a part of His natural Providence. The attendant evils, which may come of corruption and vice, are not of God's gift, but of man's accretions thereunto. So, without scrip or purse, without any sort of protection from civil powers, the Apostles went forth into the fields of human souls. This was also the history of missionary life in Japan and China, under St. Francis Xavier and his successors. The death which was braved and so often met, in fields like these, was incurred in spite of the peace and guarantees of civilization. It was the human protest of corrupt nature against the swelling tide of the supernatural, the weight of which it cannot bear.

Another type of missionary career was that which lay outside of any such civilized influence as arises from previous peace or previous conquest. It was one which faced the conditions of utter barbarism, of what Fr. Joseph Acosta called "the boars and crocodiles," in the woods of Brazil and Florida and Paraguay, in the wilds of the Moluccas, and amid the savages of Mindanao in the Philippines. In North America, this form of missionary life penetrated into the dens and holes of the hyenas and foxes, who under the name of the Five Nations occupied the valleys of the Genesee and the Mohawk.

Sometimes, it encountered only the soft and unwarlike characters of the islanders in the Antilles or the Solomon archipelago.

A third field of missionary labor differed from the two preceding, in that it was protected by the arm of powerful conquerors and Christian warriors, who had either reduced inferior races and laid them open to the peaceful arts of the catechist, or who were felt at least to be hard by, protecting with the glamor of their name the angels of peace and grace; and the missionary bands moved about freely among the subject classes. This was the history of many nations, under the Spanish domination, in South and Central America. It was also that of Goa and the adjacent territories under the Portuguese rule. The condition was not unlike that of Britain under the strong Roman power, when once the Empire had become Christian.

No one of these three kinds of missionary enterprises, in reducing new countries to the kingdom of Christ, could be of its own nature a final settlement of the religious condition. They were only the inauguration of a permanent state to follow, which sometimes never followed, or else failed to endure. It is the glory of the Spanish and Portuguese domination, that under it the Church always took root, unfolded rapidly and grew like the mustard-tree; while in other countries, as under the Vandal, the Saracen, the Turk and the Cossack, there ensued the absolute exclusion of Catholicism, root and branch. In lands so favored as those discovered by the Latin Catholic nations, the Church was seen to organize with even canonical regularity; and, just as a vast hierarchy existed in northern Africa before the Vandal invasion, so in India and South America the policy of Portuguese and Spanish discoverers, with the Catholic government behind them, produced the finest spectacle of Catholic states wedded to the Church, and laboring with it for the kingdom of God—human vice and cupidity notwithstanding.

We mention these three forms of missionary work, crude and transient as their conditions were, only to clear the ground for understanding other forms of settlement, which have become the normal state of so large a portion of the globe in our days. But, before we dismiss them, several considerations arise. We have a right to pause on these, out of justice to the old Catholic nations, and to ourselves also as fellow-Catholics. Still more may we pause, by way of tribute to the glorious Bride of Christ, so fertile at all times in her manifold resources for bringing nations forth from darkness into His admirable light.

And the first consideration which is suggested on every page of history, whether it be European, Asiatic, African or American, is that from the beginning till now the evangelization of the world has,

with but few exceptional episodes, been carried on by the Latin nationalities. We do not lay to their credit the work of Saints, like Cyril and Methodius, of Boniface and Patrick, beyond noting that they too imbibed their saintly instincts and drank in their divine powers, either through residence in the Eternal City or through intimate contact with the Christianity of Latin countries. Nor do we fail to make allowance for the fact that, when great movements were in progress for the reduction and civilization of the globe, the non-Latin nations were either themselves imperfectly reduced to the Kingdom of Christ, or after an honorable career were actually falling away from the unity of the Church. What we do advert to is the certain truth of history, that the hunters for souls, even before the Reformation, and much more since, have sprung out of the luxuriant Christianity on the European shores of the Mediterranean. Since the Reformation, nothing else might be expected by Catholics; but much more has been claimed by Protestants. And yet what have we seen? A negative instance and a positive one will convey the whole answer. In Japan, Englishmen and Dutchmen almost presided over the final extirpation of the Catholic Church; and they sold their wares over its grave. In the country where we now live, while the whole sea-board of the Atlantic from Maine to the Carolinas was growing into a great nation of Englishmen, with not a few other nationalities intermixed, not an Indian village was made Christian by all the millions there, not an Indian tribe was saved from extermination on all the broad lands there; while, at the same time, the whole country to the rear, from the Bay of Hudson to the mouth of the Mississippi, was traversed and evangelized in all its tribes by a little French colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

If an exception could be pleaded to this utter barrenness of a money-making nation, that exception would be found in the little beginning made in Maryland, when English Jesuits belonging to the same stock of faith and devotion as their brethren across the French frontier, carried the good tidings of grace and peace to the aborigines thronging around. But, if theirs was a missionary career, it can rank with no one of the three kinds described above. It must stand out as of a kind unique in history, peculiar to Maryland alone; when a gentle race of Indians, practically subject to a strong neighboring power, was anxious to receive grace and light; when the neighboring power was Catholic, with missionaries on hand ready to work and actually producing fruit among the savages; and yet the missionaries were crippled in their very first essay by the direct action of a Catholic proprietor and a Catholic governor.

These thoughts merit our reflection. They have arrested the at-

tention of others who were not Catholics. A Protestant preacher, Jonathan Boucher, speaking in Maryland just before the American Revolution, quoted with approbation the estimate formed by a Protestant Scotchman, Mickle, on the work accomplished by the French and Spanish missionaries, in America North and South; and it is to be observed that the Indians mentioned as examples of their success were precisely men of the most savage types ever known. He says: "The customs and cruelties of many American tribes still disgrace human nature; but in Canada and Paraguay the natives have been taught to relish the blessings of society, and the arts of virtuous and civil life." About this same time, when the Indians towards the west were in arms against the British colonies, it was a bitter complaint, re-echoed by the British Governors in their letters to the home authorities, that the Indians would be no nation at all but for the French of Canada!

Nothing could be truer, both for what the complaint said, and for what it did not say. It did not say explicitly that, wherever the blighting influence of the non-Catholic colonies reached, the march of sublime progress was inevitable and irresistible, in corrupting the native tribes and in extirpating them. Wherever the British colonist set his foot, he made terms with the natives by making their homes a desert. We may add that, wherever the missionary of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel set his foot, he too came to terms; and either he withdrew, or the Indians did. And all this while, right in the savage dens of the Five Nations themselves, and far away from all human resource, there had been chosen souls won to Christ; a whole colony of Christians, or "praying Indians," were rescued thence when the tribes fell under the baleful influence of Albany; and the same "praying Indians," with other tribes of Canada, have survived to our day, some of them as distinct in feature as when they abandoned their kinsmen the Iroquois, others, far more numerous, blended by intermarriage with the whites. One may feel the throb of Christian pride, when he sees them but a few steps away, so to speak, from Montreal, at the Lake of the Two Mountains—full-blooded Indians, half-blooded Indians, meeting the French *habitant* in complexion, as they had been adopted by him in creed. But to find an Indian in the United States, one must go far out to a Western pen, called a reservation, where he will hear periodically of interesting feuds, the Indians shooting the whites, and the whites shooting the Indians with repeating rifles; or else, next to that, he will hear that the Indians are being hanged by United States Justices, or they are shooting one another. It is the very sublimity of English-speaking civilization, running smoothly in its native channels of rum, fraud and rapine.



In Mexico, we have the same beneficent influence of the Church in a much more ample form, owing no doubt to the high state of anterior civilization found there by the Spanish conquerors. Out of a population of 13,000,000, there are, as some state, 10,000,000 Indians; or, as others put it, half the population of Mexico is full-blooded Indian, four-fifths of the rest are a mixed breed, and about a million are pure white. Yet the Spaniards have been settled there during no less than 400 years, quite enough for an English breed to have wiped out two or three continents. In the Philippines, it is only too clear that there is a native population. They are the insurgents who, having been preyed upon by the freemasonry of governmental Spain, have paid back governmental Spain the full price of the article imported.

If we look at the ways and means employed for the civilization of native populations, we shall find the lesson quite as entertaining as anything else to be considered. From the end of the seventeenth century, and the apostolic age of Dr. Bray, commissary of the Bishop of London for the plantation of Maryland, the ambition of the Protestant world, with its headquarters in London and its ramifications in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New England, ever floated in the felicitous dreams of erecting, possessing and conducting a Congregation de Propaganda Fide. Hard things were said of the Roman Propaganda. The smoothest talk never ceased to flow over a Protestant Propaganda. And, when the fight waxed hot at the end of last century between the Boston Puritans and the emissaries of Canterbury and London, who came to sit down in fat places of New England instead of cultivating spare diet and the Indians out in the frontier wigwams, Jonathan Mayhew flung the wicked practices of the Roman Propaganda in the teeth of him of Canterbury, and taunted him and his with having so often condemned the said practices of that "other famous society, De Propaganda Fide," and yet having imitated them; whereunto Archbishop Secker replied demurely, that "the Popish Society de Propaganda never was blamed in sermons before ours, for supplying those of their own Communion with the means of their own worship, but for making it their principal employment to bring over other Christians to that worship, which ours hath not done." Accordingly, never having brought over other Christians to their own worship, and having done with the Indians what we shall see presently, the said Congregation de Propaganda Fide celebrated its 200th anniversary of missionary prowess on Tuesday, March 8, of this year of grace, 1898. And its store in London wore glory on its windows: "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: Founded, 1698." And St. Paul's Cathedral in the morning of March 8, and the same Cath-

dral in the afternoon, with Guildhall thrown in, distributed glory, by the mouths of archbishops, bishops and my lords generally, to all the great missionaries of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, from Dr. Bray, the father and founder thereof, down to themselves.

Now, when this society had been at work during half a century and its missionaries had been drawing its salaries, Jonathan Edwards wrote in February, 1752, from Stockbridge, N. E., to a friend in London: "That society," he said, "have been vastly imposed upon by the representations of their missionaries." Having explained this point duly, he proceeds to depict the French missionaries: "The French here in America have been more faithful to those by whom they have been entrusted than the English—the French Government have been more faithful to their King—the French Missionaries more true to the interest of their religion—they have had their Missionaries constantly for many years amongst the most powerful of these Nations of North America, who have been great in their labours among them, using all the arts and subtle devices of the Romish clergy, prejudicing them against the Protestants and English by innumerable Jesuitical falsehoods; and by accounts we have from the Mohawks, the French fail not to make great use of our negligence as to their instruction, as an advantage to fix an ill opinion of us in their minds; telling them it is apparent the English care not for their good as they take no pains to instruct 'em in religion; at the same time offering their own assistance and labours for their eternal salvation, if they will be their friends." In the midst of so much unimpeachable truth, the only Jesuitical falsehood which the zealous Jonathan felt confident enough to mention was that the English were very negligent as to the instruction of the Indians—an assertion Jesuitically false; for it was just what he himself asserted in the same breath.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, after resigning the presidency of King's College, now Columbia College, New York, writes from Stratford in 1763, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, indulging in a side fling at the zealous Boston Puritans. The Episcopalian Johnson, though a world away in sentiment from Jonathan Edwards, agrees with him in two things; he stays in a comfortable home, while he runs down the Protestant missionaries, and he thinks the Protestant missionaries might just as well have stayed at home. Speaking of the Puritans of the Boston Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, he says: "I know of but two or three little clans of a kind of Christian Indians they have; not many more I believe than Dr. Barclay had." "A kind of Christian Indians!" We wonder what kind of an Indian and what kind of a Christian was a "kind of Christian Indian?" The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,

under his episcopal Grace of Canterbury, and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, under their Graces of Eternal Reprobation at Boston, were not over gracious to one another, beyond distributing the gifts of mutual damnation.

Now be it known of all men, that this inevitable Dr. Barclay, whose name recurs at every step in the quarrels between the two fraternal Graces of Boston and Canterbury, was a kind of St. Francis Xavier for his evangelical work among the Indians. The first time that we personally lighted upon him was on the 14th November, 1745, when the General Assembly of New York allowed "to the Rev. Henry Barclay, for instructing the Indians in the Christian Religion, from the 1st of September last to the 1st of September next, the sum of £20." This is the one documentary proof we have found, that he was a great apostolical preacher. Immediately afterwards, the same Assembly voted a tariff of premiums for the scalps of Indians: "£10 for the scalp of a male Indian over 16 years of age; and £5 for the scalp of any boy under 16 years of age." So that their estimate of the Rev. Mr. Henry Barclay's services to civilization amounted to the significant value of two men's scalps, or of four boys' scalps, allowing him twelve months to realize the same. Now the Rev. Henry Barclay himself did not appreciate the annual recurrence of such terms, as the facts of the sequel show. Nor did his Mohawks, for reasons which appear in the sequel. Somewhere between 1746 and 1748, the two parties change sides; the Rev. Mr. Barclay is no longer the evangelical agent and the Mohawks his patients; but the Mohawks are the agents, tomahawk in hand, and they are just looking for Barclay, who, we must suppose, has turned patient. They send in a petition to the effect that he has embezzled "for his singular service" the whole spot of land, which the Mohawk chiefs had set aside for him and his successors. Whence it appears that, if the Puritans had only "two or three little clans, of a kind of Christian Indians, not more than Dr. Barclay had," both Puritans and Episcopalians had gathered quite a special kind of Indians. Possibly they were not regenerate Christians by virtue of Christian baptism, but resurrectionist survivals who had outlived a Puritan scalping.

But we must not do injustice to this St. Francis Xavier of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Dr. Johnson writes a solemn book against Mayhew, and tells him that Dr. Barclay really worked with good success, and for ten years, among the Mohawks; and, making no allusion to the embezzlement of mission property, the Doctor goes on to show where the trouble really lay: "The last war, about 1745," he says, "threw them into such confusion; and the influence of Popish missionaries, and the wicked insinuations

of a certain great man in those parts, created such a disaffection in them, that his very life was in danger; so that he was obliged to desist." That is to say, he ran away. He was quite a martyr to heroic duty, worthy to be ranked with Jogues, Lallemand and Breboeuf.

To be sure, things had changed since the time when Fr. Jogues was brained by the tomahawk of one of these Mohawks. A price had been put by Bellomont, in 1700, on the head of any Jesuit who should be found south of Lake Ontario. Hence a free field of fair favor was opened for the missionaries under his Grace of Canterbury, and under the other graces of Boston. There was now no tainting of Popery going on among these unsophisticated tribes of the Five Nations, with the Tuscororas recently added. So Dr. Charles Chauncy complacently remarked, when preaching at the ordination of Bowman, and the "separation" of this apostolic gentleman for the ministry among the Six Nations. This was at Boston in 1762, when the field had been cleared of Jesuits during half a century. He said that "there were numerous tribes among them as yet untainted with Romish superstition;" there had been amongst them nought but the pure leavening with the doctrine of Mr. Thoroughgood Moor and Mr. Andrews, besides Dr. Barclay, not to mention the Bostonian apostles. But, only three years after Dr. Chauncy's sermon, a military gentleman, named Col. Bradstreet, sent in his report to the authorities about these same Indians, so pure and "untainted with Romish superstition." He said: "Of all the savages on the continent, the most knowing, the less useful and the greatest villains are those most conversant with the Europeans and deserve most the attention of Government by way of correction; and these are the Six Nations, Shawanes & De-Lawers." And so was justified the private and sad remark of Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Osbaldstone, Bishop of London, when they were discussing their Puritan rivals of Boston; he wrote in 1762: "It will be said we ought gladly to let others do, what we confess we have not been able to do ourselves in any great degree."

However, to the philosophical mind which seeks for the ultimate causes of phenomena, this spiritual bankruptcy of the Anglican missionaries may be traced to several errors in the premises. There was a financial one; and there was a social one. The financial error had clearly been committed, in not following the wise advice of Dr. Bray, father and founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He had recommended expressly to the Bishop of London in 1696, that it should be in the power of the Society, the new Congregation de Propaganda Fide, "to propose and allot what pensions

they shall think fit to such Ministers as shall most hazard their persons in attempting the conversion of the native Indians." Now, we have found no record of other salaries, than those which made the missionaries comfortable, with interpreters and schoolmasters and wives, etc., to boot. Clearly an error was committed in not laying the extra bonus aside, for the man who should run in farthest, and make an "attempt," and get back safely when his scalp was in danger. Then there was a social omission, significantly alluded to by that very judicious fanatic, Dr. Douglass, M. D., who wrote between 1747 and 1750. "Our young missionaries," he observed, "may procure a perpetual alliance and commercial advantages with the Indians, which the Roman Catholick Clergy cannot do, because they are forbidden to marry; I mean our missionaries may intermarry with the daughters of the Sachems, and other considerable Indians, and their progeny will forever be a certain cement between us and the Indians." But Mr. William Smith, historian, of New York, remarks hereupon, that "Dr. Douglass expects too much;" and he himself confines his remarks to lamentations, which is a much more philosophical frame of mind than "great expectations," when treating of the London Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

In short, to dismiss this matter with some degree of seriousness, the Roman Propaganda had several resources exclusively its own for evangelizing heathen nations, though it could not offer marriage or money prizes. Several of them were noted as far back as 1662, in a letter from Virginia, addressed to the Rt. Rev. Father in God, Guilbert, Bishop of London. The writer said: That the consideration of the missionary power of Christian Humility and Charity "enforced the accute Acosta, after he had spent seventeen years conversing with the Heathen in the new World (though he was of a Church that pleads much for miracles) ingenuously to confesse, that the greatest and even the only miracle necessary to the conversion of those Heathen is the gracious life of Christians agreeable to that Christian faith, and in this he subscribes to St. Chrysostome." He goes on to plead urgency for this Christian life with its humility and charity; for "while the grasse growes, the steed starves." Hence there should be immediate enforcement of contributions of good tobacco, for the support of the missionaries. Too much bad tobacco has been passed off on them of late. And the consequence was, whether of the bad tobacco or of the good, that one hundred years later we find the grass still growing and the steed still starving, from New York to the Carolinas, in spite of the best tobacco that Virginia could raise, and in spite of the best salaries that the London Propaganda paid.

## III.

The effort to point the contrast between the Catholic missionaries of France and the Gospellers of another type has made us somewhat discursive on colonial methods and ways, with reference to the Indians. But this must not excuse us from pointing a similar moral, with regard to the poor negroes.

We are all much interested in Porto Rico at present. Now we find record of an episode, in which the Spanish governor of this island had something to say to a British colonial governor in 1752. It is of a kind that ought to be fragrant with sweet recollections to the Abolitionists of a generation ago and to the Liberators of Cuba in our day. Governor George Thomas, of the Leeward Islands, sent on a letter of complaint to the Board of Trade in London, treating of a grievance, "worse on the Sugar Islands," he says, "than if the King of Spain urged a perpetual war",—as bad, no doubt, as if the beet sugar competition had arisen one hundred years before its time. It appears, that runaway slaves, who escaped from their barbarous lot under the British masters, not only fled to the Spanish plantations, but were wonderfully content to stay there. Governor Thomas has appealed to the Spanish Governor, who writes an answer from Porto Rico, which Thomas denounces as a sheer pretence. The letter was to this effect, that acting upon orders from his Sovereign the Spanish Governor found himself in the impossibility of delivering up "the negroes escaped from your government and come to this"; and he adds, that it has been so, "as your Honor knows," in all such cases heretofore: "All the slaves," he says, "who escape here, come to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion, as these six last (that you demand) have, and after being asked if they come with that intention, and they answer in the affirmative, they are absolutely free at the expiration of one year, during which time they are under the tuition of proper persons to instruct them in the rudiments of their religion, and give them the holy water of Baptism.... Philip Ramires, Porto Rico, Oct. 1, 1753."

This must indeed have sounded like a mere pretence to people, whose traditions were such as animated all the English people of this continent and the adjacent islands. Under the later Stuarts and the glorious house of Orange, the Royal African Company figured, during fully forty years, in all kinds of documents as being a privileged corporation, entitled to receive every encouragement from the good colonial subjects of England, and to be well patronized in its lucrative employment of buying or stealing the black natives on the African coast. About the same time, there was loud expostulation to be heard, both in the North American colo-

nies and in the West Indies, against the fantastic notion that any one should think of having negroes baptized. They would become too conceited; they would begin to think of freedom. The people of Barbadoes, in 1680, declared in a public meeting against such conversion of negroes and against any baptizing of them. Though Maryland formed an honorable exception in many respects, its neighbor, Virginia, put limitations on the power of masters to manumit their slaves; and, if one were freed, he was hunted out of the country like a wolf. A Spanish ship was brought into the port of New York, and, besides other booty, negroes were found aboard. They declared that they were freedmen. The pious New York people "presumed" that they were not, and reduced them to slavery without further ceremony.

To such people the plea of a Spanish cavalier was unintelligible indeed, that negroes might be freed, when safe out of the tigers' dens, and that they might be instructed and baptized as Christians. But another generation has come which seems to have thought it so intelligible that it has gone to the Spanish islands itself to relieve the negroes of the Spaniards and the Spaniards of the islands.

The real facts of the case will appear less difficult to conceive, if we take account of the character of the Spaniard, and compare his natural pride with the marked spirit of gentleness which nothing but genuine Christianity could have produced in him. Mr. Boucher of Maryland endorsed the following singular description of different nationalities in their relations with slaves. It shows what Catholicism has done and has maintained in the spirit of Latin nations; and what Protestantism has undone and left a wreck in others. He says that what some one had already observed seems to him to be founded in fact: "The Spaniards, whose natural character is not supposed to be distinguished for gentleness, are said to be the most indulgent masters to slaves; next to them, the French; then the English; and last of all, the Dutch. I once heard an Indian make the same remark, respecting the French and English, in their treatment of Indians. The remark is not an uncommon one, that persons most clamorous about liberty are, in general (on a comparison with others), most apt to be domineering and tyrannical in their private characters; for the same reason, I suppose, that even tyrants, who have always been despots, are sometimes found to be indulgent and generous, whilst none are more apt to be insolent and tyrannical than those who, having been slaves, suddenly become possessed of freedom and authority over slaves."

One might go to the other end of the world in our own days, and he could witness a contemporary proof of the nobility of treatment, extended by this Catholic nation to a dependent race. A London

non-Catholic journal of a few months ago described with admiration the Spanish plantation in Western Australia, called New Norcia, "where," said this account, "the Spaniards have a remarkable monastic colony, governed by the only mitred Abbot in Australia, Dr. Salvado, one of the original Spanish missionaries who went out more than half a century ago. That the Spanish monastic has the talent of civilizing the native population is evident from the account of New Norcia. New Norcia is the only permanently successful effort to evangelize and civilize the Australian blacks. Even the post and telegraph office is in charge of a black girl. Last, but not least, New Norcia possesses the only organized team of black cricketers in Australia. How different from Matabeleland!"

What we have said may suffice as a specimen of the witness borne to the abilities and merit of the Latin Catholic nations, in the conversion of barbarians. We pass on now to a couple of other forms of missionary countries; and both of them are represented near home. One is Canada; the other is Maryland.

#### IV.

By Canada we mean to signify at present, not the abode of the savages, whom the French Canadians converted and civilized; but the home of the French themselves. It was originally attached to its Catholic mother-country, and received thence the form of ecclesiastical polity; being further endowed and supported by the lavish benevolence of the eldest daughter of the Church. Times changed; and the colony passed under the dominion of a Protestant power, which at that time was the more narrow-minded and bigoted, as all religion and faith were fading away in England into practical indifference for everything. Such a colony, at such a juncture, offers a specimen of the missionary countries, such as Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines are becoming at present.

As soon as it was appropriated by the British government, Canada was treated as a close preserve. Two currents of thought and policy were scrupulously diverted from the frontiers of the country. One was that of the revolutionary tendencies, which prevailed in the colonies adjoining, then on the point of separating from Great Britain. The other was that of the revolutionary French, whose agitation, atheistic as well as political, was kept out of Canada with a jealousy which no quarantine excelled. Meanwhile the Canadian population shut itself up in religious and national exclusiveness, quarantining the religion and ideas of its new governors. And all the long-suffering hopes of the rulers, that one day the light of a purer Gospel might penetrate into the darkness of Canadian Catholicism, continued to flicker with but intermittent brightness, cheer-



ing up successive incumbents of the gubernatorial chair. And, no doubt, these hopes served some turn, as long as there was need or plausibility for entertaining them. But the Canadian faith was impracticable; and the plausibility of extracting its root, or of engrafting a new cult, and civilizing the French *habitant* with English uprightness, virtue and immaculate sanctimoniousness, died away in blank despair, at the incorrigible stubbornness of this "inferior race," as one of the governors graciously styled them. So they persisted innocuously in their immunity from Revolution, in their immunity from atheism, in the perfect franchise of their own religion, and in the uninterrupted enjoyment of their Christian civilization.

This hapless result of British zeal was not owing to any want of British aspirations or efforts. Nothing was wanting on the English side, either in the colonies adjoining, or in the island beyond the seas. Both were ready to make an Ireland of Canada. It was only Canada itself that was wanting. It had no ambition to be made an Ireland; and it was too strong to be made an Acadia. What could be done with such a stiff-necked, self-sufficient people, who all the while were doing harm to nobody? Meanwhile, during forty years, it was as much as the English governors felt they could do, to keep a footing at all in Canada, on behalf of Great Britain. To be asked for more, and to make such a country English and Protestant, was what no reasonable governor could understand. So, by a refinement of justice to themselves, if not to the Canadians, the governors at all times, amid a fair embroidery of other aspirations and other hopes, ever wove in a strain of justification for this French people, that is, for themselves. And we may observe the momentous consequence, that the series of British governors in French Canada were the first examples of that liberal class of rulers who, after the sharp lesson conveyed in the American revolution, developed the admirable political wisdom which distinguishes the proconsuls of the British colonial empire. They began to go then, as they have gone since, on the new principle: Let well enough alone; or, *Quieta non movere*.

The efforts made from this side of the Canadian frontier were in several lines, and they were the occasion of several strange acknowledgments. On August 10, 1763, the Dr. Samuel Johnson, whom we have quoted, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the theme of procuring a Protestant Bishop for Quebec; and, he added, if the said Bishop "had some good missionaries with him from the government, he might do much good in converting Papists and Indians." The Rev. Henry Caner, of Boston, assured his Grace, in January of the same year, that both dissenters and Anglicans

were on tip-toe of expectation with regard to the spoils of the papists on the St. Lawrence; that "as a great part of the conquests made in America will probably be ceded to the British Crown, so remarkable a crisis, it is natural to imagine, will fall under such regulations, as will either greatly establish the Church of England, or the dissenting interest in this part of the world." The Acadian plan of wholesale expulsion was running in their heads at that time. But, this being discredited by the action of General Amherst, there remained only the Irish plan of the Cromwellian and Orange settlers.

The choicest analysis of the Canadian missionary problem is supplied us by the Rev. Dr. Wm. Smith, President of the Philadelphia College, who happened to be in London, and who wrote to his Grace of Canterbury, March 29th, 1762. In a persuasive exordium on the great increase of wealth and grandeur to the English nation, obtained in the accession of "these distant settlements and acquisitions," he begs to take with his Grace a view more important still, and consider them as an "immense addition to the Kingdom of Christ, and to the Protestant faith and interest on earth." Then he continues in this strain:

"A great and growing people unenlightened by the Gospel, sunk in ignorance, strangers to the arts of humanity and to the just use of rational liberty, would not only be a very unsafe and unprofitable appendage of the British government, but even unworthy of having derived their origin from so high a stock." On this note he plays for some time, how the Canada of the future, that is of the present nineteenth century, will not merit to be descended from the high stock of Great Britain, if not raised by her, if not elevated by England, which is the chosen instrument in the hand of Providence "to call the remotest regions of the new world, in their turn, to the enjoyment of everything than can exalt human nature, while so many parts of the old are falling away into their original barbarity." Then the luminous gentleman resumes his description of the new acquisition: "In this great American harvest, there is an ample field opened for those that love to do good, and lay foundations for posterity; and what should be more animating is the amazing pains which the emissaries of a false religion have taken, and the multitude of establishments, which we find they have made, under the public sanction, in all the countries that we have recovered (!) from them; while the labors of the Venerable Society over which your Grace presides, and a few seminaries of learning, chiefly of a private establishment, is the most that we can boast of in this way." From which strange rhetoric and stranger logic it appears, that the benighted people on the St. Lawrence, "unenlightened by the Gospel, sunk in ignorance, strangers to the arts of humanity," and so forth,

were possessed of an organization of enlightenment and a network of establishments for all the arts of humanity, which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the ardent missionaries, both Anglican and Puritan, and all the civilized English colonies, had nothing to compare with, from the Penobscot down to Savannah!

In twenty-seven years after this date, things had lapsed so sadly, that the Secretary of the Gospel Society wrote to the Secretary of State, confessing he could not procure "one or more clergymen to go to Canada." He said: "Those that are improper it would be disgraceful to send; and those that are proper are most difficult to find." And he proved it: "We have now a vacancy in the Bahamas where the emoluments are greater than from Canada, and cannot get a proper clergyman to go." So far Dr. Wm. Morice, in October, 1799.

From that time onwards, the Catholics solidly tenacious of their faith, and united among themselves, have moved onwards with little to break the even tenor of their history, until protected and guaranteed in faith, language and institutions, they have reached all that they could desire and deserve for their noble consistency; and only one reef is visible, which could cause shipwreck to their national happiness. That reef is domestic treachery. It is not quite certain whether, at the moment when they have come to describe the highest curve of their national comfort in seeing one of their own number Premier of the Dominion, they are not already declining to their fall. If so, the downward turn will be given to them, as the fatal thrust was given to Acadia—by domestic treachery. For, in contemporaneous documents amid the records of government, there are sufficient indications, that it was not the brutal Governor Lawrence who really held the key of the situation, when he shipped the unhappy people off, the wreck and ruin of their once happy paradise of Acadie. It seems to have been domestic traitors, who had the key and used it for him. And, if anything in a certain paragraph, which is reported in the press at this moment, is true about French Canada, it will not be out of keeping with divers phenomena of these last few years; and it certainly will be one sign more that the turning point has been reached in the most happy history of national Catholicity, which modern ages have witnessed. We allude to action taken against Catholic Churches and religious institutions, by a certain high municipal official, who is named, and is described as a "French Canadian Catholic and Liberal Member of the Dominion Parliament;" and who, in answer to the protest of Archbishop Bruchesi, replies that "the sooner his Grace desists from his opposition, the better it will be."

## V.

We come to a fifth type of missionary country, one which, being more of the style of our own home, should merit a fuller treatment. But we must be brief. The condition of America, as it unfolded on missionary lines during 150 years, was a slow and harassing commencement, very different from the ample development, which we witness in our generation. The main features were in general the same as those on the other side of the ocean, in England.

The history was simply this, that where the original stock of Catholics had been too large to die out in a century and a half, it was still alive at the period of the American revolution; that, where it had been smaller, it seems to have died out completely; and, if it was still visible anywhere beyond the confines of the large Catholic colony of Maryland, that was owing, not to the survival of an old plant, but to the growth of a new seed. Thus was it in Pennsylvania.

Catholics landing in this country, where there were no priests available to assist them, mingled with the population, as sweet waters with the salt sea. We dare say they helped to sweeten the sea, before the great revolution occurred. Their names and their origin were not then so far lost, but they might be traced in the volumes of rolling humanity, as we see them still in the volumes of written records, blending but still distinct, then blending farther and lost. Where missionaries were at all available, and Catholics landed feeble in numbers, there is no saying how long the faith might have survived in any measurable proportions, or how soon it would have mingled with the bitter salt around, had not two circumstances come to alter the course of the future. One was the swelling of the slender stream with the accessions of new arrivals. The other was the revolution which broke over the country, and, though freighted with the bitterest anti-Catholic bigotry, cleared away finally in the fresh balmy air of general toleration.

It may be thought that such a description of our ancient Catholicism is not quite complimentary to our predecessors. To this we reply, that it is not complimentary to those who should have been our predecessors, and have not been such. Again, complimentary or not, the truth of it, we think, cannot be gainsaid. Finally, far from being derogatory to those who were our predecessors, it is a high tribute to them that they kept the faith in any appreciable quantity.

We take it that the truth of such a description is patent. It describes the Catholicity of both Maryland and England. It is the description of every country, which was once Catholic and then became Protestant. The ten thousand who bent not their knees before Baal, while a bitter persecution was raging, did bend their knees in

the second and the third generation, when a petty, teasing, harassing persecution took the place of the hue and cry, of the hounding and the gibbeting, that had gone on before. The Cross will ever make heroes, when a sneer and a gibe and a double taxation will make apostates. There is not one so-called Protestant nation, full-housed and numerous as it may be now, which did not become so merely by virtue of what the Italians call *domicilio coatto*—by the very same principle, which makes all the inmates of a penitentiary or house of refuge as wicked as the worst among them. By sheer necessity the conscientious Catholics had to live in their own country; and by force and fraud in some countries, by fraud alone in others, the whole organization of society was made to roll on beside and beyond them, if they would not take a seat in Protestantism and ride along with it. Their domicile in Protestantism was as much coercion, as that of the Scotch rebels taken at Preston and then domiciled in America. These took things at their best, and became Americans; and the conforming Papist took things as he found them and became Protestant. In fact, as a contemporary satirist said, the conforming Papist “is one that parts religion between his conscience and his purse, and comes to Church not to serve God but the king. . . . He would make a bad Martir and a good Traveilor; for his conscience is so large, he could never wander from it.” And another, not a satirist, but one pretending to be in sober earnest, argues: “Dear Brother, Is conviction for Recusancy so slight a matter, that it is only to be laught at, or is it that you have a mind to give his Majesty two of your three thousand a year? . . . Is it reasonable to think that I am bound to part with two-thirds of my estate, because some fool, my neighbour, may think me an Heretick by my going to Church; no, let him think on; the sin is his, not mine, who do nothing but what in itself is lawful, and what becomes my duty by the Laws commanding it. . . . But suppose all here said nothing to the purpose, but that ’tis likely many would be changed in time, and become Protestants; What is that to you or I, Brother, or indeed to any rational Lay Catholick in England? for he, whose case it should be, need not much repine that his conscience should lead him into a more advantageous Religion as to this World.” So the great world of society became Protestant. And the spotted Catholic, spotted by exclusion, spotted by taxation, was certain sooner or later, himself or his children, to gather himself up into some place. If spotted he must be in this world, either by society for the sake of his Catholic faith, or by the leprosy of his conscience for the sake of society, better be fashionable and rich, though a social and sanctified leper, and have the franchise of the desert with no one to harm him, than be a dweller in a cave, hated of all men, than be “that fool over there,” despised of all men, and

have to haunt the catacombs, though for the sake of Christ's holy Name.

Such was the development of the so-called Protestant nations. By force or by fraud, the members of the household became all of one color; and they became a free people, with not a bond to shackle them without or within. Privileged by their color and by the spots of their skin, which could no longer be changed, they enjoyed the privileges of "a more advantageous religion as to this world," and they prowled about accordingly. And one nation became vulgar and rich and powerful; and another became ferocious and military and imperial; and a third became stolid and sottish, but made money all the same; and they rule amid the powers of the lower air to-day. Such as had succeeded best in allowing no particle of the salt of the earth to purify the corruption of their mass, and had declared the penalty of death on any priest who, otherwise than by shipwreck, should set foot on their soil, made room for the quickest expansion of their native and galloping vice, and festered out of existence—leaving their lands, where the very dog of the household and the horse of the shay were thought to have become good Puritans, to the purer races of the old faith, which has emerged from the holes and the caves at last.

When therefore we say, that in this missionary country there was a constant decay in faith, we imply no slight on our predecessors during last century. On the contrary we imply that they were still extant in notable numbers, both in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The example, at least, of an heroic French colony of Catholic brethren across the borders was there to serve them, though they were willing to be found in the ranks of a hostile militia to repel incursions. Their proposal on more than one occasion to pass over under a happier Spanish domination shows that they were not far remote in thought, as they were not at all in faith, from the sentiments and sympathies of a devoted Catholic nation not far away.

Here we meant to illustrate the decay of faith, in the two separate stages; first, slow decay under slow persecution; secondly, rapid decay under slow emancipation. But the end of an article is not the place for beginning such an interesting topic. Let three quotations, then, from three different persons and epochs suffice to sketch the line of the history.

On July 14, 1710, Fr. William Killick wrote from Maryland to another Father in England: "I'm sorry I cant give you any such tydings as you hear from that (factory) of Madura and ye East, etc. It goes here much as in England; where by ye severity of times, we do little more, than keep our own. I think there is between 200 or 300, yt. frequent my store: all ye good I do is to try to make

them constant and good customers; thousands of whose failings I hope I have concurred to prevent; who otherwise without our help would become renegades. This & the will of God makes me contented with my station, even without that great advance which is made in the Eastern factories."

Fr. Killick said well that things were going on in Maryland and England, after very much the same fashion. For a note, regarding this very year 1710, was found by Dr. Oliver in 1843, who, communicating it to the Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Lythgoe, expressed the opinion, that it represented also the state and need of England, in their own day. The note was part of a report sent in 1710 to the Superiors of the Society, and it ran thus: "The greatest part of our duty in England is to *save* the Catholic families. Here is the sum of our labor; &, thanks be to God, during these twenty years no one of the families, which Ours have charge of, has been lost to the faith, although the most grievous temptations have tried them, through the duty imposed on Catholics of paying double taxes." Now 133 years separated 1710 from 1843. The former date represented the slow grinding persecution. The latter date represented Catholic emancipation. Yet Dr. Oliver thought that the needs of the Church were identical at the latter date with those of the former!

The explanation of this phenomenon, both in England and America, we are precluded by our space from giving. But the statement of it we shall give, by way of conclusion, in the perspicuous language of the eminent Bishop Milner. Writing in 1820 against Charles Butler, whose *Memoirs of English Catholics* were only an apology for the part he had taken in Catholic decline, the Bishop speaks of the consequences of Legal Relief, and remarks, with ecclesiastical writers, that the termination of pagan persecution, under the Roman Empire, had opened the era of Christian relaxation and of heresy. Then he continues:

"This was in some measure the case with the English Catholics on the blunting of the penal laws about the beginning of his late Majesty's reign, and still more manifestly by the subsequent repeal of different parts of them. Then it was that our people, who had been so rigid in the faith, so respectful to their clergy, so pure in their morals, and so fearful of the infection of the world, while the sword of persecution hung over their heads, on this being withdrawn, became, many of them, and especially those of the higher orders, lax in their belief, neglectful of their religious duties, disdainful of the priesthood, immoral and worldly in the general tenor of their lives. Several of them, at different periods, even apostatized from their religion." Here the Bishop notes: "About this time fell from the Catholic faith the Lords Gage, Fauconberg, Teyn-

ham, Montague, Nugent, Kingsland, Dunsany, their Graces of Gordon, Norfolk, etc., the Baronets Tancred, Gascoign, Swinburn, Blake, etc., the priests Billinge, Wharton, Hawkins, Lewis, Dords, etc." He then continues: "Others who did not run this length, took such liberties with its doctrine, its discipline, and its authority, as demonstrated that either they had never learnt their religion, or that they equally disregarded its threats and its promises. Then it was that laymen took upon themselves to dictate professions of faith to their bishops, and to correct their catechisms, and even to call upon the Apostolic See to abrogate the celibacy of the clergy. Nor was this all, but, to prove what they called their liberality, they even presented Protestant churches with communion cups and dishes. The same mock liberality, in compliment to their patrons, but with far heavier guilt, was affected by some of the priesthood."

Compare with this the spirit of other times, when the Faith meant the Cross, and the Cross supported the Faith—that spirit, which the poor Acadians enshrined in hymns, their hearts breaking meanwhile with anguish during their last days on the shore of their once happy home:

Vive Jésus  
Avec la Croix son cher partage  
Vive Jésus.  
Dans les Coeurs de tous ses Elus  
La Croix de sa Cour est le gage  
Futur du plus bel partage:  
Vive Jésus!

THOS. HUGHES, S. J.

New York, November, 1898.



## THE UNION OF ITALY.—A RETROSPECT.

1. Zuchault de La Moricière. Rapport du Général de La Moricière sur les opérations de l'Armée Pontificale contre l'invasion Piémontaise dans les Marches et l'Ombrie. Paris, 1860.
2. Manfredo Fanti. Relazione della Campagna di guerra nell' Umbria e nelle Marche, Settembre, 1860. Torino, 1860.
3. Eugène Veuillot. Le Piémont dans les États de l'Église Documents et Commentaires. Paris, 1861.
4. Comte Théodore de Quatrebarbes. Souvenirs d'Ancone. Siège de 1860, par le Cte de Quatrebarbes, Gouverneur de la Ville et de la Province. Paris, 1866.
5. Pellion di Persano. Diario Privato politico-militaire dell' Ammiraglio Conte di Persano nella Campagna navale degli anni 1860 e 1861. Firenze, 1869-71.
6. L'Abbé Charles Sylvain. Histoire de Pie IX le Grand, et de son Pontificat. Lille, 1883.
7. The O'Clery. The Making of Italy. London, 1892.

The recent disturbances in Italy, though quickly repressed at the cost of much bloodshed, by the energetic action of the military authorities, have revealed the existence of an intense and widely diffused animosity against the present Government, which the labouring classes, reduced to the utmost misery by a crushing system of taxation, naturally look upon as responsible for their sufferings. And yet when, thirty-eight years ago, not only the smaller princes of Italy, but also the two Sovereigns whose rule had been so long and so virulently denounced as the most antipathetic to their subjects and the most detrimental to the welfare of the Peninsula, were deprived of their States, the partisans of the unity of Italy sincerely believed that an era of tranquility, freedom and prosperity was about to commence and that the future of the land whence civilisation had spread over Europe would be no less glorious than its past. It may, therefore, be interesting at the present moment to look back to the time when Italy was full of hope and enthusiasm; when the flag of Savoy was raised triumphantly in one city after another, when Italian and English liberals aided and applauded the soldiers and the statesmen who were engaged in laying the foundations of the new kingdom, and to ask what were those foundations, and by what methods was raised the edifice which has so signally disappointed the expectations of its builders, and is now apparently crumbling into ruin.

The result of the war against Austria in 1859, so skilfully brought about by the diplomacy of Count Cavour, was to enlarge the kingdom of Sardinia by the addition of a considerable extent of territory; but the aspirations of the House of Savoy and of the political

party which directed its course of action, were still far from being satisfied. Lombardy, the first of these acquisitions, was obtained in virtue of the treaty of Villafranca, by which Austria renounced all claim to that province, but the annexation of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and of the Duchies of Parma and Modena was accomplished by insurrectionary movements excited and directed by emissaries placed under the orders of Signor Buoncampagni, the Piedmontese Minister at the Court of Florence.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence of these outbreaks the sovereigns of those States were expelled, the leaders of the insurgents formed provisional governments, and after a short interval, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king. The Holy See was deprived of the Legations, or the provinces of Ferrara, Bologna and Ravenna, by the sudden retreat of the Austrian garrisons, which on finding their communications with Mantua threatened by the advance into Tuscany of a body of French troops under the command of Prince Napoleon, withdrew so hastily, that, before they could be replaced by Pontifical soldiers, the revolutionary party had taken up arms, hoisted the Italian flag and declared for union with Piedmont. The remainder of the Papal States, the province of Venetia and the kingdom of Naples were still wanting to complete the kingdom of Italy; but the two first were as yet unattainable; for an attack on Rome would have entailed a war with France; a war with Austria was impossible without allies; while Napoleon III, who much preferred a federated Italy to an Italian kingdom, was not inclined to spend more men and money to further the cause of unity which had progressed more rapidly than he had expected. Cavour considered it, therefore, more prudent to begin by the invasion and annexation of the kingdom of Naples and to defer the other conquests until some more favourable opportunity should arise.

The pretext for this unprovoked aggression on a State with which the kingdom of Sardinia was at peace, was afforded by an insurrection in Sicily, and, to aid the insurgents, General Garibaldi was allowed by the connivance of the Piedmontese Government to organize a body of volunteers who, to the number 1085, started from the neighborhood of Genoa on the 6th of May, 1860. It is true that the official Gazette of Turin announced on May 17th, that the Government disapproved highly of Garibaldi's action and that a squadron of the royal navy had been ordered to pursue him and arrest him; but Admiral Persano, who was in command of the fleet, confessed very frankly in his diary which was published in 1869, that, in obedience to the secret instructions sent by Cavour, in opposi-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Making of Italy*, p. 87.

tion to the opinion of the other ministers, he not only did not stop the expedition, but guided and escorted the vessels which, soon after, brought reinforcements to the volunteers. Later on when Garibaldi was besieging Palermo, the Admiral landed at midnight, with the utmost secrecy, two heavy guns from one of his ships, to assist him, while at the same time he took care to maintain an outward aspect of strict neutrality, and to avoid any open act which might compromise the Government of Victor Emmanuel.<sup>1</sup> But, indeed, long before the Admiral revealed the true history of the nefarious conspiracy by which Francis II was deprived of his throne, the mask had been flung aside by Victor Emmanuel himself, when in his proclamation to the Italian people at Ancona on October 9, 1860, he frankly declared that he had not tried to hinder Garibaldi's departure from Genoa, and that he would have considered it unpatriotic to do so.

In the choice of Garibaldi for the command of the expedition to Sicily, there was, however, a danger against which Cavour had to be on his guard; for the General's plan of campaign, which was considerably at variance with the ideas of the minister, was to pass from Sicily to the Neapolitan territory on the mainland; to march through it raising and arming more troops as he went; then to attack Venice, and finally to seize upon Rome, where from the summit of the Capitol, he would proclaim Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. But this mode of proceeding was far too impetuous and risky to suit the more cautious and far-seeing policy of Cavour, who while quite willing to make use of Garibaldi to prepare the way for the intervention of the royal Army and the annexation of the kingdom of Naples, always intended to check the filibuster's victorious progress in time, lest, by coming into collision with France or Austria he should cause the failure of his own plans for the unity of Italy, which he was slowly but surely carrying out by underhand intrigues and conspiracies against the Sovereigns whom he hoped to deprive of their States.

The overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty, was not, however, so easily achieved as had been expected, and yet Cavour, whose object it was to make it seem that the fall of the House of Bourbon was due to the spontaneous action of its subjects, had succeeded in undermining the throne of Francis II and rendering his position almost hopeless without having made an open declaration of war. The kingdom of Sardinia was still ostensibly at peace with the kingdom of Naples, the Sardinian minister, the Marchese di Villamarina, was still at the Neapolitan Court, and the Sardinian fleet cruised off

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<sup>1</sup> *Diario dell'Ammiraglio I. di Persano, Prima parte, pp. 28, 42, 44, 56.*

the coasts of Naples and Sicily or cast anchor in their ports, like that of any other friendly power. It was, however, at the house of the Sardinian minister that the traitors who conspired against Francis II, among others his uncle the Count of Syracuse, and Liborio Romano the Minister of the Interior, held their meetings; and Persano's vessels carried arms and ammunition to be landed at various points along the coast,<sup>1</sup> or conveyed envoys from Cavour and Palmerston to Garibaldi;<sup>2</sup> and had on board, dispersed among the crews, a battalion of *bersaglieri* in readiness for disembarkation at Naples, in case the people rose.<sup>3</sup> But though there was a rising in the province of Basilicata, and though many of the inhabitants of Calabria joined Garibaldi when he landed on the mainland, no insurrection took place at Naples. Some officers of the Neapolitan fleet, it is true, resigned their commissions; one of them, who had fled with his ship from Naples to Palermo after Garibaldi had occupied that town, wished to hoist the Italian flag and join openly the fleet of Admiral Persano, which was then in the port.<sup>4</sup> The Admiral, however, was obliged to carry out the policy of Cavour, and feign neutrality; he could not therefore receive the deserter, but he advised him to offer his services to Garibaldi, who was acting independently of the Government of Turin and apparently in opposition to its will, and who would not compromise it by anything he did. Some of the Neapolitan generals, too, had been gained over to the cause of the revolution, and when Garibaldi had crossed from Sicily to the mainland, they retreated before him from one position to another, or made their troops lay down their arms without fighting. The rank and file, indeed, remained mostly loyal; for General Briganti was shot by his own soldiers, infuriated by his treachery, and the garrisons of the forts which defend Naples showed no signs of disaffection, in spite of the incendiary proclamations spread among them by the two secret societies, the "Committee of Order" and the "Committee of Action," which were endeavoring to carry out Cavour's plans for the unification of Italy by somewhat dissimilar methods of operation. And yet, it was of the utmost importance for the successful execution of these plans that Victor Emmanuel should be proclaimed king before the arrival of Garibaldi at Naples, when, owing to the influence which Mazzini was known to exercise over the General, and to the fact that the majority of the Garibaldians belonged to the advanced party, there might be some danger of the proclamation of a republic. Since, therefore, neither the army nor the people showed any inclination to rise and

<sup>1</sup> Diario, parte II, pp. 17, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Id., pp. 20, 34.

<sup>3</sup> Id., p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Id., parte I, p. 68.

expel Francis II, it became necessary to induce him to abdicate of his own accord. His prime Minister, Liborio Romano, undertook to perform this act of treachery, and addressed to the king a letter in which he pointed out to him with the most obsequious expressions of loyalty, and an apparently sincere devotion to his interests, that a spirit of mistrust and hostility towards the Bourbon dynasty had pervaded the entire country; that his army and navy had become thoroughly demoralised and that he could no longer reckon upon their fidelity, that further resistance was hopeless; and he advised him, under these circumstances, to place his kingdom under a regency and to withdraw for a time until tranquility and confidence were restored. Admiral Persano inserted a copy of this perfidious document in his diary, but could not refrain from expressing his compassion for the young king, and remarking that if, after receiving such a communication, he did not dismiss his ministers, he was irretrievably lost. The Admiral, indeed, expresses very frankly in his diary, his contempt both for the Neapolitan army which would neither fight the Garibaldians, nor declare openly for Victor Emmanuel; and for the Neapolitan navy which, though it had generally decided for the cause of United Italy, would, in his opinion, have acted more honourably if it had defended its flag and its King.

After Liborio Romano, the king's uncle, the Count of Syracuse, an ardent partisan of Italian unity, tried to induce Francis II to follow the example of the Duchess of Parma and abdicate in favour of Victor Emmanuel, but without success; and shortly after, he sailed for Genoa on board a vessel which Cavour had placed at his service. Garibaldi was still advancing rapidly towards Naples; for, after he had crossed to the mainland he had met with little resistance; he was already within a short distance of Salerno, and Admiral Persano had as yet found no opportunity of intervening under pretext of maintaining order in the name of Victor Emmanuel, so that Cavour, seeing the imminent danger of the proclamation of a republic at Naples, whence the movement might spread to Piedmont and Northern Italy, resolved to oppose a barrier to Garibaldi's further progress by invading and annexing the Papal States before the General could attack them.

He wrote, therefore, to Admiral Persano on August 31st, that to carry out this project, it had been decided that an insurrection should break out in Umbria and the Marches between the 8th and the 12th of September; and, that, whether it were suppressed or not, General Cialdini would enter the Papal territory and advance rapidly to besiege Ancona; an undertaking which would require the coöperation of the fleet. Cavour also requested the Admiral

not to communicate this information to anyone, not even to his fellow-conspirator Villamarina, but to make at once the necessary preparations for the successful execution of this important enterprise.

No revolt had as yet taken place in Naples, in spite of the efforts of the two Committees, but when the garrison of Salerno evacuated that town without fighting, and the king saw that nothing could prevent Garibaldi and his volunteers, who amounted to nearly 20,000 men, from marching upon Naples, he shrank from the thought of exposing the city to the bloodshed and devastation which would be the result of a combat in the streets, and on September the 6th he sailed on board a Spanish man-of-war for Gaeta. If, during the short campaign which ensued in the neighborhood of Capua, Francis II had had to encounter only the undisciplined hordes of Garibaldi he might perhaps, with the aid of troops and generals on whom he could depend, have repelled the invasion and reconquered his kingdom, but the reinforcements of Piedmontese troops which joined the Garibaldians, followed, after the taking of Ancona, by the arrival of General Cialdini's army, forced him to abandon his positions on the Volturno and retreat to the fortress of Gaeta.

The siege of this town lasted for more than three months, though the garrison consisted of only 12,000 men, and the artillery was inferior to that of the Piedmontese, who were well provided with rifled guns; but the heroic defence was brought to an end by the explosion of the principal powder magazine, whether caused by one of the enemy's shells, or, as it has been asserted, by the act of a traitor, is not certain. The breach which this explosion made in the ramparts, the destruction of several batteries, and the loss of provisions and ammunition which were its results rendered the fortress incapable of further resistance and Francis II was obliged to capitulate.

During the course of these events, whilst the young King of Naples, betrayed by those in whom he had most confided, was becoming more and more entangled in the toils which Cavour and his accomplices were weaving round him, the Papal government was making preparations to guard against the dangers which it foresaw, but of which it did not realise the full extent, as it could not suspect the depths of mendacity and treachery to which Cavour was capable of descending. The Papal army had never been very numerous, as the Holy See was the only Continental Power which had not adopted some form of conscription, and its troops were never expected to carry on an aggressive war against neighboring States, but to maintain order within its own frontiers. The loss of

the Legations, however, the seizure and temporary occupation of Perugia in June, 1859, by an armed band from Tuscany; and the openly avowed intention of the revolutionary party to complete the unity of Italy by the conquest of Rome, showed the necessity of raising a larger and better organized body of troops for the defence of what remained of the States of the Church, and, at the suggestion of Mgr. de Mérode, who presided over the War Office, Pius IX requested General de la Moricière, one of the most illustrious of the officers to whom was due the conquest of Algeria to create the new army and to take the command. The General had but recently returned to France from the exile to which he had been condemned after the "coup de'état," and was living in retirement in the country; he saw clearly the difficulties of every nature which surrounded the duties which he was asked to perform, but he accepted nevertheless the invitation of the Holy Father, and arrived in Rome in the beginning of April, 1860.

Recruits soon began to pour in from all parts of Europe. An Irish contingent of about 1200 men formed the battalion of St. Patrick, commanded by Major Miles O'Reilly. Four battalions and a half of riflemen were composed of Austrian and Bavarian soldiers, who entered the Papal army with the consent of their governments, and the French and Belgians were united in a battalion known as "les Tirailleurs Pontificaux," or "les Franco-Belges," under Major de Becdelievre, an experienced officer who had served in Algiers and the Crimea. It was he who gave this *corps* their Zouave uniform, and when, in the beginning of 1861, the battalion was formed into a regiment, it received the name of the Pontifical Zouaves. Most of the French serving in this battalion were young men of noble family, and it was also French nobles who composed the "*corps des Guides*," a squadron of cavalry, the members of which received no pay, but served at their own expense, held the rank of sub-lieutenant, and acted as aides-de-camp and staff officers to the General. Another company of French nobles, also unpaid, was named "*les Croises*," and was commanded by A. Henri de Cathelineau, the grandson of one of the most distinguished leaders in the war of La Vendée: but shortly before the opening of the campaign, it was incorporated with the Franco-Belges. These foreign troops, together with the two Swiss regiments already in the Papal service; two Italian regiments of the line; two battalions of *cacciatori*, also Italians; two squadrons of dragoons, and one of light horse; a few batteries of artillery, and the *gendarmes* composed an army of about 15,000 men, 8,000 of whom, at least, were Papal subjects. Besides the regular army, a large number of civilians had been enrolled and organized as auxiliaries in the provinces of Urbino, Macerata and

Fermo, furnishing twenty-one companies of more than one hundred men each, and over six hundred mountaineers of Ascoli in the Papal Abruzzi had also taken arms in defence of the Holy See and had asked for officers to drill and lead them.<sup>1</sup> There was not, unfortunately, sufficient time before the outbreak of hostilities to arm all these troops effectively; only two battalions and a little more than a half of light infantry were provided with rifles, the others had only the old fashioned musket, and the artillery was not only imperfectly drilled, but had not enough of horses.

Nevertheless, with this small and badly equipped body of soldiers whom Generals Fanto and Cialdini in their insulting proclamations denounced as drunken mercenaries and miserable assassins, brought into Italy by the thirst for gold and the love of pillage, General de La Moricière hoped, not indeed, to reconquer the provinces already annexed to Piedmont, but to defend those still remaining to the Papal See against the incursions of Garibaldian bands. The Papal Government did not think it possible that an unprovoked attack on the part of Victor Emmanuel could take place, and it felt certain that if it were menaced by any serious danger, the protection of France might be reckoned on. There were still French troops in Rome, and so shortly before the invasion as the 31st of August, M. de Persigny declared in a speech at St. Etienne that the sword of the Eldest Son of the Church still guarded the august person of the Sovereign Pontiff and the throne of the Holy See. Cavour, too, played the same comedy of apparent neutrality with which he masked his intrigues at Naples; for he disavowed and imprisoned a Garibaldian named Lunbianchi, who with 300 men had invaded the Papal States near Aquapendente on May 18th, but was defeated and driven back across the frontier by General de Pimodan and a handful of gendarmes. A few months later, Cavour also stopped another expedition which Nicotera, a Garibaldian officer, had organized in Tuscany for the invasion of Umbria and the Marches, and its leader was arrested and disarmed. Some uneasiness, it is true, was caused by the concentration of Piedmontese troops in large numbers along the frontiers, and it was known that behind them armed bands were being assembled, but when de La Moricière, in the beginning of September requested Cardinal Antonelli to ascertain from the Piedmontese Government, through the medium of the French Ambassador, what were its intentions, he was assured that Piedmont would continue, as in the past, to prevent bands of volunteers from invading the Papal territory, and that the royal army would not attack it.

And yet, at that date, the conquest of the States of the Church

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<sup>1</sup> *Le Piemont dans les États de l'Église*, p. 97.



had been already decided on, at an interview which took place at Chambéry, on August 29th, between Napoleon III, who was on his way to Algiers, General Cialdini, and Farini the Piedmontese Minister of the Interior.<sup>1</sup> According to a circular addressed by M. de Thouvenet on October 18th, 1860, to the diplomatic representatives of France, these envoys pointed out to the Emperor the dangers which would result for Italy, if Garibaldi, who was then marching through the kingdom of Naples almost without opposition, were to carry out his intention of invading the Papal States, and then attacking Venice. They, therefore, suggested that, as soon as any disturbances arose in the Marches or Umbria, the Piedmontese army should occupy those provinces, for the purpose of restoring order, but without interfering with the sovereignty of the Pope; and that a European Congress should be immediately assembled to discuss the future of Italy. The Emperor is then said to have given his consent to this project by the fatal words, "*Faites, mais faites vite,*" and whether the report be well founded or not, it was accepted as a fact all over Italy. Two days later was written the letter, already mentioned, from Cavour to Persano, and on September 1st, a fellow conspirator, Giuseppe La Farina, wrote to a friend at Pelarno: "On the 8th, the Committees of the National Society in the Marches and Umbria will begin an insurrection. The national troops will intervene, 50,000 men are already concentrated at La Cattolica, and 30,000 on the Tuscan frontier."

The invasion took place at the appointed date. Some hundreds of volunteers from Tuscany, led by Colonel Masi, attacked Urbino and Fossombrone on the 8th of September; while another band seized Città della Pieve, though in each case the small detachments of gendarmes and auxiliaries which garrisoned these towns made a determined resistance until forced to yield to superior numbers. It was on the 10th that the Piedmontese Government set aside at last the neutrality which until then it had pretended to observe. On that day General de La Moricière was visited at his headquarters at Spoleto by the aide-de-camp of General Fanti, who, by order of the king, informed him that the Italian army would cross the frontier in any one of the three following cases: if the Papal troops repressed by force a national demonstration; or, if they marched against a town in which a demonstration had taken place; or finally, if after having repressed a demonstration, the troops were not immediately withdrawn so as to leave the inhabitants of the town at liberty to express their will. De la Moricière very naturally replied with indignation to the officer who was the bearer of this insolent

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<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Pie IX.*, vol. II, p. 164.

message, that it amounted to a request to evacuate without fighting the provinces which it was his duty to defend; that it would have been more frank to have declared war openly; and, that, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Piedmontese army, his officers and soldiers would not reckon the numbers of their enemies, nor spare their own lives in the defence of the outraged honour of the State which they served.

General Cialdini crossed the frontier near Mimini on the following day, but it was only on the evening of the 10th that Cardinal Antonelli received from Count Minervini the ultimatum of the Piedmontese Government in which it requested the Pope to dismiss his foreign soldiers, and declared that the Royal troops would not allow the Papal mercenaries to prevent the people of Umbria and the Marches from manifesting their opinions. As Count Minervini did not receive the answer to the ultimatum till the 12th, and as the Piedmontese Government was not informed that it was rejected, until the 13th, it follows that the invasion took place without any declaration of war, and before the Papal Government could make preparations for a campaign against a regular army. General de La Moricière had expected to encounter only Garibaldian bands; he had, therefore, employed a portion of his troops to guard the principal towns against a sudden attack, and instead of concentrating the remainder, he had stationed them along those portions of the frontiers where incursions of volunteers were most to be apprehended; fixing their headquarters at Terni, Foligno and Macerata, with a reserve under his own command at Spoleto. These mobilised troops amounted to about 8,000 infantry, 300 artillerymen, three squadrons of cavalry and some gendarmes.

Of the three divisions with which General Cialdini entered the Papal States, two advanced on Sucona by Fano and Sinigaglia, while the third marched by Urbino to Gubbio, where it could command the passes over the Apennines, and another column, under General Fanti the Minister of War, came from Tuscany down the valley of the Tiber, to seize Perugia and Spoleto. The number of the invaders amounted to about 40,000.

The first encounter took place at Pesaro; the small fortress there was held by Colonel Zappi and 800 men, nearly all Italians; he had only three pieces of artillery, but he made such a gallant defence against Cialdini's two divisions, that he stopped their advance for 22 hours, and capitulated only when the fort had been nearly demolished. Cialdini, who on more than one occasion showed his contempt for the laws and usages observed in warfare by all civilised nations, continued the bombardment for three hours after the white flag had been hoisted.

Previously to the invasion of the royal troops, the volunteers commanded by Masi, after taking Citta della Pieve, had attacked Orvieto, where the garrison of about 100 Austrian riflemen capitulated after a short resistance, and when General Schmidt, who was marching from Foligno with two battalions to the assistance of the town, learned that it had fallen, and that General de Yormaz, with the advance guard of Fanti's army was close at hand, he retreated to Perugia, and prepared to defend it with about 1,400 men. The attack began almost immediately after his arrival, and after a combat of three hours, during which the Piedmontese succeeded in occupying some houses in the suburbs, General de Yormaz sent forward a flag of truce and demanded the surrender of the town, as General Fanti would shortly arrive with the rest of the troops, when any further resistance would be useless. An armistice was therefore agreed upon until his arrival, on condition that in the meanwhile the Piedmontese should retire from their positions in the town, and allow the gates to be held by the Papal troops. General de Yormaz accepted these terms; but the Piedmontese still continued to enter the town, in spite of his repeated promises and General Schmidt's protests. The first battalion of the second foreign regiment then began to show signs of insubordination; and, though a company of the battalion of St. Patrick and the majority of the Italian regiment of the line which formed part of the garrison, would willingly have continued to fight, General Schmidt believed that he could place no reliance on his soldiers, and capitulated on the arrival of General Fanti.

The defence of the Rocca di Spoleto, the medieval tower surrounded by a walled enclosure, which stands on a height above that town, had been entrusted to Major O'Reilly, the commander of the battalion of Saint Patrick. It was not a building capable of offering a serious resistance to modern artillery, yet its small garrison composed of 300 Irish, 23 Franco-Belges, 116 Swiss and Austrian recruits, and 150 Italians held at bay for twelve hours a Piedmontese army of about 8,000 men with 24 guns commanded by General Brignone.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of September 17th, after a first summons to capitulate had been rejected, four Piedmontese batteries opened a heavy fire against the fort, to which the Papal troops could only reply with musketry, while a crowd of sharpshooters covering the neighbouring heights poured a hail of lead into the interior of the enclosure. After a bombardment of three hours another attempt was made to persuade Major O'Reilly to make his soldiers lay down their arms; but as he had received orders to defend the position as long as possible, he refused to yield and the

fire recommenced until about three o'clock. By that time, such was the ruinous condition of the gateway and of the adjoining walls, that it seemed impossible that the fort could resist an assault, and a column of two companies of *bersaglieri* and two battalions of grenadiers rushed up the ascent leading to the entrance. As they approached, they were received with volleys of grapeshot from the single piece of artillery which was in a state to render any service, but they pressed on bravely to the gate and tried to batter it down. It was, however, well barricaded within; and the defenders, firing and thrusting their bayonets between its broken and disjointed beams, obliged the assailants to fall back with heavy losses. The bombardment began again, the buildings of the fort were twice set on fire; but the garrison, undaunted, still held out; till, at nightfall, Major O'Reilly, seeing that his ammunition was nearly all spent; that the walls of the fort were in ruins and that the enemy, drawing nearer, was preparing to give another assault which his men, exhausted with fatigue, would have been unable to repel, consented at last to capitulate. The Piedmontese are believed to have lost on this occasion 100 killed and 300 wounded, while only three of the garrison were killed and six wounded.

As soon as General de La Moricière had seen that the government of Victor Emmanuel was about to commence hostilities, he had ordered the scattered detachments of his troops to concentrate in Ancona, and leaving Spoleto on the 12th, he made a rapid march across the Apennines, arriving on the 16th at Loreto, whence he drove the outposts of Cialdini's army which had already occupied the town. He was joined on the following evening by General de Pimodan and the battalions which had been quartered round Ferni, which raised the army under his command to 4,600 infantry, four squadrons of cavalry and sixteen guns. Its further progress was stopped by General Cialdini who had brought his soldiers by forced marches from Sinigaglia, and had taken up a strong position on the hills of Osimo and Castelfidardo which form a semi-circle in front of the height on which stands the town of Loreto. The main road which leads from Loreto to Ancona, on descending from the town into the plain beneath watered by the Musone, crosses that river and a stream which runs parallel to it; and, on reaching the opposite hills, divides into two branches. That to the left ascends towards Osimo, a village built on a steep acclivity, while the other goes over the foot of the hill on which stands Castelfidardo, and some miles further on passes through Camerano, another village occupying an equally strong situation. These positions were held by large bodies of troops, and La Moricière, seeing that his small army could not hope to cut its way through forces so superior in number and so

advantageously posted, decided on following another road only partly paved, which starts from Porto Recanati close to Loreto, crosses the Musone by a ford near its mouth, and passes through a mountainous district lying along the sea coast. But this road, though not held by the enemy, lay within range of his rifled guns, and it was therefore necessary that a part of the army should take the heights of Castelfidardo which commanded it, and hold them as long as possible.

On the morning of the 18th the Piedmontese troops round Castelfidardo had been strongly reinforced; a detachment of *bersaglieri* held a farmhouse situated half-way up the side of a hill occupying an advanced position in front of the principal chain of heights; two battalions were posted in another farmhouse on the summit about 500 yards to the rear; an adjacent wood was filled with soldiers, and several batteries of artillery were placed so as to sweep the approaches to the position. General de Pimodan, who was to lead the attack, had under his orders two battalions of Italian *cacciatori*, a battalion of Austrian riflemen and one of Swiss, the Franco-Belgian battalion or Pontifical Zouaves of 300 men; 100 men of the battalion of St. Patrick, commanded by Lieut. James Darcy; twelve guns and 250 light horse and dragoons. His intention was to take the lower farmhouse, and then, bringing up his guns, to shell the buildings situated higher up, as well as the neighbouring wood before advancing upon them. General de La Moricière held the other four battalions in reserve, while the rest of the artillery and the baggage wagons took the road leading to the ford near the mouth of the Musone.

The column under General de Pimodan crossed the Musone higher up and drove back the Piedmontese pickets concealed among the bushes on the opposite shore; but, while it advanced to the attack, the second battalion of Italian *cacciatori*, which had not yet crossed the river, fired upon it, whether from treachery, as Major de Becdelievre supposed,<sup>1</sup> or from panic and want of discipline as La Moricière more charitably suggested in his report on the campaign. The first farmhouse, though stubbornly defended by the *bersaglieri* was soon taken, and under a heavy fire maintained by Piedmontese while retreating, two guns were dragged up to it and placed in position by the Irish soldiers. General de Pimodan, who was already wounded, then gave orders to attack the higher position, but fresh reinforcements had been brought up to the troops which held it, and before de Pimodan's soldiers could reach the summit of the hill, large masses of the enemy advanced from

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<sup>1</sup> Souvenirs de l'Armée Pontificale, p. 74.

the wood, and beneath the rain of bullets which they poured down, the column fell back. It turned, however, on its pursuers as they drew near, and by a desperate bayonet charge drove them again up the height, but was unable to maintain its position in presence of superior numbers. It was in vain that La Moricière ordered the troops which had remained in the plain to march to support de Pimodan, round whose position at the farmhouse, where the haystacks in flames rendered the defence more difficult, the Piedmontese were gradually closing in, though repulsed again and again at the point of the bayonet. The first Swiss regiment, when deployed into line under the fire of the enemy's guns, broke its ranks and fled, its officers alone remaining; the second battalion of Italian *cacciatori*, which had already begun to ascend the hill, followed their example; as did a part of the dragoons, while some of the artillery drivers sharing in the panic, cut the traces and galloped off, abandoning their guns. To complete the disaster, General de Pimodan fell mortally wounded; he had been struck four times, and there is a strong suspicion that the fatal shot was fired by a traitor in the ranks of his own troops. There was no longer any hope that the Papal soldiers could storm the heights held by the Piedmontese and the order to retreat was given; but, in the midst of this confusion and want of discipline, the second battalion of riflemen, composed of Austrians and led by Major Fuchsman, marched up the hill, occupied the position assigned to them, and by their bravery and steadiness protected what remained of the army as it fell back upon Loreto. The combat was not, indeed, ended by the retreat of the broken and disorganised regiments, for it was still maintained round the lower farmhouse where some of the wounded had been carried during the battle, and about twenty of the Franco-Belgian battalion had been posted to guard them. This handful of men, though forgotten and left behind when the rest of the troops had retreated, held their position for more than an hour. They barricaded the windows with sacks of corn and by their rapid and well directed fire repelled assault after assault, till the building was set in flames by Piedmontese shells and any further resistance was rendered impossible.

When General de La Moricière had seen that the battle was lost, he took the road leading along the coast to Ancona, followed by a small body of cavalry, and a few hundred of the Swiss whom he had succeeded in rallying. They had not, however, gone very far, when the Swiss were attacked by a patrol of *bersaglieri*, and after a short skirmish more than half laid down their arms. De La Moricière and his mounted escort then left the road and took the rugged mountain paths leading through the woods which cover the sides of Monte

Conero. They thus avoided the village of Camerano where there was a strong body of the enemy, and arrived in Ancona that evening.

The officers of the troops which had taken refuge in Loreto held a council of war to decide on their future line of action; the French, Austrian and Irish battalions were still willing to continue the campaign, but their diminished numbers, and the indiscipline and discouragement of the other soldiers left their superiors no other alternative than to capitulate; and, at dusk on the evening of the 19th, all that remained of La Moricière's army marched out of Loreto and laid down its arms at Becanoti.

Ancona was now the only important town outside the Patrimony of Saint Peter still remaining in the possession of the Papal Government and La Moricière hoped that a prolonged defense would give the Catholic powers time to intervene for the protection of the States of the Church. Since the General had taken the command of the Papal army much had been done to strengthen the citadel and the fortifications of the town, but they were not yet in a condition to withstand for long an army and a fleet provided with modern artillery. The garrison consisted of detachments of Italian, Swiss and Austrian regiments; four companies of the battalion of Saint Patrick under the command of Major Fitzgerald, an officer who had served in the Austrian army; 700 artillerymen; some gendarmes, light cavalry and engineers; in all less than 6,000 men; a mere handful, since 20,000 would have been requisite to guard the entire extent of the fortifications. For the defence of the ramparts on the side of the land, only 124 guns were available, while the works were constructed for 144; and only 25 could be mounted in the batteries which commanded the port, the entrance to which had been closed with a heavy chain. None of these guns were rifled, and they were mostly of small calibre, only 18 being 36 pounders. Provisions, too, were wanting, but at the last moment, just before the declaration of the blockade, an abundant supply of flour was brought from Trieste, and the enemy's patrols did not hinder the peasantry of the neighborhood from sending in droves of cattle.

Admiral Persano's fleet was much more formidably armed than the Papal fortress, for it consisted of four 60-gun frigates, and seven smaller vessels, which carried over 400 rifled guns throwing projectiles of from 20 to 65 kilogrammes with a range of 3,000 metres. The Admiral made his first attack on the day of the battle of Castelfidardo, in order to prevent the garrison from coming to the help of General de La Moricière, and although but little injury had been done to the fortifications, several houses had been damaged, and a woman and two children killed. The fleet con-

tinued the bombardment at intervals, both by day and by night, but no official intimation of the existence of a blockade was given until the 22d; the non-combatants were not allowed time to leave the town; and, as soon as the armies of Fanti and Cialdini had met, and had taken up their positions, the bombardment began also from the side of the land.

Four small redoubts had been constructed on the heights which command the approaches to Ancona; that on Monte Scrima to the west of the town, was considered to be too distant from the walls to be successfully defended, and it was evacuated; but the heavy guns of the citadel soon destroyed the battery which the Piedmontese raised there, and, though they rebuilt it during the night, it was again demolished on the following day. The redoubts on Monte Pelago and Monte Pulito, two hills to the south of Ancona, were defended by 300 men each, but their situation near the coast exposed them to the fire of the fleet, and on the morning of the 26th, after undergoing a cannonade of some hours, they were taken by a strong column of Piedmontese infantry, though the garrison of Monte Pulito succeeded in carrying off its guns.

Emboldened by this success, the Piedmontese then attacked the lunetta of San Stefano, a much stronger work nearer to the walls of Ancona and flanked by the guns of the citadel; but only to be repulsed with considerable loss, for the assailants were allowed to come as far as the ditch, when a heavy fire was opened on them from all sides, and they were driven back in disorder, vainly striving to rally and reform their ranks under the shelter of the farm buildings and gardens in the neighborhood. They failed also in their attack on Porta Pia, a gate situated at the end of a long suburb which it was rather difficult to defend, yet they were driven out of a battery which they had raised against it during the night of the 27th, and though they seized the Lazzaretto built on a small island in the harbour, they were forced to abandon it also with considerable loss.

The garrison had thus, up to the 28th, repelled with success the efforts of the Piedmontese to enter the town, and the outlying positions which had been taken did not render the fortress untenable; but, by that date, the heavy siege guns had been carried round by sea from Sinigaglia to the right wing of the invading army, and batteries armed with rifled cannon were being hastily constructed, to which the old fashioned and less weighty artillery on the ramparts of Ancona could oppose no resistance.

It was to the fleet, however, that the town was destined to yield. An attempt to break the chain which closed the entrance of the harbour was made by a flotilla of boats before dawn on the morning of the 25th, but it was discovered in time and repulsed by vol-



leys of grapeshot from the gunboats in the port. A second expedition, led by Admiral Persano, took place on the morning of the 27th, but met with no better success, in spite of the daring efforts of his sailors to break the links holding the chain to its moorings in the rocks and to the beams on which it floated. The Admiral then resolved, against the opinion of the majority of his captains, to make a more decisive attack; for he feared lest any further delay to take the town, or another repulse, might induce the Austrian government to intervene in defence of the Holy See, and at noon, on the 28th, with two frigates and two corvettes, he began the heaviest bombardment which the fortress had as yet sustained.

It lasted for about three hours and a half, during which time, the Carlo Alberto, one of the frigates, fired, as Admiral Persano states, more than 1,600 shots. Under this hail of projectiles from rifled cannon of large calibre, the masonry of the batteries on the mole which defended the port soon crumbled away. A casemated battery of nine guns, only three of which could be brought to bear on the fleet, still held out, though its defenders were reduced to a handful of men, nearly all wounded. Then the frigate Victor Emmanuel, advancing to about fifty yards from the battery, poured a broadside upon it. One of the guns was dismounted; Lieutenant Wesminthal, who was in command, fell under a volley of grapeshot as he was pointing one of the two remaining pieces, and, a few minutes later, the roar of the explosion, the shattered fragments of stonework, and the rolling volumes of dark smoke which shot up into the air, and enveloped the lighthouse and the mole, proclaimed that the powder magazine had been fired. The chain at the mouth of the port sank into the waves, as the walls fell to which it was attached, and the town of Ancona, with its land defences still almost intact, remained without guns or ramparts on the side of the sea, and open to the enemy.

General de La Moricière immediately hoisted the white flag, the cannonade ceased, and an officer was sent to Admiral Persano to discuss the conditions of a capitulation, for it was the fleet and not the army that had obliged the town to surrender. Suddenly, and without any provocation on the part of the besieged, General Fanti ordered his newly constructed batteries to open fire again about 9 o'clock that evening; assigning as the pretext in his official report, that the officer charged to negotiate, whom Admiral Persano had sent on to him, was not provided with the proper credentials. Admiral Persano, to his credit be it said, protested against this unjustifiable act, and sent one of his officers to request that the fire might cease, for he considered that his honour was compromised by its continuance. But his protests were in vain; he could only

recall a detachment of sailors whom he had landed with two guns to take part in the attack, and the fire of the Piedmontese batteries against a town over which floated the white flag, and which did not reply by a single shot, ceased only at nine o'clock on the following morning, a few hours before the capitulation was signed.

It was by this policy of fraud and brutality that the rulers of the different Italian States were dethroned, and their territories annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia; but the aims of the revolutionary party were not fully attained until ten years later, when, shortly after the departure of the French troops which guarded the provinces still remaining of the States of the Church, an army of 60,000 Italians invaded the Patrimony of St. Peter, and by the taking of Rome, overthrew the Temporal Sovereignty of the Holy Father. And now, after twenty-eight years of a government which calls itself constitutional, the accusation which was so frequently directed against the Papal Government, namely, that it was upheld by bayonets, might be made with far more justice against the Kingdom of Italy; for it is obliged to have recourse to arms, not to defend itself against the invasion of armed bands levied and organized by adventurers in a neighboring state, but to repress the uprising of its own subjects driven into rebellion by the burden of excessive taxation. It seems as though it were probable that the States so violently and iniquitously joined together might before long be again dissevered, and either regain their ancient independence or form an Italian Confederation. Such, indeed, was the solution of the Italian question which Pius IX suggested, shortly after his accession to the Chair of St. Peter, as the most efficacious method of enabling the widely dissimilar races which inhabit Italy to draw more closely together for the defence of their common Fatherland, without sacrificing their individuality; and he had hoped that this statesmanlike measure would satisfy the aspirations of the patriots who longed to see a united Italy, while respecting the rights of the reigning sovereigns, and preserving intact the local institutions and usages of the various provinces of the peninsula. The proposal of the Holy Father excited much enthusiasm throughout Italy; the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany declared themselves favourably disposed towards it, and sent representatives to Rome to discuss the details of the league; but the realisation of this great and beneficent project, which would have tended to the pacification and the prosperity of Italy, was frustrated by the opposition of the Piedmontese ministers, for they foresaw clearly that the union of the Italian princes in a powerful and well organized confederacy would oppose an insurmountable barrier to the fulfilment of the ambitious and unscrupulous designs of the House of Savoy.

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## ✓ RACE-PATRIOTISM FROM A CATHOLIC STANDPOINT.

ONE of the indirect results of the Spanish-American war, last year, was to call forth, on both sides of the Atlantic, a sudden display of enthusiasm for an alliance between England and America. It was even thought by many that the alliance was an accomplished fact, and that its influence would soon become predominant in the political world. As was to be expected, however, the feeling of enthusiasm was not long at its fever-point. When the first excitement was over, there came a period of reflection, with the result that the practical difficulties standing in the way of an alliance have been made clearer than they were before. At the same time there can be no doubt that the signs of mutual friendship exhibited by the two great English-speaking peoples were not the result of a mere passing sentiment. They sprang from a deeply rooted sense of kinship and community of aspirations, which has been revealed more than once during the present century, and which occasional jealousies have not been able to destroy. The memorable words uttered by a responsible statesman on the 2d of February, last year, are a recognition of the existence of this feeling. "There is no doubt," said Mr. Olney, speaking at Harvard University, "with what nations we should coöperate. England, our most formidable rival, is our most natural friend. There is such a thing as patriotism for race as well as for country. Though sometimes we may have such quarrels as only relations and intimate neighbors indulge in, yet it may be said that the near future will see in our closer friendship a power for good that will be felt by all mankind."

To some it may appear rather a contradiction in terms to speak of "race-patriotism," in the way that Mr. Olney did. Fatherland and race are in very many countries as widely separated as the poles. England herself, and more notably still, America, are living examples of variety in race as well as homogeneity in patriotism. But we may point to some striking examples of the idea sought to be conveyed by the sentence, "There is such a thing as patriotism for race as well as for country." In the Jewish people, scattered as they are to-day, we find it a living fact. The Mahomedan peoples also afford illustrations of it. It would be rash to say that Mr. Olney's words are altogether fanciful.

The kind of patriotism expressed in these words is quite in ac-

cordance with the mind of the Catholic Church since, without any loss of national spirit, it promotes the coöperation of kindred races for their mutual advancement and for the benefit of the world at large. But the patriotism of Catholics will involve something more than a desire for the spread of material civilization. It will include the conviction that the greatest blessings come to mankind through the medium of the true Faith, and that the noblest ambition they can entertain for their race is that it may become the means of spreading that Faith in the world.

It might seem at first that a union between two great Protestant nations, the very two, moreover, which chiefly embody the idea of material progress, would augur but little good for the spiritual empire of Christ upon earth. Yet men had somewhat similar thoughts at the time of the barbarian inroads upon the Roman Empire, and they did not foresee that the forces threatening to crush the Church would eventually be enlisted in her service. Then, as now, there was a Higher Statesmanship which overruled the workings of diplomacy and made good use of the very triumphs of injustice. It is by our faith in this directing Providence that we are ready to hope great things for the future of the Church, in spite of the many hard facts which rise up to discourage us at present. Catholics are greatly in the minority amongst us, it is true. It is also true that we are living like the victims of a great Babylonian captivity, in the midst of a civilization based upon principles many of which are quite contrary to our own. We are in close contact with our non-Catholic fellow-countrymen; we live their life, think their thoughts, and our daily conversation does not greatly differ from theirs. The sources of our inner spiritual life, hidden as they are from the world, are often unperceived even by earnest seekers after the truth, and their effect upon ourselves is largely hindered by influences from without. And yet, notwithstanding the causes which combine to weaken our distinctive spirit, we are bold enough to cherish hopes and aspirations very different from those of our fellow-citizens, and we hold, as the most cherished of truths that the Church to which we belong has a mission in the future which no other church can fulfil. For us the Catholic Church is the first object of our loyalty, and we know that the loyalty we owe to our country is most ennobled by conforming it with that which we pay to the Church. The same is true of the love we owe to our race. That love will become more disinterested and more sacred when, in due measure, it becomes identified with our love of our religion. The two will grow together; and that largeness of charity, which is called for in a member of the Universal Church, will promote a corresponding largeness in the meaning of our patriotism.

A characteristic, then, of our larger patriotism will be a strong and increasingly effective desire that the united forces of the two nations to which we belong may be used in the interests of Catholic truth. Our belief in the great future of the Church in the English-speaking world is based largely upon the knowledge that she is endowed with a vitality possessed by no other religion. She has the gift of perpetual youth. Her ideas, her principles, and her whole organization, are living things; and where they have to contend with moribund ideas and decaying organizations, these latter must necessarily succumb. Now all the varieties of sectarian Christianity are off-shoots of an organism which, under the name of Protestantism, has been losing force since the day it came into existence. All the great revivals which have taken place within it, the Puritan, Methodist, High Church and Salvationist movements, have been but readjustments and economic arrangements of a totality of forces which have been spending themselves for three centuries and a half.

Although Protestantism as a system has been weakened by disintegration, there has not been a corresponding loss of faith among its individual members. And herein we have ground for hope. The English-speaking nations are not irreligious. In spite of the havoc made by free thought and the continual narrowing away of dogmatic belief among the Protestant sects, there still remains amongst our non-Catholic brethren a sincere desire to know the truth and to serve God in the way that He wishes. As long as this spirit survives there is good hope for the future of the Church, and, as soon as sincerely religious Protestants have discovered the hollowness of the system in which they have trusted, the **only** course open to them, if they still wish to preserve God's truth, **will be** to consider the claims of Catholicity. It is true that **such an** awakening to light is necessarily a matter of extremely **slow progress**, nor can we rely upon any clear sense of logic in the Protestant mind to see its own inconsistencies. Over and over again, for instance, have those who are looked upon as authorities in the Anglican Church been placed in a manifestly false position, as in their recent declaration upon the Divorce question; and not a few observers of events have foretold secessions on a large scale from the ranks of Anglicanism. The seceders, however, have on no occasion, except at the time of the Oxford movement, been as numerous as they ought to have been, and the average Protestant's sense of logic will require many a rude shock before he sees how little the law of contradictions is recognized in his Church. After all, the main strength of Protestantism is in those unlearned worshippers who believe in the Bible and hate the Pope, while they have little concern about the questions which their pastors may choose to discuss among

themselves. Dogma is a luxury of the learned, and, as long as the wealthy middle classes go to church and subscribe handsomely to mission funds and bible societies, so long will Protestantism flourish.

The grace of God, however, is stronger than human inertia, and, though falsehood may hold sway for a long time, its ascendancy cannot last for ever. Every now and again some test case will arise, a question of ritual or final authority, in which, by all the rules of logic, the Anglican Church is called upon to define its position. But this is precisely what the authorities of the Anglican Church are anxious to avoid, for they can never do so without danger of a schism. Hence, when zealous but uninstructed laymen call for a clear pronouncement on some vexed situation, the responsible authorities temporise; there is a letting off of energy in the newspapers; a few innovating clergymen are mobbed, and a few church windows broken: the zealous laymen are satisfied that they have done something, and things seem to go on much as before. But it is only seeming. The Anglican Church comes forth weaker than she was before. Some of her more earnest thinkers have become Catholics; the indifferent and the scandalized have gone to swell the ranks of infidelity, while there still remains a sufficient mass of church-goers to carry on a certain nondescript unity for an indefinite number of years longer. Meanwhile Anglicanism continues to be a diminishing quantity with a strong desire for expansion and a notable impotency in effecting it.

What we have just said merely expresses the growing opinion that the great struggle for the Church of the future will be, not with heresy, but with infidelity, and that, before the struggle has reached its sharpest and most definite phase, the main forces of Protestantism will have ranged themselves along with one or other of the two camps. "There is a good deal of truth," said Dr. Jowett, "in the people who say that we are all becoming Atheists and Papists."\* If this re-arrangement of forces takes place, it will imply a complete and intimate change in the religious character of the Teutonic nations, but especially in the English-speaking portion of them. How that change will be brought about, and what will be the consequent increase to the Catholic fold no one can, with safety, foretell. The consideration of our present numbers does not furnish any great ground for hope. In America, Catholics form about a sixth part of the population, and in England one-twentieth. Yet so great is our belief in the vitality of the Church, in the supernatural vigor which history has proved her to possess, that we are bold enough to hope for the day when she will make a reconquest of the once Protestant nations on either side of the Atlantic.

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\**Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, v. ii, p. 165.

It would be unwise, as well as un-Catholic, to build our hopes of the reconversion of our race upon any qualities or prominent virtues which we may possess. The grace of conversion is gratuitous and, if ever the Church is benefited by an infusion of new blood into her body, it is only after she has made untold efforts to purify the elements which she has assimilated. The Church can do without any particular nation, but no nation can do without the Church. She is independent of those qualities of which nations are commonly proud. A newly converted people may cause her to exhibit new phases of life, not necessary to her perfection, and may thus, in a limited sense, set its mark upon the Church. But it is in a far more complete sense that she sets her mark upon her new-born children, whether individuals or races, for she transforms their whole being and causes them to live an entirely new life. She gives supernatural for natural, golden for brazen, and, though both are necessary, yet one is of far greater value than the other. To forget this truth is to misunderstand the spirit of the Catholic Church: to remember it is a special duty for such religious-minded men as are strongly patriotic, and cherish the noble desire to see all that is best in the character of their nation brought into the union of the true Faith. There are not wanting amongst us those whose Catholic spirit is tinged with a certain national exclusiveness, and a pride of race which looks forward to the time when Latin influences and Latin traditions in the Church shall give way to a new spirit coming from the reconverted Teutonic nations. At times, even ere now, impatience has been manifested at the arrangements of Providence, and whispers have been overheard about the advisability of electing an English-speaking Pope. No one doubts that, were England and America converted, many things would be proved consistent with orthodoxy and the truest loyalty to the Church which, hitherto, have hardly been supposed to be so. The change, we may well believe, will actually come about, and it has been foretold by men whose opinions have merited our respect. But there is a danger that our desires be not in accordance with wisdom. If our love of race and country and our praiseworthy desire for their increase in all good gifts become mixed up with any contempt or dislike of other nationalities and other races, or with any sense of triumph at the thoughts of supplanting them in the favors of heaven, it is time for us to examine the character of our patriotism and purge it of its objectionable elements.

The English-speaking race as a religious people has, for the last three or four centuries, from a Catholic point of view, had little to boast of. In all the good that it has done it has received large help from the Latin or Celtic races, and it will be largely dependent on

these sources in all the good it is likely to do for some time to come. Both in England and America the Catholic Church has expanded, not so much by inward development and by the number of conversions, as by Irish immigration. Unjust government in the remoter, and blundering government in the nearer past have indeed reduced Ireland to a state of poverty and depopulation which no right mind can but bitterly deplore. But out of the evil much good has come. Ireland has suffered political shipwreck, but she has been called to something higher than political greatness. It is her mission to leaven the English-speaking world with a new spirit, the spirit of the Catholic Church, a spirit opposed to the two capital sins of materialism and pride which threaten to convert our English-speaking civilization into a new species of barbarism. In the Church and in the Army, the two professions where little gain is to be got, but where unselfish virtue is wont to show itself, Irishmen are conspicuous by their numbers. To prove this we have only to glance at the Catholic Directory, either English or American, and to read the history of Waterloo, the Crimea, the American Civil war and the recent Spanish-American war. The virtues of either profession, courage, learning and self-devotion are possessed in an eminent degree by the Irish in the New World and in the Old, and these qualities, together with their long attested faith and devotion to the Catholic Church, eminently fit them to take an important part in that religious revival for which we so ardently hope.

The present writer is an Englishman, and he deplores with the rest of English Catholics those causes, humiliating to think of, which have prevented any real union between England and Ireland, and made their so-called union a mockery; which have caused thousands of Irish families to desert the homes that were too poor to support them. But is there not reason to rejoice, on the other hand, at the spectacle of a prolific race, prolific because of its domestic virtues, and Catholic to the core, expanding amongst us as rapidly as Israel in Egypt? But unlike Israel in Egypt the Irish will make no new exodus from the English-speaking world. In America, in the English colonies and in England itself, they will remain and set their mark upon the soil. They will, in a few generations, make a union of blood, of character and of interests with the children of their adopted country; many hatreds, let us hope, will die out, and many burning political questions be forgotten; but there is one element that will not lose its original vigor, and that is the manly, active Catholicity of the Irish people. That will always remain and will become the great redeeming influence, and the one bond of union among the multitudes it shall gather beneath its sway.

There is a Greater Ireland as well as a Greater Britain; indeed,

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the former has a still wider area than the latter, for it extends as far as the English language is spoken. The extent of territory over which the Irish people have spread is a measure of the greatness of their destiny. That destiny is to act as a Catholic leaven among Protestants and Infidels. This is the worthiest object of their ambition, and, if they are faithful in their pursuit of it, the virtues and gifts of their national character will survive and impress themselves upon their English-speaking fellow citizens. It has happened, ere now, that, when two nations have amalgamated under the care of the church, their former hatreds have been forgotten, their vices have diminished, while their virtues have blended together to form a new and nobler race. In the great fusion of nationalities which is now in process in America and in the British Empire, it is upon the survival of the better qualities of every race and the disappearance of the meaner that the future of civilization depends. Now, if Irishmen are conscious of their mission among their non-Catholic fellow citizens, they will feel that the principle of *noblesse oblige* has a special application in their case. They will feel that, as Catholics, they are called upon to contribute more than they receive. If they detect in their own character any unlovely and contentious elements which weaken the influence of their more genuine and nobler qualities, they will make every sacrifice necessary to remove such obstacles. They will do nothing inconsistent with the noble ambition of leavening and converting the English-speaking world. Now, this end will be better accomplished if it is pursued in the spirit of the church, which is the spirit of union. We do not speak of political union, but of that without which political unions and alliances are useless and dangerous, the union of charity and of worthy aspirations.

The union of England and America by the ties of a permanent alliance is looked upon by many as a chimera, and not without reason. For the interests of the two nations are not identical in many important respects, and, as the world stands at present, identity of interests is the only firm bond of alliance. As long as two kindred nations find that they stand in need of mutual help, they will easily recognize the fact that "blood is thicker than water." But when there is rivalry of interests, this consideration has not been strong enough in the past even to prevent civil war. It cannot be counted on as sufficient of itself to cause an alliance. At the same time, a brotherly feeling between two nations is a thing to be fostered by every possible means, and a heavy responsibility rests with those who try to prevent it. Where there is friendship interests will contrive to run together and, as long as the friendship lasts, there can be no quarrel.

In the Middle Ages the great aim of the Church was to establish a certain political union among the Christian nations by means of their religious union under one faith. The Holy Roman Empire was an incomplete realization of this ideal. Its incompleteness was due to the fact that the semi-barbarous peoples of Europe in those days were much too warlike to be kept under control. They loved fighting for its own sake, and to thousands of them peace meant the loss of occupation. But we, who live after generations of settled political life, have not inherited such warlike tendencies. With us war is not the rule, and we look upon it as an evil to be avoided by all honorable sacrifices. If we arm, it is to maintain the peace, and no wise statesman, however preponderating may be the forces at his disposal, will enter lightly upon a war. If the nations of Europe could only trust one another, disarmament would begin to-morrow. Such being the case, the Church's chances as peacemaker of the world would be far greater now than they were in the Middle Ages, if only she had the same spiritual influence which she had then. For, whatever losses she may have sustained since the Renaissance and the Reformation, her work as peacemaker has not been undone. It has been done for her by the natural growth of civilization. It is true that the grounds of peace are terribly insecure, and no man can say how much longer the world will last without a general and calamitous war. Yet an earnest desire for peace undoubtedly exists, and this desire has been so far realised that there are multitudes among us whose lives for long years have never been altered by war or the effects of war. If then some higher motive and more stable principle than self interest shall step in upon the world to maintain the peace, there will be a greater likelihood than ever before that the dream of universal peace will be realised. The beginnings of such a state of things are visible in the growing desire for arbitration, and in our Holy Father's efforts as a mediator between nations. Cynics, no doubt, will laugh at the thought of humanity attaining such a degree of self-restraint as to give up the argument of the stronger, or to intrust its destinies to a spiritual dictator with no army to give weight to his awards. Such reasoners, however, omit from their reckonings a factor which has changed the destiny of nations in the past, and which will continue to work political miracles in the future. That factor is the ever renewing life of the Catholic church. Philosophers who write about the decadence of nations, and foretell in how long a time a particular set of political conditions, or a particular set of national vices, will bring a people to its ruin, have made a useless calculation if they have not taken into account the renovating influence of the Catholic church. This influence, with

greater or less activity, has always been in operation. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, in Europe, society seemed to be entering upon a state of decomposition, when two reformers appeared in the persons of Saints Francis and Dominic, and the age in which they lived came to be looked upon as the most glorious one through which the Church has ever passed. The age of the Council of Trent witnessed a similar renovation in the Church, and our own nineteenth century has seen marvelous instances of the operation of the Holy Ghost in bringing about revivals of Catholic fervor. But the special kind of revival which we hope for would involve a greater revolution, and the conversion of a greater number of souls than in either the thirteenth or sixteenth centuries, for it means nothing less than a series of wholesale conversions among the various English-speaking peoples. The hope is a bold one, and the means to realise it seem, from a human point of view, wholly inadequate. Yet the hope was entertained last century by Blessed Paul of the Cross in spite of still greater improbabilities than those existing at present, and our reigning Pontiff, Pope Leo XIII, seems almost sanguine in his expectations of a speedy Catholic revival among the Protestant nations.

The history of a great revival, at least in its beginnings, means the biography of a great man. That is the experience of the world in secular matters, and still more so in religious. Just as the lives of William the Conqueror and George Washington record the foundations of a strong government, and of victories over anarchy in their respective countries, so the lives of St. Benedict, St. Francis, St. Ignatius and St. Philip Neri record the inception of great reforms which have checked the ebb-tide of decadence within the Church. Such saintly reformers are, perhaps, the most striking manifestation of the Church's supernatural powers of recuperation. They are the men of the moment, sent in answer to prayers and strong yearnings, at a time when average Christians, convinced of their own helplessness, are tempted to despair of the future of the world. If the course of divine Providence is to be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the conversion of the English-speaking world will be accomplished through the instrumentality of a few chosen souls whose lives will be a standing contradiction to the mass of wrong ideas and slavery to custom which are the result of three and a half centuries of Protestantism. The present century has seen an O'Connell struggling against a tyranny which deprived Catholics of many material advantages, but what we look for in the coming century is a greater O'Connell and a greater Catholic Emancipation, to free us from a spiritual tyranny, and from all the worldliness, pride and blindness of soul which are so bound up with all our efforts after what we call progress.

We are apt to look upon progress as a thing almost confined to Christian nations. Indeed, commercial activity, inventiveness, human learning and skill in the fine arts, qualities which mark a progressive people, have always been encouraged by the Church. Even colonial expansion, apart from the crying abuses which so frequently disgrace it, has had the strongest approval of Pope after Pope, for colonization by a Catholic power means the protection and development of Catholic missions. In fact a certain material progress is necessary for spiritual progress, just as spirit has need of matter. But it is possible for matter to outgrow the spirit, for material progressiveness to cause a spiritual retrogression, and there are probably few instructed Catholics who do not perceive that this very disease is threatening terrible evils, even destruction itself, to our latter-day civilisation.

The doctrine of progress has been called the creed of the nineteenth century and, although the faith of some of its adherents has somewhat fallen off of late years, it continues to be a belief actuating the whole practical life of most modern civilized nations. It has been reduced, to the satisfaction of its adherents, to a complete philosophical system in the shape of the theory of evolution. It has been applied in a practical way to the development of nations; and the world is looking forward, not without apprehension, to the grandiose spectacle of nature working out her laws in a great struggle for existence amongst the chief Christian peoples. That nation which is best fitted to survive will come best out of the struggle, and it is the happy consciousness of the English-speaking peoples that, given a few years more in which to hurry on their rapid development, the united world will no longer be able to stand against them; that they will be able to overwhelm and entirely assimilate the united world unto themselves, so that none but English ideas and English free institutions shall exist in the world henceforth and forever. Such a glorious consummation would, of course, be brought about all the more speedily by a great fighting alliance between England and America, and when once these two nations had subdued every other for the ultimate benefit of all parties concerned, they would maintain universal peace not only over the rest of the world, but also among themselves.

Such, in all seriousness, seems to be the dream of not a few Pan-Anglo-Americans, but Catholics, who are patriotic without being blind to their country's real good, cannot but see that, unless a great, and indeed a miraculous change is wrought upon us, an Anglo-American ascendancy would do more harm than good. For how can any Catholic suppose that a race of men which, more than any other since the Reformation, has been under the influence of

Protestant ideas, which moreover has been brought by Protestantism dangerously near the brink of infidelity, is in a fit condition to become the predominant people of the world? Yet no one can deny that our ascendancy is growing day by day. A large portion of the world's surface is occupied by English colonies, many of which, such as Canada, Australia and South Africa, are on their way to becoming great nations. America, to use the language of the day, is becoming conscious of her destiny as a great world-power, and throughout the whole of the English world there is a feeling of a common mission and of a consequent necessity of mutual sacrifice and union. This desire for union is a good thing in itself, quite apart from the motives which inspire it, and it will pave the way for a greater freedom of the Church's action amongst us. But the fact still remains that it has arisen without the Church having much to say in the matter, and Protestants are fond of asserting that we are a great people precisely because the Catholic Church has not been allowed to interfere with our progress. We, however, as Catholics, are inclined to see in this extraordinary expansion of the English nations a closer connection with the destinies of the Church than non-Catholics dream of. It may be that, if the Church is not the efficient cause of our rapid increase and of our temporal greatness, she is, in the designs of Providence, the final cause. Perhaps it is ordained that, just as the Pagan Roman empire prepared the way for the rapid spread of early Christianity, so the great material empire of trade and colonization, built up by English and American enterprise, may become, under the direction of Heaven, the means of spreading Catholic truth over the greater part of the world.

If this be so, it is important that English and American Catholics should become conscious of the common mission of their respective nations, and especially of their own mission as Catholics among their fellow countrymen. It is the consciousness of a great mission which often, ere now, has made that mission a reality, and this is especially the case in work of the spiritual order, for this consciousness produces a strong and confident desire for a great common spiritual good, which desire, if it be not already the selfsame un-failing form of prayer which God cannot resist, is, at least, but one step removed from it. But if our consciousness is to be such as to make us enthusiasts believing all things, hoping all things, and praying for what we know to be the highest good for the country which we love, it must not, at the same time, make us blind to the general failings of our time and our own shortcomings in particular. And indeed, it must be confessed, that these failings are so great, that for the fulfilment of our hopes in the future we must mainly rely upon miracles of grace.

The Catholic Church is the only force upon earth which can save England and America from ruin and from the results of that very energy and spirit of enterprise of which we are so proud. It will help us little to have opened up unknown continents, to have brought distant shores together with our swift steamers and to have united half the world by the bond of a common tongue, if we have done all this for no other end than to gratify our own selfishness and pander to our own lusts. Our accumulated wealth will be an unmixed evil if its only result is to raise the standard of bodily comfort, and to multiply our wants in a greater degree than it provides the means of satisfying them. Our unions and imperial federations will not save us from civil war and from internal decadence if our laws relax the bonds of virtuous family life and refuse to recognize the sacredness of the union between husband and wife. If we are hated for our pride and feared for our tyranny, nations will band together against us and subject races will chafe beneath our rule. Yet all these evils are threatening to overwhelm us, and there are many non-Catholics who perceive that, if religion can save society, the only religion that can do so is that of the Catholic Church.

This glance at our vicious tendencies is not a mere pessimist view of the situation; indeed, if the present writer did not entertain great hopes of the future, he would not be offering these pages to Catholic readers. It is the characteristic of a great nation to survive great internal evils, just as it is the mark of a man of strong character to know and master his own defects. It will be a glorious day for the English-speaking peoples when they have recognized and overcome their national vices of materialism and pride. They may then without fear take the lead among nations, for, in their leading, they will find willing followers. We sometimes hear of a prophecy that England will some day be converted, but that the conversion will not take place until she has been humiliated. Such a condition of conversion is a bitter one for a true Catholic who loves his country, though he would not hesitate to set her spiritual welfare before any degree of merely temporal prosperity. But, after all, the condition contained in the prophecy sounds almost like a truism, and it must apply to every nation which bows beneath the yoke of Christ, America among the rest. The Romans were humbled before they became Christians, but their humiliation came from no foreign enemy. It was the self-humiliation of individuals beneath the hand of God, and, if it had been more complete and more permanent, civilization would not have known the long interruption caused by the barbarian inroads. Of all kinds of humiliation self-humiliation is the most spiritually profitable besides being,

in the long run, the easiest for flesh and blood. Yet it will not readily be accepted by the English peoples so long as they make industrial pre-eminence their one aim and their glory. For the spirit of materialism will blind them to their own shortcomings and to the duties which they owe to God and to mankind. Now history has proved that no other religion than that of the Catholic Church has ever kept these duties before the minds of princes and peoples, or even in its own mind made any clear distinction between the spiritual and the temporal goods at which a nation should aim. Protestantism has confused the two to a surprising degree, and in England the confusion is admirably illustrated by the national monuments to be found in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Most of the heroes there commemorated are not such as have bettered humanity by an extraordinary example of the Christian virtues, but statesmen, poets, scientists, writers and soldiers, whose work for their country was, for the most part, far from disinterested. If success in life is religion, then, truly, does the spirit of religion breathe in St. Paul's and in the Protestant additions to Westminster Abbey.

Modern Protestants often boast of making light of dogma and of fine theological distinctions. A result of this large-minded comprehensiveness is that they have, to a perilous extent, lost sight of the distinction between nature and grace, between success and right intention, between the service of God and the service of one's country. With them the theological virtues are often either mistaught as in the case of faith, or almost ignored as in that of the true nature of divine charity. They have little or no provision for the cure of hidden sins, and certain forms of pride are looked upon by them as legitimate self-respect.

Our pride of race is likely to work us great mischief in the near future, unless it is largely tempered by Christian charity and humility. In the United States, and still more in the British Empire, a large part of our fellow-citizens are of the colored races. The color problem is causing serious apprehension in America and, ere long, it may be a cause of even greater difficulty in several of the English colonies. The difficulty was unknown in ancient times, for the two great conquering peoples of Greece and Rome had to deal with subjects who, individually, were their equals, and with whom they had no difficulty in amalgamating. But, in our days, the white and black races are brought into closer contact than ever before, and the former show the utmost repugnance to settling down on an equal and friendly footing with men who are, in many respects, their inferiors. A white man in the States will refuse to travel in the same railway car with a negro, and a colonist in South

Africa will have the same dislike of associating with a Kaffir. A black is welcome to the privilege of fighting for the country of his adoption or of earning his bread by his labor, so long, at least, as he does not, by his competition, arouse the jealousy of his white fellow-laborers. But, if he aspires to social equality with the predominant race, he soon finds himself regarded as a being of an inferior order. The question is further complicated by the fact that the members of a race which has been savage for centuries often show themselves manifestly unfit to enter upon the conditions of modern civilisation. Without being previously christianised they are placed in a set of circumstances requiring a circumspection and self-control which they have never been taught to exercise, and amid temptations which they are unaccustomed to resist. Hence they frequently display a peculiar cunning, treachery and depravity which makes them still more odious to those among whom they mingle, but which a suitable previous training would either mitigate or entirely root out. As it is, they have no other training than that of living the external life of modern civilisation and of joining in the rush of modern progress. Who knows in how many cases their ultimate fate will resemble that of the Red Indians and of the aboriginal Australians, who have gradually dwindled away to their present miserable remnant? Such a settlement of the question would be quite in accordance with the approved teaching of evolution, but entirely contrary to the charity of the Gospel. However, it is not at all likely that the greater part of the colored races will dwindle away as some of them have done. They are numerous enough and warlike enough to hold their own. Their power for mischief will always be great if they are not treated as friends, for many of them are already trained soldiers in our own armies and with modern weapons, they are in no way inferior, individually, to their civilised comrades. Some day, perhaps, they will learn to know their power and the strength that comes of organisation, and then the selfishness and greed of civilised nations will cause their science and their inventions to be used for their own destruction. At best, when we consider the natural antipathies between the white and the black races and the vast latent power of the latter, it seems extremely unlikely that the two will live together without coming into a long and deadly conflict, unless the unitive influence of the Catholic Church exerts itself to a greater degree than it has ever done before. The church did a great work in Europe after the barbarian inroads when, by means of a common religion, she brought about the amalgamation, in so many countries, of conqueror and conquered. But a harder task lies before her now that she is called upon to temper some of the most potent tendencies



of modern civilisation, in order to produce fraternity and peace between races of different color and strong mutual antipathies, most of whom, moreover, have yet to be gathered within her fold.

It is within the English-speaking dominions more than in any other part of the globe that the color question and many other social problems will call for solution. Whether they are to be solved for good or for evil, so as to bring peace and true progress, or dissolution and decadence, will depend upon the rapidity with which the Catholic Church is able to spread amongst us. In order that it may spread with rapidity we must make it clear to our fellow countrymen that the Catholic system is the only one capable of adequately providing against the evils with which society is threatened. In other words the Catholic Church must be much better known, and known for the conspicuous practice among her children of those virtues which are opposed to our national vices. Now race hatred between black and white, a result of our national pride, is a mischievous fault which Catholics should be the last to tolerate among themselves.

Materialism, a vice no less dangerous to ourselves than our pride of race, and a special characteristic of the English-speaking nations, is partly the cause and partly the result of our extraordinary commercial prosperity. It is connected with qualities of which any nation possessing them has good reason to be proud; for straightforwardness, energy and self-reliance, if they are the virtues which build up an empire, are also, after the proper transformation, a suitable ground-work for Christian heroism. They are signs that our race, as a whole, has not fallen into decadence; that, though decomposition may have set in in places, the evil is still curable, and that the body itself is sound. A decadent race, moreover, will lose its patriotism, as was the case with the Athenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, but patriotism has not grown cold among the English peoples. Though England and America, from the necessities of their commerce, are peace-loving nations, yet no one has any doubt that their national spirit is a force which may be counted on in times of necessity. Now, the Church has always had freer scope for her action in a vigorous than in a decadent nation, and she knows how to make use of energies which are being misdirected. In her eyes energies that run wild are better than no energy at all.

A great evil of the Middle Ages was the existence of a vast amount of warlike energy not kept under control. The Church found a useful outlet for it in the crusades, and satisfied the fighting instincts of her children without danger to their souls. A threatening evil of another order in our own day, a result of materialism, is the accumulation of great wealth into a few private hands. The

existence in a state of a number of millionaires with little or no sense of responsibility for their riches, is destructive of real wealth, and is a cause of great social discontent. Even when he has the good will to use his wealth for the common good, a millionaire often has not the ability to spend his riches judiciously, and he finds that the results of his donations bear no proportion to the amount he has expended. Everyone knows what vast sums of money have been spent upon bible-societies and Protestant missions, and with what little result, while money bequeathed to the poor is sometimes administered so indiscreetly as actually to promote pauperism. The active orders of charity and the various social organizations which are springing up amongst Catholics in various countries show that the Church knows how to cope with the evils of the time, and to provide a security that the alms of her wealthier children are not wasted. Her active charity promises to become more and more developed in the future, and the coming age may see a crusade of wealth, bearing analogies to the crusades of arms in the Middle Ages. If this be so the dollars and pounds sterling in which the English peoples are wont to trust will be made to acknowledge a power in this world higher than themselves, and, instead of being the cause of speculation, economic depressions, over-strained activity and forgetfulness of God, they will become the means of salvation to their possessors and a support to the social and missionary work of the Church.

We thus see that our qualities of energy and industry are matters for congratulation only in so far as they help us to become better Catholics and to form a society more and more in accordance with the ideas of the Church.

We will here consider another characteristic of the English-speaking world, which we claim as our own in an especial manner and of which we are prouder, perhaps, than of any other quality. This is our love of liberty. Other nations talk of liberty, and make all kinds of efforts to attain it, but we have it, and it has been the possession of our sires and ourselves for quite a respectable number of years. We enjoy free institutions and we pity other nations whose efforts after a similar freedom only result in shifting tyranny from one side of the state to another. We know that liberty is an enviable possession for individuals, and that the Church absolutely requires it for her proper development. Liberty has been commended by many writers. St. Paul\* says that all Christians are called to it. It was much eulogised by the authors of the French Revolution as well as by Goethe, the chief apostle of the modern

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\*Gal. v. 13.

spirit. With Saint Paul liberty implied room for the development of the supernatural man, with Goethe room for development of the natural man. St. Paul taught that Christian liberty is not inconsistent with actual slavery, though it is true that the Church has always considered that corporal liberty is the more fitting accompaniment of spiritual: modern apostles of liberty, on the contrary, dislike slavery and despotism, not so much because they are likely to hinder spiritual good, but because they stand in the way of merely temporal advantages. In short, liberty as understood by the Church, and liberty as understood by modern secularists, though they have some things in common, are yet essentially different, and inconsistent with one another. The one is freedom to do what is right, the other is freedom to do what you like. They are essentially different because they depend upon essentially different principles. The principle of one is the authority of God, that of the other is the supposed independence of man. Christian liberty assumes that this world is a preparation for the next, secular liberty makes this world its paradise. Hence Catholics and secularists both desire political liberty, but for different reasons. Catholics desire it, primarily, that they may not be interfered with in the practice of their religion, and only secondarily because of its temporal advantages: secularists desire it solely because of its temporal advantages. With secularists tyrannicide is consistently regarded as a virtue, because despotism stands in the way of their *summum bonum*, the happiness that comes of freedom from restraint. With Catholics, on the contrary, tyrannicide is a crime, because the evil of tyranny is *per accidens* and does not necessarily stand in the way of their *summum bonum*, which is the possession of God. As a matter of fact, however, the Church has, over and over again, stood up as the opponent of despotism and the champion of political liberty, not because she objected on principle to despotism in itself, but because, on the occasions on which she interfered, it happened to stand in the way of the spiritual or even the temporal good of her children. The early Norman kings of England, and Henry II, the first of the Plantagenets, were strong despotic rulers at a time when strong despotic rule was precisely the form of government required by the country. These kings, who had saved England from anarchy, were often in conflict with the Church upon one question or another, and, but for the Church, their government would gradually have degenerated into pure tyranny. As it was, the Church was victorious in the struggle, and was the chief power that secured civic liberty from their successors.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the feudal system prevailed in Italy as in the rest of Europe. The Church had never

loved the feudal system, though she had, to some extent, to conform to it and change her organisation to suit it. Bishops were but too often feudal lords first and shepherds of their flocks afterwards: the idea of evangelical poverty had almost died out, and the independence of the Church in dealing with her clergy was largely curtailed. It was by a stroke of pious strategy that this state of things was suddenly put an end to in Italy. In 1227 Pope Gregory IX ascended the papal throne. He had formerly, as Cardinal Ugolino, been protector of the Franciscan order, and it is known that he helped St. Francis to draw up the rules of the Third Order. The rule enacted, among other things, that no tertiary was to bind himself by oath, or to bear arms except in defence of his country or of religion. These two enactments, simple as they may appear, were destructive of the feudal system upon which society was organized. For, according to that system, the vassal bound himself by oath to follow the fortunes of his lord in the field, and to take part in all his private wars. The feudal lords of the time, besides maintaining continual warfare among themselves, were unjust and tyrannical in their treatment of their vassals, and these latter were eager to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Third Order of St. Francis. They accordingly had themselves enrolled and, in virtue of obedience to their rule, refused to take the oath of allegiance to their feudal lords or to bear arms in their service. In their resistance they had the strength of numbers and were backed by the powerful moral support of Gregory IX, who declared that the members of the Third Order were truly religious, and were not to be interfered with in their devout way of life. Eventually they won the day. Feudalism in Italy received its death-blow, and men used to say that the world was transformed into a monastery.

It is from such historical examples that we gather what the Church understands by liberty, and how far she prizes it as a condition of the life of her children. It will now be well to consider how far those Catholics who live under free institutions are at an advantage as compared with those who do not; for our conclusions may throw some light upon the question to what extent the Catholic spirit, which is ever the same in essentials, would be modified as regards accidentals in its acceptance by the English-speaking nations. Now the character of a people is modified by its institutions, and that character in turn reacts upon the people's religious spirit. Thus the people of England under the Tudor dynasty were accustomed to pay blind obedience to their sovereigns, and this spirit of undue submissiveness cost them their faith. The descendants of those who held firm to their religion, living under a govern-

ment which was for them a tyranny, gradually dwindled away to a small remnant, and it was only after greater freedom was secured for English Catholics by the Emancipation, that they received a fresh addition to their numbers at the time of the Oxford movement.

Here we have an instance in which a despotic government so acted upon the character of the English people as to unfit them to be good Catholics. Of course there were other causes at work besides a mere form of government, but there can be no doubt that the habit which the nation had acquired of regarding the will of its sovereign as law, was the immediate cause of its falling into schism and heresy. The contrary effects of political freedom are seen in the history of the thirteenth century. That century, often regarded as the Golden Age of the Church, was also an age of great political freedom. In England it saw the rise of the parliament which still lives on, the same in substance though naturally changed in character, and which has been transplanted in another form to America. The thirteenth century was also the age of St. Louis when France, then the greatest nation in the world, enjoyed a greater measure of civic freedom than she has ever had since. Lastly, we have already seen how, in the same century, the emancipation of society in Italy was effected by the Third Order of St. Francis. The age of the despots had not yet come, and the Italian republics were enjoying that political liberty which had been secured for them by the Popes.

In this present century the Catholic Church has derived undoubted advantages from the freedom of English-speaking institutions. Nowhere, we often hear it said, has the Church greater freedom than in America, and English Catholics have hardly more to complain of on the score of civil disabilities than their American brethren. Yet the position of Catholics in both countries is not without its drawbacks. In either country, for instance, it is no uncommon thing for a young man to find that his religion is an obstacle from a commercial or a social point of view, or to be taxed more heavily than his fellow citizens for the education of his children. It is true that such conditions are, or should be, a wholesome test of a Catholic's steadfastness in his principles, but they are hardly a proof of unrestricted liberty. The wording of the law may make for liberty, but the spirit of those who live under the law may have its thin veins of tyranny which, on occasions, will develop into something more unmistakable. Free institutions are like free trade, everybody gains something from them, but the chief gain goes to the predominant power. Our countrymen, at present, do not think they have much to fear from Catholics, who are greatly in the minority, but it may happen, and probably will happen, in the future, that when England and America become more Catholic,

non-Catholics will become more anti-Catholic, and the freedom of our national institutions may be restricted for our especial disadvantage, after the example set by the liberators of the French Revolution. In short, our institutions, if their freedom is to be a living and permanent thing, stand in need of the spirit of the Catholic Church; for the Church is the only body upon earth which takes a true and comprehensive view of the whole of human life, and knows how to adjust its various relations. With her, liberty exists for the sake of the law, and the law maintains liberty as its best safeguard; with secularists the law exists for the sake of liberty, and liberty for self. Now as long as the law is based upon mere human expediency, and not upon the divine law as taught by the Church, it stands upon shifting ground, and liberty is not secure. It is because of their persuasion of this truth that English-speaking Catholics, whose love for their country is wedded to their love for their religion, are looking forward to a fuller harmony between Church and state, between the spirit of their Church and the spirit of their nation, so that the latter, in the height of its human vigor, before the downward current of degeneration begins to set in, may be purified and preserved by contact with the former. Wherever there is liberty there are always tendencies at work to convert it into license. Examples of such tendencies are not wanting in our own times, though we still maintain our character for being a law-abiding people, but our virtues, being human, must perish like all other human things, unless they are united to the supernatural virtues of the Catholic Church. The Church is necessary to a democracy. She keeps alive the virtue of reverence for authority which a democracy, left to itself, is only too apt to lose, and when reverence is gone, the qualities that evoke it are apt to go too.

Our spirit of liberty, as it exists to-day, is composed of elements many of which are entirely admirable and worthy of forming a part in the spirit of the Catholic Church. For our liberty is founded upon self-restraint and obedience to law. There is a healthy conservatism amongst us which prevents us from giving up what is best among the good things which our fathers have bequeathed to us. It is true that democracy is gaining ground amongst us, and that we have in our communities men who are advocates of the very worst forms of democracy. It is true that we have, at times, been ruled, for a moment, by the shouts of noisy minorities, but, in the end, the better judgment and the truly representative opinion of our people has prevailed. The evil tendencies of our liberty are strong, but its better tendencies are stronger still, and in them lies the safety of our country. But, ere long, without the advent of a great moral revolution, this aspect of affairs will change for the

worse. The good will be overbalanced by the evil. For all the good that is in us beyond what we possess in common with the lowest barbarians, comes to us indirectly from the Catholic Church. Three and a half centuries ago the English-speaking people, then identical with the English nation, cut itself away from the Church. During these three centuries and a half there have been amongst us Puritans, Quakers, Methodists and Anglicans with variously distorted versions of Catholic truth. It is to them that our race as a whole, during the time of its most rapid development, has owed what it possesses of revealed truth and moral observance. But the deposit of revealed truth outside the Catholic minority is now a rapidly diminishing quantity, and it must follow that, when truth has disappeared, the practice of the moral virtues will disappear too. Our liberty will then become license, and our democracy, though still capable of great things, will end in political decomposition and anarchy. This must be so from the nature of things and history has proved it. There is no force but the Catholic Church which can stem the current of degeneration.

The ultimate victory of the Catholic Church will be hastened on by a renovation of spirit among her own children. Catholics will be a great determining power for good if they are thoroughly Catholic and thoroughly patriotic. They should be patriotic with that larger patriotism which goes beyond its own nation, and the absence of which hinders the peaceful and unitive mission of the Church. Their patriotism too should be enlightened and its enlightenment should come from the one divinely appointed source of all true enlightenment.

There can be no doubt that the Catholic spirit as it exists amongst us has had much to suffer from the more unspiritual influences of our surroundings. Our faith in the truths of religion is tintured to some extent with the prevailing faith in the power of dollars and pounds sterling. Our unwholesome business activity, too, inclines us to forget the force that lives in the life of contemplation and union with God. Our age is one of newly discovered forces: we are intoxicated with the thought of the power which we suppose them to confer upon us, and we glory in the thought that we have seen wonders of which our forefathers never dreamed. Yet the world has not changed very much as regards matters of vital consequence. The balance of good and evil has not been materially altered for the better. If God has made use of the Atlantic cables to spread his truth, the devil too has found in them a ready means for the more rapid diffusion of his falsehoods, and it would be hard to prove that the latter has not been the more paying customer. The coming age, if the Church is destined to conquer our English-speaking

materialism, will see current amongst us an entirely new set of ideas as regards our relations to the blind forces which we have made to be our slaves. The twentieth century, too, will be an age of newly discovered forces such as will make us think little of those which astonish us now. These forces will be in the moral order. There will be a new light, brighter than our electricity: a new motive power more wonderful than all the inventions of our engineers. There will be a new love centering in the Cross and ten times stronger than that which forms the burden of our modern fiction. Men will be organized in great combinations for objects which the world at present does not take into account, but which will be held as of greater consequence than all the blessings which philanthropists or socialists yearn for in their dreams. The apostleship of science will yield its right place to the apostleship of prayer.

There is a notion not uncommon among Catholics that the day of the contemplative religious orders is all but past, and that in the future the great servants of God will be men and women leading an active life. Now the active life recommends itself to Englishmen and Americans much more than the contemplative, and the members of the working orders among us far outnumber those who live in retirement from the world. Yet it may well be doubted if this state of things is destined to continue. At present it is a necessity of the times, for so great is the disproportion between the number of pastors in the Church and the work they have to do, that a solitary who serves God in retirement almost makes us imagine that, while he is increasing his own measure of salvation, he is allowing many other souls to perish. We know moreover that in times of necessity the Church has called her great contemplatives from their solitudes to save mankind from impending evils. Indeed it is the common doctrine of theologians that, if the contemplative light be higher than the active, the combination of the two, as exhibited in such saints as Bernard, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius and numerous others, is in the highest grade of all. Yet it is none the less true than the purely contemplative life has been sought after by many of the most active of the missionary saints, and it was only at the call of obedience that they consented to leave their solitudes. The union of the two lives, moreover, is exceedingly difficult to practice in its perfection. To be in the world and not of the world requires the kind of self-restraint which must be practised by one who fasts while sitting at a banquet. Hence it is a common thing for such as aim at the perfect life to shrink from the dangers that attend active work for souls unless they are well persuaded that God wills otherwise.

It is always a good thing for the world to have cloistered in the  
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midst of it a number of men who despise the world. Such was the belief of the various corporations of the Spanish cities which gave their support to the new foundations of St. Teresa, and such has always been the belief of those nations in which the true Catholic spirit has flourished. When Catholic princes founded monasteries for Carthusians and Cistercians, they recognised a principle of division of labor between layman and monk, between those who work in the world and those who pray apart from it; and they held that the contamination of the world would be counterbalanced by the trebly guarded purity of the cloister. Now, worldliness is not less a danger in our own day than it was in the Middle Ages, and where there exists a model Catholic community the same division of duties will be necessary, for it is always the desire of the Church that the various ideals contained in the Gospel should all of them be realised by some at least of the faithful. One of these ideals is that of the contemplative Mary who chose "the better part." It follows then that in the great Catholic Revival, which we look for in the English-speaking world, we may expect to see a renewal of that same spirit which led the anchorites of old to seek the solitude of the Thebaid and which still continues to exist among the Trappists, the Carthusians and other enclosed orders.

It may happen in the future that there will be other causes at work to make necessary an increase of the religious and contemplative life in the Church. If the Church is destined to have a wide and effective influence as peacemaker, it will follow that population must tend to increase at a far greater rate than it does at present. Hitherto pestilence, famine and war have been the great remedies against over-population in the world. The action of the two first of these scourges has been to some extent limited by modern science and modern facilities of transport, and there is reason to believe that the danger of them will continue to grow less and less. If then the Church, by securing permanent peace in the world, enables mankind to battle still more successfully against starvation and disease, the population of the world will grow more quickly than its means of support, and the only check to its increase will be the practice of evangelical celibacy by vast multitudes of men and women. Whether this remedy will ever actually become a necessity no one can venture to predict, but, supposing the complete ascendancy of the Church in the world, it is hard to see how it could be avoided. At all events it is interesting to note that the Catholic Church has against over-population a remedy which is not a scourge but a blessing, and that the Protestant system has made no such provision.

An objection will naturally suggest itself to some of our readers

that this kind of speculation as to the remote future is extremely unpractical and that Catholics will use their philosophy to a better purpose if they bring it to bear upon the more immediate wants of their fellow men. At the same time it must be remembered that secularist thinkers are making their own forecasts as to the probable evolution of man as a social and political being, and our labour will not be wasted if it can be shown that our generalisations have a greater measure of reasonableness than theirs. Much too will have been done if we bring well home to ourselves, and are able to convince others, that the supernatural idea is of paramount importance even for the material well-being of mankind. We have to show the world that, if human nature is left to itself, it will fall under the law of devolution rather than of evolution; for, unless it receives force from without, it has not sufficient strength to withstand the inroads of decay. Just as a soul, after losing sanctifying grace, cannot reinstate itself by its own unaided efforts, so a nation, once fallen, cannot lift itself up, unless by help from without. There may be in it the semblance of life, and men may think its actions worth recording; there may be excitement and feverish energy, but of true life there is none. Its history is no more worthy of record than a dance of dead leaves. It is only by an influx of supernatural life that it can be saved from this degradation, and it is only from the Catholic Church that this influx can be received. The Church, in virtue of its supernatural powers, is the constituted channel of new potencies and of new force from without to elevate the life of nations from the abyss towards which they are continually tending.

It is with such great principles as these in our mind that we must regulate and super-naturalise our patriotism. If we form great and worthy hopes of the future of our race, we shall, by a natural consequence, pray earnestly that these hopes may be realised, and all Catholics believe with Pope Leo XIII, that united prayer is the greatest force which men have at their disposal. The hopes of our fellow countrymen, in which we heartily join, are that the whole English-speaking world, the subjects of "King Shakespeare," will unite together as the great promoting influence for peace and civilisation. We, as Catholics, further hope and pray that our race may receive its necessary purgation by self-humiliation rather than from the fiery scourges of God, and that we may become a mighty power for spreading the true faith among mankind.

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## RECENT SOLUTIONS OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEMS.

[Die Logia Jesu nach dem Griechischen und Hebräischen Text wiederhergestellt. Ein versuch von D. Alfred Resch. Leipzig, 1898.

Die Synoptischen Parallelen und ein alter versuch ilner Entiätselung mit neuer Begründung von. Lic. theol. Karl veit, Gutersloh, 1897.]

**I**F two biographies agree not only in the items of their history but also in their plan and verbal expression, we reasonably infer that either one depends on the other, or that both depend on a common third source. Now it so happens that our first three gospels which are, after all, true biographies of Jesus Christ, agree not only in their choice of material, but also to a great extent in their general arrangement of detail and their very words and clauses. Every Bible reader knows that the corresponding sections of these three gospels can be harmonized in parallel columns, and that on account of this striking parallelism the name "synoptic gospels" and "synoptists" has been given to the narratives and their authors respectively. This agreement of the synoptic gospels is found not only in the main divisions of the life of Christ, but extends also to about a hundred minor sections, at least fifty of which are common to the three, thus constituting the so-called triple tradition, while about thirty are common to the first and the third gospel, and the remaining twenty belong either to both the second and first gospel, or to the second and the third, furnishing us in any case with the double tradition. The wonderful harmony between the gospels may be described more strikingly still by drawing attention to the fact that only one-third of the number of verses from the total of what is peculiar property of the three synoptists, while a full sixth of the number of verses is common to all. The history of the paralytic as told in Mt. ix. 1-8, Mk. ii. 1-12, and Lk. v. 17-26 may serve to illustrate the agreement of the synoptists in language and expression. Compare, e. g., the sixth verse of Matthew with the tenth of Mark and the twenty-fourth of Luke: "But that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then said he to the man sick of the palsy), Arise, etc." (Mt.); "but that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say to thee, etc." (Mk.); but that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say to thee, etc." (Lk.). Here we have an agreement of

the three synoptic gospels not only as to matter but also in words and in the very irregularity of construction.

On the other hand, we find a notable discrepancy between the first three gospels, whether we regard the choice of material or its arrangement or again its verbal expression. The second gospel lacks the history of the infancy, while the series of its events given in the first gospel differs materially from that contained in the third; the history of the resurrection is told in all the synoptic gospels, but the variations are so striking that adverse critics find irreconcilable contradictions in them; the history of the call of Peter as contained in Lk. v. 1-11 has a quite different setting from the account of the same event in Mt. iv. 18-22 and Mk. i. 16-20. Even where parallel passages agree almost verbatim, stray omissions or additions occur in one or another of the three gospels without any assignable law; the first gospel, e.g., omits in the history of the paralytic the detail that the sick man was lowered through an opening in the roof. What has been said illustrates rather than proves the discrepancy of the synoptic gospels; but it sufficiently shows that their relationship cannot be of the first degree in either the direct or the collateral line. If we were to find only agreement as to matter and form of expression in the three synoptic gospels, they might be related one to another as parent to child or as brother to sister; but the mutual disagreement is so pronounced that the three gospels can at best be but cousins. The knot that must be united happens to be a tangle of mutual agreement and disagreement; the problem to be solved appears to have more unknown quantities than independent equations, so that the method of addition and subtraction has thus far proved as ineffectual a solvent as that of substitution and comparison. In order to explain the origin of the synoptic gospels, some writers have had recourse to the theory of mutual dependence, deriving one gospel from the other; others have followed the theory of pre-canonical gospels, explaining the agreements and disagreements of the synoptists by their use of pre-existing documents; others again have adhered to the combination theory, admitting the use of both pre-canonical documents on the part of the synoptists, and of the earlier gospels on the part of the later evangelists. All possible suppositions have been made in each of these three theories, so that the literature of this subject forms a long chapter in the book of human errors. Not to weary the reader with a list of names and an account of failures, we merely state what Holtzmann<sup>1</sup> calls the results of the investigation: first, Matthew must have collected the words of our Lord, the "Logia Jesu;" then, Mark wrote a short

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<sup>1</sup> Handcomm. z. N. T., Einl., iii, 5.

account of the deeds of our Lord, following the preaching of Peter; thirdly, a writer compiled Matthew's Logia with Mark's narrative in a work that is now our first gospel; fourthly, we may suppose that Mark's work underwent a revision, and the improved and perhaps enlarged edition of Mark is our second gospel; lastly, Luke composed his gospel, making use of the entire pre-existing literature on the subject.

The foregoing results are dated 1892; in 1898 we find them somewhat modified by Resch,<sup>1</sup> though he professes to agree with Holtzmann in most cases.<sup>2</sup> The author of the Logia is firmly convinced of the truth of three theses: first, the gospel of Mark is older than that of Matthew and Luke; secondly, Matthew and Luke made use of Mark on the one hand and of a work called "Logia of Jesus" on the other; thirdly, even Mark utilized the Logia of Jesus. Resch has not been content with defending his opinion in the abstract as it were, leaving his reader uncertain as to the character of the Logia; but he has actually made the attempt to reconstruct the lost work from other books in which he believes, to discover the matter and form of their source; furthermore, convinced that the original Logia were written in Hebrew, the learned writer has given us the reconstructed text of the Logia in both Greek and Hebrew, arranged in parallel columns. Before we investigate whether Resch has really succeeded in reconstructing the true sources of the synoptic gospels, in other words, whether he has solved the synoptic problem, we must premise a study of the writer's latest production.

It cannot be denied that owing to his previous studies<sup>3</sup> Resch is eminently fitted to attempt a reconstruction of the Logia, if the work in itself does not present insurmountable difficulties. The plan of the new work is so clear and simple, that the book forces the attention, and almost the affection of the student, at first sight. Thirty-two pages are devoted to a practical introduction and the table of contents; two hundred and twenty pages form the body of the work, while the remaining eighty-two pages are filled with various indices. The body of the work contains first the Greek and Hebrew text of the Logia, and secondly, two classes of running footnotes, the first of which give the sources from which each particular part of the Logia has been reconstructed, while the notes of the second class indicate the variations of text that deserve special attention. Special signs mark the texts whose original position, or verbal expression, or material presence in the Logia, the

<sup>1</sup> Logia Jesu, p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Agrapha, Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente*, 1889; *Aussercanonische Paraleltexzte zu den Evangelien*, 1893-1897.

author considers doubtful, while others render visible those parts that have been taken from extra-canonical sources, or that are represented by synonymous variants. Reference is rendered very easy by the division of the text into chapters, and of the chapters into verses, so that the Bible reader need not change his usual manner of citing.

Resch defends the view that Matthew is the author of the *Logia*.<sup>1</sup> In support of his thesis, he appeals first to an array of patristic authority,<sup>2</sup> for the fact that Matthew wrote a gospel (the *Logia* according to Papias) in Hebrew, and combines with it a so-called certain result of modern gospel-study that our first gospel must have been written in Greek; hence the identification of Matthew's Hebrew gospel with the pre-canonical *Logia*. In the second place, Resch is of opinion that the true original position of the catalogue of apostles is at the end of the *Logia*,<sup>3</sup> and that the reconstructed catalogue of apostles belonging to the Gospel of the Hebrews has all the marks of true genuineness; now, this reconstructed catalogue ends with the words "and me, Matthew," so that the author has unconsciously signed his own works. Besides, there appears to be visible in the *Logia* a certain predilection on the part of the author for publicans and their state of life. Finally, if the identity of Matthew and Nathanael be not merely nominal, Matthew-Nathanael may be supposed to have been among those publicans that are said to have come to the Baptist,<sup>4</sup> and thus the introduction of the *Logia*<sup>5</sup> relating as it does the ministry of the Baptist, is a personal reminiscence of the author.

If the reader will allow us to express our opinion on Resch's proofs for his thesis concerning the authorship of the *Logia*, we must state that not one of the preceding arguments exceeds the value of a conjecture, while the first assumes a false premise. We believe it to be false that the Hebrew origin of our first gospel has been disproved or can be disproved; on the contrary, we consider it as fairly certain that our first gospel was originally written in Hebrew,<sup>6</sup> so that we are in full accord with the series of Fathers alleged, but curtailed, by Resch. As to the first minor premise, even Resch himself cannot assign to the end of this reconstructed *Logia*, being in its own turn a mere reconstruction, more than the value of a mere conjecture. Again, if there be signs of a predilection for publicans and the state of publicans in the *Logia*, they are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Logia*, pp. vi, ff. <sup>2</sup> Pantaenus, Irenaeus, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Theophylactus, Euthymius, etc. <sup>3</sup> The three possible positions are *Logia*, vi, 4, 5 in accord with Mk. iii, 16-19, Lk. vi, 14-16; *Logia* ix, 27 in accord with Mt. x, 2-4; and lastly *Logia* xxxi, 59 in accord with Acts i, 13. <sup>4</sup> *Logia*, i, 13. <sup>5</sup> i, 1-iii, 3. <sup>6</sup> Cf. Maas, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, B. Herder, St. Louis, 1898, pp. xxix-xxxiii.

there because Resch himself has thought it fit to admit them; but they are present in our first gospel without any reconstruction on the part of Dr. Resch. Thirdly, as Resch himself represents the identity of Matthew with Nathanael by way of a conjecture that has not yet been confirmed, we need not show the inconclusiveness of his last argument. We may therefore dismiss the thesis that Matthew is the author of the pre-canonical Logia, with the verdict "rendered most improbable by the fallacy of the arguments advanced in its favor."

The second thesis of Dr. Resch declares that the Logia were composed in the first years after the ascension of Jesus Christ, in the city of Jerusalem. External evidence for this opinion is furnished by Theophylactus,<sup>1</sup> codd. K, Grec., 126, cod. Stephani 12, testifying that Matthew wrote his Hebrew gospel eight years after our Lord's ascension, a date confirmed by the ancient tradition that the apostles remained in Palestine twelve years after the coming of the Holy Ghost,<sup>2</sup> and by Eichhorn's belief that the pre-canonical gospel was written A. D. 35; Jerusalem is expressly stated to have been the place of composition in cod. 133, cod. K, and Eutychius: "eiusdem Claudii tempore scripsit Matthaeus evangelium sum Hierosolymis lingua Hebraica." Internal evidence shows that the author of the Logia is a compiler or reporter rather than an independent writer;<sup>3</sup> he must have noted down the words of our Lord at the time of their delivery or immediately after, though he may have retouched them after the ascension, adding their proper historical setting and enlarging his compilation with historical introduction about the ministry of the Baptist and with the narrative of certain scenes taken from the public life of Christ, especially his passion and resurrection.

A moment's reflection will show that if Matthew or any of the apostles had written down the words of our Lord at or about the time of their actual delivery—this view reminds one of the modern reporter rather than the Rabbinic method of proceeding—our first evangelist needed no pre-canonical gospel such as Dr. Resch's Logia to compose the recitative portions of his canonical gospel. And this the more, if Matthew himself composed our first gospel in Jerusalem or its vicinity, about eight years after ascension, as he actually did according to all the ancient witnesses brought into court by Dr. Resch. The naive simplicity of the learned writer's assurances that these ancient witnesses cannot mean what they say, but must rather be so construed as to express his own convictions, would be positively amusing if they did not remind one too strongly of the

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Matth., proem. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Varnack, *Chronologie der Altchristlichen, Literatur*, i pp. 243 f. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Logia vi; xiv-xxv.

deplorable subjectiveness of our modern criticism. The whole line of argument confirms the traditional views concerning the time and place of the origin of our first gospel rather than proves Dr. Resch's thesis.

The author considers his next thesis of secondary, mainly philological interest; it does not concern the material contents of the Logia. The testimony of Papias,<sup>1</sup> that Matthew wrote his Logia in Hebrew, Dr. Resch interprets with Dr. Gaster of London and Prof. Briggs of New York as referring to classical Hebrew, and not to the Aramaic dialect.<sup>2</sup> This does not contradict the opinion that our Lord may have spoken two or even three different languages according to the exigencies of the occasion. Dr. Gaster appeals for his opinion to the fact that even at the time of our Lord all Hebrew literature referring directly to matters of faith and religion, the formulae of prayer, e.g., the treatises of the Mishna, etc., was written in pure Hebrew. Prof. Briggs gives as the reason of his conviction "a special study of all the supposed material of the Logia."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Resch appeals to the internal marks of the sources, and challenges his opponents to retranslate the Logia into Aramaic if they can, as he has retranslated them into Hebrew.

Whatever may be the force of the foregoing arguments, they apply as well, if not more directly, to the original language of our first gospel as to the pre-canonical Logia. That the Logia which Matthew wrote in Hebrew according to the testimony of Papias, may denote our first gospel has been made quite evident by Dr. Resch's own retranslation of the word into the Hebrew *Debarim* or *Dibre Yeshua*. For even if in the text of Papias, Logia could signify a mere collection of sermons or moral precepts, a supposition which we do not admit,<sup>4</sup> the Hebrew term introduced by Resch allows no such restricted meaning. True that if the Hebrew expression were found only in Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1 or Eccles. i. 1, or again in Am. i. 1 and Jer. i. 1, there might be doubt about its applicability to a collection of historical events; but in i. Par. xxix. 29, ii. Par. xii. 15, xx. 34, xxxiii. 18, iii. Kings xi. 41, it is used in the sense "history," so that it can apply to the gospel of Matthew without the slightest inconvenience. Again, the gospel of Matthew must have been regarded by the Hebrew Christians as referring to their new faith and their moral conduct in quite as distinctive a manner as would have been the case with the pre-canonical Logia, had they ever existed; Dr. Gaster's arguments, therefore, apply to our first gospel more clearly than to any non-canonical book. As to the special characteristic of the material which Dr. Resch admits into

<sup>1</sup> Eus., H. E. iii, 39, 16. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Logia, pp. x, f. <sup>3</sup> Cf. The Expository Times, vol. viii, N. 9, June, 1897, p. 395, note 6. <sup>4</sup> Cf. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, p. xvii.



the Logia, it must be kept in mind that the portions of the gospel according to Matthew omitted in the Logia are too insignificant to invalidate Prof. Briggs' and Dr. Resch's proof with regard to our first gospel. In other words, if the portions of our first gospel admitted into the reconstructed Logia demand a Hebrew original, our whole first gospel must have been written in Hebrew. The arguments of modern critics tend therefore to confirm the testimony of Papias. Finally, if Dr. Resch has accomplished the task of translating his reconstructed Logia into Hebrew, Dr. Delitzsch has done the same not only for our first gospel, but for all the books of the New Testament.

Dr. Resch tells us in his next chapter,<sup>1</sup> what are the sources from which, and what the criteria according to which, he has chosen the material admitted into the body of the reconstructed Logia. The main sources are the synoptic gospels, not merely in the form of their so-called received text, but also in that of the oldest manuscripts, translations, and citations; besides, the fourth gospel, the Book of Acts, eleven of the Pauline epistles,<sup>2</sup> three of the Catholic epistles,<sup>3</sup> and the Apocalypse have been utilized; among the extra-canonical sources are the codices Cantabrigiensis, Curetonianus, Syrus Sinaiticus, Diatessaron Arab.,<sup>4</sup> *Evangeliarium Hieros.*, Colbertinus, Bobb. Taur., Sangermanensis, Vercellensis; here belong also the apocryphal sources, the Act. apocr.,<sup>5</sup> *Acta Philippi*,<sup>6</sup> *Acta Pilati*,<sup>7</sup> *Apocalypsis Esdrae*, *Evangelium Ps. Petri*, *Ev. sec. Hebraeos*,<sup>8</sup> *Logia Iesou*,<sup>9</sup> *Martyr. Barthol.*, *Oracula Sibyllina*, *Papyrus Rainer*, *Pistis Sophia*; finally, we are referred to a list of patristic authorities:<sup>10</sup> *Agathangelus*,<sup>11</sup> *Anastasius Sin.*, *Aphraates*,<sup>12</sup> *Augustin*, *Barnabas*, *Cassian*, *Cassiodorus*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Clement of Rome*, the apostolic Constitutions, a dialogue on faith, the *Didascalia*, the *Teaching of the Twelve*, *Didymus*, *Ephraem*,<sup>13</sup> *Epiphanius*, *Eusebius*, *Hermas*, *Hippolytus*, *Clementine Homilies*, *Jobius Monachus*, *Irenaeus*, *Judicium Petri*, *Justin*, *Macarius*, *Origen*, *Pamphilus*, *Pseudo-Cyprian*, *Pseudo-Jerome*, *Pseudo-Ignatius*, *Ptolemaeus*, *Severus*,<sup>14</sup> *Tertullian*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus*, the life of *Synecletica*, *Petrus Comestor*, *Piers the Plowman*, old English Homilies. Thus far we have enumerated Dr. Resch's sources; his criteria according to which the selection of the material is finally made, are more briefly and clearly stated: 1° The main stock of the pre-canonical Logia consists of the matter that is common to our first and third gospel without being found in the second; 2° the

<sup>1</sup> Logia, pp. xii, ff. <sup>2</sup> Rom. i, ii, Cord, Ephes., Phil., Col., i, ii Thess., i, ii Tim., Tit. Cf. Logia, p. 229. <sup>3</sup> i, ii Petr., James. <sup>4</sup> ed. Ciasca. <sup>5</sup> ed. Fabric. <sup>6</sup> ed. Tischend. <sup>7</sup> ed. Tischend. <sup>8</sup> ap. Epiphanius. <sup>9</sup> ed. Grenfell and Hunt. <sup>10</sup> Logia, pp. 231 ff. <sup>11</sup> ed. de Lagarde. <sup>12</sup> ed. Bert. <sup>13</sup> ed. Moesinger, Lamy. <sup>14</sup> On baptismal rites.

material of the other sources is to be admitted or excluded according to its resemblance in language and contents to the language and contents of the foregoing main stock. It is quite clear why the reconstruction is to be accomplished according to these criteria. Both the first and the third synoptist has utilized according to the view of Dr. Resch, the Logia and the gospel of Mark; therefore, where the first evangelist agrees with the third without agreeing with the second, both the first and third must have transcribed the very words of the Logia.

In order to appreciate the foregoing principles at their true value we shall first consider the criteria of discrimination, secondly, the sources, thirdly the practical application of both in the reconstruction of the Logia. To begin with the second criterion, it appears to us unsatisfactory on account of the wide room it leaves for merely subjective views concerning the fitness of the material to be admitted. Resemblance in language would be indefinite enough; but when we may have either the similarity of language or the analogy of material as our guides in the choice of what to admit or to reject in our process of reconstruction, we fear that we shall be left at liberty to adopt or omit any passage we please. All these inconveniences might be borne patiently, at least for want of a better rule, if they were based on a solid principle; but now, their very basis appears to be of sand. The so-called "double tradition" of Matthew and Luke is followed as the standard in the reconstruction of the Logia, because it is supposed to have undoubtedly formed part of the original source. But is it certain, after all, that this original source can be none but the Logia? Do not Matthew and Luke agree to a certain extent in relating the history of the infancy? Still their disagreement is too vital to allow us the hypothesis that both accounts are derived from the Logia. Again, the first gospel contains 1072 verses, the second 677, the third 1152; of these 330-370 are common to the three gospels, 170-180 are common to Mark and Matthew, 50 to Mark and Luke, 230-240 to Matthew and Luke, while 330 are peculiar to Matthew, 68 to Mark, 541 to Luke. It is therefore plain that both Matthew and Luke may have utilized a source, either written or oral, quite distinct from the gospel of Mark and the Logia, at least for the material peculiar to each; and what prevents us from considering these unknown sources as partly identical, and as such causing the so-called double tradition of Matthew and Luke? Our phrase "*may have utilized*" might easily be changed to "*must have utilized*;" but for the present we merely consider the fallacy of Dr. Resch's reasoning: the double tradition of Matthew and Luke cannot be derived from Mark; hence it must be derived from, and therefore must have been contained in, the pre-canonical Logia.

The criteria therefore which guide Dr. Resch in the choice of material to be admitted into the reconstructed Logia, are purely conjectural and do not exclude pure conjecture from the standard of choice. Let us now investigate the character of the sources from which the learned author derives the material for his Logia by the foregoing subjective process. Dr. Resch is evidently right in regarding the synoptic gospels as his primary source, but he is as evidently wrong in the choice of some of the other sources. In proof of our statement we shall confine ourselves to a few general considerations. 1° The cod. Cantabrigiensis, e.g., contains not only the three synoptic gospels, but also the fourth gospel and the Book of Acts; if then its peculiar readings found in the Synoptists are partly, at least, to be explained by deriving them from the Logia, how shall we explain the same peculiarities of reading in the fourth gospel and the Book of Acts? It would lead us too far, were we here to enter into a discussion of the single passages; it must suffice to note that an analogous method of reasoning may be applied to most of the other codices the peculiar readings of which form a source of Dr. Resch's reconstructed Logia. 2° Any one who compares the apocryphal literature with our canonical books, will undoubtedly arrive at the conclusion that the latter give a simpler and therefore an earlier form of the common material; we consider it therefore critically erroneous to regard the apocryphal form as the source of the canonical. And if there be question of material contained only in apocryphal books, we see no good reason for admitting it into the reconstructed source of the synoptic gospels, since we believe that one or another of the evangelists would have recorded these words or deeds of the Lord, if he had found them in his source. 3° Finally, most of the patristic sources employed by Dr. Resch are too late to record independently words and deeds of Jesus Christ; in general it may be maintained that the patristic records are either variations of, or deductions from the canonical history of our Lord, so that they deserve in neither case an unconditional admission into the pre-canonical Logia. Dr. Resch himself appears to have felt the truth of our statement, since in most cases he writes the patristic fragments in parentheses, thus indicating that he admits them rather in order not to omit any possible portion of the original work than to express his firm conviction of their actual presence therein.

Thus far we have reviewed the sources from which Dr. Resch endeavors to reconstruct the pre-canonical Logia, and the criteria according to which he discriminates between material that has formed part of the Logia and material not derived therefrom. It may now be of interest to briefly examine the result at which the

learned author actually arrives. For the sake of clearness we shall consider in order the material chosen by Dr. Resch first from the canonical sources, secondly from the codices, thirdly from the apocrypha, and in the fourth place from the patristic writings. In each section we shall naturally add the expression of our approval or disapproval.

As to the synoptic gospels, it is much easier to give the summary of Dr. Resch's omissions than the list of what he has received into the text of his reconstructed Logia.<sup>1</sup> Hence the following table of omissions: *Mt.* i., ii., iii. 5, 6; iv. 13, 18-25; v. 31; viii. 14-17; ix. 19, 21, 30b, 31; x. 11b; xi. 1, 15; xii. 16-21, 34a, 49; xiii. 14, 15, 35, 49-51, 53, 55, 56, 58; xiv. 1-3a, 5-12a, 23b-36; xv. 29-39; xvi. 5, 7-12, 20; xvii. 7, 9b, 13, 19, 21-27; xviii. 1, 2, 4, 5; xix. 1, 2, 9b-12; xx. 17-19; 29-34; xxi. 4, 5, 10, 11, 14-20, 45, 46; xxii. 6, 7b, 8a, 9b, 10b, 13, 33, 34, 41-46; xxiii. 1-3, 7b, 24, 30, 33; xxiv. 6, 21b, 25, 51b; xxv. 30; xxvi. 5, 30, 32, 48, 59-62; xxvii. 1, 3-10, 12-14, 16, 18, 20, 30, 31a, 34, 36, 42-44, 46b, 49, 53, 55, 56, 62-66; xxviii. 2-4, 6b, 11-15, 17; *Mt.* i. 1, 5, 14b, 16-21, 29-34, 39, 43; ii. 4; iii. 8-12, 14-16a, 20, 21, 23a, 30, 34; iv. 13, 23, 24, 36; v. 6, 8-10, 19, 20, 21b, 24, 26, 28, 29, 35-37, 42-43; vi. 1, 3b, 5-6, 14-16, 19-29, 33, 37b-38a, 40, 46-56; vii. 2-4, 8, 26, 31-37; viii. 1-10, 13-14, 16-26, 30; ix. 6, 9b-10, 13b-18a, 20-34, 36-37a, 38-40, 44-46, 48; x. 1, 3, 10, 32-34, 46-52; xi. 11-14, 16, 19-22; xii. 1a, 11-12, 29, 32-37; xiii. 3, 7, 23, 33b, 34b, 36; xiv. 2, 23b, 26, 28, 44, 46, 49b, 51, 52, 55-60; xv. 1a, 3-5, 7-8, 10-11, 13, 18, 23, 25, 30, 32b, 40-42, 44-45; xvi. 8, 16-18, 20; *Lk.* iii. 5-6, 18; iv. 14b, 31b-32, 38-41, 44; v. 1-11, 19; vi. 17b-19, 45; vii. 4-6a, 7a, 21; viii. 1-3; 30-31, 38-40, 43b, 49-50, 56; ix. 2b, 4, 7-9, 21, 32, 39, 43-48a, 49-50; x. 4b, 26, 28; xi. 18b, 36; xii. 21, 26, 52; xiii. 10-17, 22; xiv. 3b, 6-7; xvii. 5, 25; xviii. 31-43; xix. 25, 29a, 33-34; xx. 19, 36a, 39-45; xxi. 9, 13, 15, 18, 22, 24a, 25b, 37-38; xxii. 3, 33, 39, 43-45, 48-49, 51, 61b, 65; xxiii. 5-16, 19-20, 22-24, 49b, 54; xxiv. 6b-8, 10-12, 14, 27, 35-40, 44-49.

It follows from this list that according to Dr. Resch about 210 verses of Matthew, about 232 of Mark, and about 148 of the third gospel had no parallel in the Logia; or if we include the history of the infancy, 258 verses of Matthew, and 280 of Luke were unparal-leled. Comparing these numbers with the entire sum of verses contained in each of the three gospels, we see that according to Dr. Resch the Logia contained parallels of about 814 verses of Mat-thew, about 445 verses of Mark, and about 872 verses of Luke; in other words, the Logia contained about 0.66 (nearly 2-3) of Mark, about 0.76 (more than  $\frac{3}{4}$ ) of Matthew, and about 0.75 (a little more than  $\frac{3}{4}$ ) of Luke; or if we disregard the history of the infancy, as we have a right to do, the Logia contain about 0.85 of the re-

mainder of Luke, and nearly 0.80 of the remainder of Matthew. In general it may be stated that Dr. Resch's results may account for the agreements of the synoptic gospels, but does not explain their discrepancies in either material or expression. We should indeed be able to understand these discrepancies, if the special end for which each of the synoptic gospels was written required them; but why should Mark, e.g., omit the cure of the centurion's servant,<sup>1</sup> or the exorcism of the blind and dumb devil,<sup>2</sup> or the resuscitation of the widow's son at Naim,<sup>3</sup> if he had the Logia ready to hand? Since the second evangelist represents Jesus as the great thaumaturgus, the foregoing miracles would have been in keeping with the character of his writing. And similarly, there is no good reason why the first evangelist, the recorder of our Lord's words, should have omitted the parables of the seed growing secretly,<sup>4</sup> the two debtors,<sup>5</sup> the Pharisee and the publican,<sup>6</sup> the rich man and Lazarus,<sup>7</sup> if he had known the Logia and the second gospel. Finally, Logia xii 33-36,<sup>8</sup> and xxvii 23,<sup>9</sup> to limit ourselves to only a few particulars, would have well agreed with the scope and aim of Luke; why then are all these passages omitted, if the third evangelist knew both the Logia and the second gospel? The insufficiency of Dr. Resch's Logia to explain the synoptic problem is still further proved, if we consider the discrepancy of the three evangelists in parallel passages. Why should the first and third evangelist have omitted all the minute details of description in which the second gospel abounds? Why should the third evangelist especially prefer to tell in Aramaic idioms, Greek scholar though he was, what he had read in Mark at least, in pure Greek?<sup>10</sup> Finally, if Dr. Resch's explanation of the synoptic genesis be correct, there arises another curious phenomenon that can hardly be ascribed to mere chance. We have already stated that the second gospel contains 677 verses, that 333-370 of these are common to the three synoptists, that of the remainder,<sup>11</sup> 170-180 are common to Mark and Matthew, and about 50 to Mark and Luke, so that only about 68 verses of the second gospel are not made use of by either Matthew or Luke; now it appears almost incredible, unless we admit a previous agreement, that two writers deriving their material from a common third one, should use his work in such a manner as to practically divide it entirely between themselves.

We may now proceed to illustrate the result of Dr. Resch's principles as applied to the codices we have enumerated among his

<sup>1</sup> Mt. viii, 5; Logia, vii, 2-9. <sup>2</sup> Mt. xii, 22; Logia, xv, 4, 5. <sup>3</sup> Lk. vii, 11; Logia, vii, 11-17. <sup>4</sup> Mk. iv, 26-29; Logia viii, 18-20. <sup>5</sup> Mk. xiii, 34. <sup>6</sup> Lk. xviii, 9-14; Logia, xxvi, 1-8. <sup>7</sup> Lk. xvi, 19-31; Logia, xxiii, 30-42. <sup>8</sup> Cf. Mt. xi, 28-30. <sup>9</sup> Cf. Mk. ii, 27. <sup>10</sup> Cf., e. g., Lk. xx, 11 and Mk. xii, 4. <sup>11</sup> About 300 verses.

sources. Here again a most cursory view must suffice; the study of detail would lead us beyond the limits of the present paper. In Logia v. 21, 22, we meet a fragment added in the codex Cantabrigiensis after Lk. vi. 4: "On the same day having seen one working on the Sabbath, he said to him, O man, if indeed thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed, and art a transgressor of the law." It is true that the Greek form of address employed in this interpolation occurs in Lk. xii. 14; the Greek word meaning "cursed" occurs in Jn. vii. 47; and the Greek phrase "transgressor of the law" is an idiom of St. Paul; but on the other hand, the saying does not recur elsewhere, so that we must admit it into the reconstructed Logia on the strength of mere conjecture. It is curious that the passage concerning the adulterous woman<sup>1</sup> also has been admitted into the Logia on the strength of the codex Cantabrigiensis; can we imagine that not one of the synoptists, especially the third evangelist who deals so pre-eminently with works and doctrines of mercy, should have received this touching episode into his gospel, if they had utilized the Logia as their main source? Again, in Logia xxviii. 49, the codex Cantabrigiensis adds to Mt. xx. 28: "But ye seek from little to increase, and that from the greater there be a less." The same interpolation is found in some Syriac,<sup>2</sup> and in many Latin copies; the Latin rendering is variously given: 'Vos autem quaeritis de minimo crescere et de magno minui;' 'vos autem quaeritis de modico crescere et de maximo minui;' 'vos autem quaeritis de pusillo crescere et de maiori minores esse.'<sup>3</sup> The peculiar form of the Greek, and the deep meaning of the second clause may be granted to mark the interpolation as based upon traditional words of Jesus; but we believe that with the same degree of probability the passage may be regarded as a mere expansion or application of the words which precede. This latter view is the more probable on account of the addition which in the codex Cantabrigiensis immediately follows the foregoing interpolation, though in the Logia it precedes the same;<sup>4</sup> for here we have admittedly nothing but a new version or variation of Lk. xiv. 8-10. What has been said sufficiently illustrates the character of the material received into the text of the reconstructed Logia on the testimony of the codices. We may draw attention to the risk of error one runs by abandoning the so-called neutral text for the western reading. This is again confirmed by the lately published Oxyrhynchus Papyri,<sup>5</sup> containing in the second place a fragment of the first gospel, Mt. i. 1-9, 12,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jn. viii. 1-11. <sup>2</sup> Cu., Pesh., Philox. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Westcott, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, seventh ed., p. 458. <sup>4</sup> Logia, xxviii, 46-48.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part i, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell, M. A., and Arthur S. Hunt, M. A.; Egypt Exploration Fund.

14-20, which in all probability dates from the third century; in ten instances the newly discovered text supports the reading of Westcott and Hort against the commonly received Greek text, in six it differs slightly from both, in only one it differs from the text of Westcott and Hort, while in verse 16 it supports the so-called orthodox reading against that of the Lewisian Syriac. In the light of this support which the conservative critical text finds in the oldest codices, it appears doubly rash to receive into the pre-canonical Logia such readings as are supported by late copies either of the original text or even of translations.

In the next place we must briefly illustrate the parts of the apocryphal writings Dr. Resch has actually received into his reconstructed Logia. In ii. 2-5 we read: "And when he had gone down into the water, and prayed, a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and a great light shone round about the place. And Jesus said to John: Come and baptize me. But he said to him: It is not possible that I seize the booty." For the sources of this passage we are referred to cod. Vercell., Sangerm. and Mat. iii. 15, Ev. sec. Hebr. ap. Epiph. xxx. 13, Just. Dial. 88, Ephraem ed. Moes. p. 42, Sever. de rit. bapt. pp. 24, 25. It may be of interest to see the variations of Vercell. and Sangerm.: "Et cum baptizaretur (Jesus, Sangerm.) lumen ingens (magnum, Sangerm.) circumfulsit (fulgebat, Sangerm.) de aqua, ita ut timerent omnes qui advenerant (qui congregati erant, Sangerm.). Dr. Westcott considers it worthy of remark that in an addition which occurs in another Latin manuscript,<sup>1</sup> a miraculous light is connected with the resurrection:<sup>2</sup> "Subito autem ad horam tertiam tenebrae diei (d. ten.) factae sunt per totum orbem terrae, et descenderunt de caelis angeli, et (surgentes) in claritate vivi Dei simul ascenderunt cum eo, et continuo lux facta est." The addition, whether it be made to the history of the baptism or to that of the resurrection, impresses us as wholly similar to so many other miraculous events told in the apocryphal writings; for in these miracles we find no worthy conception of the laws of providential interference, since most of them are wrought to supply personal wants, or to gratify private feelings, and often are positively objectionable. They are mostly arbitrary displays of power, and promote neither the greater glory of God nor the peace among men upon earth. Another instance of an apocryphal passage received into the pre-canonical Logia may be seen in xxvii. 49: "Behold, my bride-chamber is ready, and happy is he that has a bright garment; for it is he that receives the crown of gladness on his head." We are referred to the Act. Philipp.<sup>3</sup> for this passage; but there is a parallel reference to James i. 12. This last verse reads: "Blessed is the

<sup>1</sup> Bobb., K.<sup>2</sup> Mk. xvi, 4.<sup>3</sup> Ed. Tischend., p. 147.

man that endureth temptation; for when he hath been proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him." In spite of the discrepancy of the two sentences, it is quite possible that the author of the Act. Philipp. may have paraphrased the words of James by means of set biblical clauses. Finally, to give one more example of an apocryphal passage that has found favor in the eyes of Dr. Resch, we read in Logia xxxv. 59: "These are the names of the twelve apostles whom Jesus chose: John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Thomas, and Jude, and Thaddeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot, and I Matthew.<sup>1</sup> We are indeed referred to Act. i. 13, Mk. iii. 16-19, Lk. vi. 14-16, and Mt. x. 2-4, as to the sources of the reconstructed list; but the order of apostles is so peculiar that the writer can have hardly been copied by the evangelists and the author of Acts. The true source followed in the reconstruction of the Logia appears therefore to be the catalogue of apostles belonging to the Gospel according to the Hebrews and reconstructed from Epiphan. Haer. xxx. 13.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, we add by way of illustration a few verses which Dr. Resch has chosen from the patristic writers. In Logia xvii. 21, we find a passage taken from Origen:<sup>3</sup> "Ask great things, and the small shall be added to you; and ask heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added to you." The words call to mind what we read in Matthew vi. 33. Again, in Logia xxvii. 7, we read another sentence taken from Origen:<sup>4</sup> He who is near me is near the fire; he who is far from me is far from the kingdom." The words are introduced in the patristic source: "Legi alicubi quasi Salvatore dicente, et quaero sive quis personam figuravit Salvatoris, sive in memoriam adduxerit, ac verum sit hoc quod dictum est. Ait autem ipse Salvator. . . ." The same sentence is repeated by Didymus in Ps. 88, 8, and a very similar phrase occurs in Ignatius:<sup>5</sup> "Near the sword near to God, in the midst of the sword in the midst of God." Both phrases offer some resemblance to one quoted from the Doctrine of Peter by Gregory Naz.<sup>6</sup> "The wearied soul is near to God." As our next illustration may serve what we read in Logia xxvii. 39: "In whatsoever I may find you, in this will I also judge you." The words occur first in Justin's Dial. c. Tryph. 47, but they are repeated by Clement of Alexandria,<sup>7</sup> and they remind one of Jn. v. 30; Ezech. xxxiii. 20; xxiv. A slight variation of the saying occurs in Nilus:<sup>8</sup> "Such as I may find thee, I will judge thee, saith the Lord." We give one more passage received by Dr. Resch

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "me Matthew;" the whole series is expressed in the objective case, depending on the verb "choose." <sup>2</sup> Cf. Anaceph. c. 138, A. <sup>3</sup> De Orat. lib. c. 2, 14. <sup>4</sup> Hom. in Jer. xx, 3. <sup>5</sup> Ad. Smyrn. 4. <sup>6</sup> Epist. i, Ad. Caes. ap. Credn. Beitrage i, 353. <sup>7</sup> Quis dives, 40. <sup>8</sup> Ap. Anast. Sin., Quaest. 3; Anger, p. 207.



from a patristic source into his *Logia*, xxvii. 50, 51: "The Lord himself having been asked by some one, when his kingdom will come? said: When the two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female neither male nor female." This mystical saying seems very different in form from the character of our Lord's words; yet it reminds one of Gal. iii. 28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Besides, Clement of Alexandria believes, he says, that the narrative was contained in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and he repeats it in various shapes.<sup>1</sup> A passage of Pseudo-Linus<sup>2</sup> appears to contain another version of this saying:<sup>3</sup> "Dominus in mysterio dixerat, Si non faceritis dextram sicut sinistram et sinistram sicut dextram et quae sursum sunt sicut deorsum et quae ante sunt sicut retro non cognoscitis regnum Dei." These instances may suffice to show that the fragments of our Lord's sayings and deeds contained in the patristic records without being derived from our canonical writings have to be received with a great deal of discrimination; most of them appear to be mere deductions from the received history or translations from prophecy into history. If, then, Dr. Resch considers himself justified in discriminating between saying and saying, between fact and fact, we believe that his readers will insist on their right also to receive or reject according to their own taste and judgment; while some of the fragments received by Dr. Resch will be rejected, others omitted by the author of the *Logia* will be received by his readers; among these may be the notices that the mother of the Lord was of the family of David, that the Lord was born in a cave, that the wise men came from Arabia, that the Lord's miracles were attributed to magic, that the ass which his disciples brought for him was found tied to a vine,<sup>4</sup> that the person of the Lord was little and ill-favored and ignoble, and that his mother wrought with her own hands,<sup>5</sup> that John the Baptist (like the moon) had thirty disciples, as our Lord (the sun) had twelve, that the ministry of the Lord began at the spring solstice.<sup>6</sup>

In order to reconstruct the *Logia* it was not enough to determine upon the sources from which to select the material according to a fixed, though unhappily subjective, criterion, but the compiler had to find a rule that might guide him in the arrangement of his material. Dr. Resch fully recognizes this need,<sup>7</sup> and points out the result of Wendt's attempt in his '*Logia* according to Matthew,' a

<sup>1</sup> Strom. III, ix, 63 ff.; xiii, 92. <sup>2</sup> De Passione Petri. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Westcott, *Introd.* to the study of the Gospels, seventh edition, p. 460; Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.*, i, p. 31. <sup>4</sup> Justin, *Dial.*, 43, 78, 69. <sup>5</sup> Cels. ap. Orig. c. Cels. vi, 75; i, 28. <sup>6</sup> Clem. Hom. ii, 23; i, 6 f. <sup>7</sup> *Logia*, pp. xv, ff.

compilation that resembles a heap of interesting ruins, without beginning, without end, without connection. The author confesses that his own work has retained this same desultory character in chapters xxvii and xxviii, but with regard to the rest, he tells us that every chapter consists of clearly defined paragraphs, as the whole work consists of logically arranged chapters, so that both the chapter and the whole work exhibit a literary unity. Notwithstanding this orderly result, Dr. Resch is the first to call his work a mere attempt at the reconstruction of the Logia, though he expresses his conviction that in the important and great portions of the work he has approached the original order. The main reason for this hopeful view of his reconstruction is derived from the fact that he has followed the order of the third evangelist in the arrangement of his material. And indeed if we glance at the table of texts received into the Logia from the synoptic gospels,<sup>1</sup> we see that the order of the Logia is not parallel to the texts of Mark, much less to those of Matthew, but agrees with the arrangement of Luke. Here we cannot but express our regret that the learned author has not been more faithful to the principle which he himself had recognized as true. By abandoning the order of the third evangelist he becomes the plaything of his subjective views and tastes. When we come to Luke iii, 4, e. g., the passage is not left in the context of the third evangelist according to which the inspired writer shows the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah, but is transferred into the preaching of the Baptist as if John had couched his own warning in the words of the prophet "prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths." Again, Luke v, 39, is torn out of its context and placed in Logia xxviii, 54 where it is connected neither with what precedes nor with what follows; in the third gospel the preceding verse, "but new wine must be put into new bottles, and both are preserved," at least suggests the thought contained in the words "and no man drinking old hath presently a mind to new, for he saith, The old is better." Similarly, the catalogue of the apostles inserted by the third evangelist immediately after the choice of the twelve is transferred by Dr. Resch to the very end of his reconstructed Logia<sup>2</sup> where it is given in an apocryphal form rather than in its canonical wording. We might go on indefinitely enumerating passages in the arrangement of which Dr. Resch differs from that of Luke and, practically speaking, always to his own condemnation. But before leaving this point, we must draw the reader's attention to another consideration. According to Dr. Resch, Mark, and Matthew, and Luke had the pre-canonical Logia before them when

<sup>1</sup> Logia, pp. 221-229.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Logia, ii, 24.<sup>3</sup> xxxv, 59.

they wrote their respective gospels; is it possible that Mark, e. g., should have abandoned the true historical order which lay ready made at his hands in order to substitute another arrangement of material that is neither chronological nor topological? And to add another question, is it probable that the author of the second gospel should have deemed it advisable to change the existing pre-canonical Logia to a much worse form rather than endeavor to circulate them as he found them? True, that according to the reconstructed form of Dr. Resch, Mark had to add a number of verses in order to produce the present second gospel; but these additions could have been made to the Logia without disarranging the order so materially.

We have finally to review the process called by Dr. Resch 'the determination of the texts.' Two points are included in this final settlement of the reconstructed form of the Logia: 1. The detail that is to be retained in each verse must be decided upon; 2, the verbal expression must be finally chosen. The former of these problems is solved by means of the codex Cantabrigiensis and the Clementine Homilies especially with regard to extra-canonical material; without repeating here our former line of reasoning, we merely recall the conclusion we reached, that this rule is subjective in itself and leaves room for purely subjective conjecture in its application. The second problem contains again two unknown quantities; first, the Greek text must be settled; secondly, its corresponding Hebrew expressions must be found. Dr. Resch is of opinion that the original Greek expressions may be arrived at, first by investigating whether they anyway approach to the primitive Hebrew idiom; secondly, by eliminating all those elements that appear to have been introduced by the redaction of the evangelists; thirdly, by weighing the remainder according to the literary standard of the double tradition contained in Matthew and Luke. In this work the author professes to have been assisted by the labors of Weiss<sup>1</sup> and Wendt,<sup>2</sup> so that the reconstructed Logia cannot properly be called a pioneer work as far as their Greek form is concerned. But the Hebrew text of the pre-canonical Logia had not thus far been reconstructed by any investigator of the synoptic gospels, though according to the most ancient testimony the work was composed in Hebrew. Dr. Resch would be glad to have it recognised as a first principle that in the study of the Logia the Hebrew or the Aramaic form must be regarded as the supreme standard. The author really deserves all praise for the ease and even elegance of his so-called

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<sup>1</sup> Das Marcusevangelium und seine synoptischen Parallelen, Berlin, 1872. Das Matthäusevangelium und seine Lucas-Parallelen, Halle, 1876. <sup>2</sup> Die Lehre Jesu, Erster Theil, Die Evangelischen Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu, Göttingen, 1886.

re-translated text; it really breathes the quaint simplicity of the classical Hebrew writers.

Thus far we have seen that the arguments which Dr. Resch advances for the authorship of the Logia, for the time and place of their composition, and for their primitive language apply not only equally well, but apply in very truth only to the authorship of our first gospel, its time and place of origin, and its primitive language; we have seen, moreover, that the standard according to which the material of the Logia has been determined rests on conjecture and leaves ample room for more conjecture; that the standard of arrangement is well enough chosen, but has not been conscientiously followed; that, finally, the criterion determining the detail in each verse and its outward expression is again subjective and allows too much room for personal tastes and literary prejudices. We might have added an explicit proof showing that the Logia of Matthew concerning which Papias testifies are nothing but the present first gospel, and that the whole of Dr. Resch's attempt is a mere chimera; but the opinion that the pre-canonical Logia are something real and historical is nowadays so generally in fashion that the author may be pardoned for conforming to it. But it is a pity, for all that, to have wasted so much earnest work and serious study in attempting the impossible. The only good result of Dr. Resch's publication lies in the fact that he draws the attention of the gospel student, especially of the commentator of Matthew, to the Hebrew phrases or idiom that has been admitted into our gospels in an ill-fitting Greek dress. But it must be remembered that this end had been reached long before the appearance of the reconstructed Logia by Delitzsch's translation of the New Testament into Hebrew.

Thus far our conclusions have been negative, all converging to the common focus that Dr. Resch has failed to solve the synoptic problem; but the attentive reader will have perceived that our negative arguments are not directed against the reconstructed Logia only, but they are valid against every attempt to explain the present form of the synoptic gospels either by their mutual dependence on each other, or by their derivation from common pre-canonical sources, or again by the combination of both methods. For in every conceivable supposition admissible in the foregoing theories, we shall be confronted by the following difficulties: 1, There is no good reason for the later writer to compose a gospel according to his own peculiar form rather than propagate the source or sources he utilized; 2, whatever order of origin may be assigned to the synoptic gospels, the later ones always omit a great deal of what is contained in their reputed source, and no good reason can be assigned for such omissions; 3, whatever form of these theories may

be chosen, we are in any case called upon to suppose a manner of literary work on the part of the synoptists that is wholly foreign to the character of the apostolic age, in which we find no single writer proceeding in the manner in which the evangelists are supposed to have written, turning now to this page of their sources now to another, changing here the expression, mutilating there the thought, and adding in a third place an amplifying phrase of their own conceit; 4, in whatever form the foregoing theories may be admitted, the later writers reproduce in any case certain passages less perfectly than they are contained in their sources, at times lessening their original clearness of expression, and again introducing apparent contradictions which become much more striking to the commentator if the later writer had the text of the earlier evangelist before his eyes. But beside these unavoidable difficulties which must accompany any theory of solution in which pre-existing written sources are admitted, there are certain considerations that show the subjective character of all such attempts. 1, The fact that must be explained is no longer entirely certain on account of the many variations of our present gospel text; on the whole, we may rightly suppose that in several passages the present identity of form at least is due to the work of later transcribers. 2, We have no conception of the manner in which the evangelists made use of their written sources, if indeed they had any; the matter is settled easily enough where we find absolute agreement between the evangelists; but how determine whether the longer or the shorter form of parallel passages was copied from the written source? 3, Suppose that an agreement, however arbitrary, has been reached as to the passages and their verbal expression that have been copied from a written source, how are we to know whether the sum of these passages formed originally only one work, or was divided among several? 4, Suppose again that we have come to an arbitrary consensus as to the unity or the plurality of sources, how can we arrive at any certainty as to the relation of this primitive source to the oral tradition which in any case must have preceded the written document? For we cannot admit Dr. Resch's theory that our Lord's words were written down either at the time of their delivery or shortly after; this view savors too much of our nineteenth century reporter.

Is then the synoptic problem insoluble, and as such to be set aside like the problem of squaring the circle or finding perpetual motion? We believe that it can be solved and has been solved, but only by the theory of oral tradition. In order to meet a difficulty that appears to overwhelm us from the outset, we must premise that we do not deny that our evangelists made use of certain pre-canonical documents, whatever they may have been—the third

evangelist, e. g., appears to testify expressly that he made use of previous documents—but we deny that the present tangle of agreements and disagreements found in the synoptic gospels can be explained by the use of documents; we maintain therefore that if Luke, or Matthew, or Mark, had any pre-canonical documents at hand, the present synoptic problem must be carried back to the problem of the agreements and disagreements of these very documents, and that any transference of the question from the synoptic gospels to the pre-canonical documents is mere shifting of the difficulty, but can never amount to a real solution of the same. In other words, we maintain that in the last instance the synoptic problem can be solved only by recurring to the pre-canonical form of oral tradition.

Having premised this explanation of our position, we may now proceed to give an account of our conviction. We shall first indicate the different steps of our reasoning, and then add references to external and internal evidence rather than develop the several arguments. 'The first form in which the memory of our Lord's life and teaching was preserved must have been in keeping with the general manner in which the religious thought of the Hebrews was transmitted; now, at the time of Christ, the latter was handed down by way of authentic oral tradition; hence, the first form in which the life of our Lord and his teaching was transmitted must have been that of authentic oral tradition.' Again, the authentic oral tradition containing our Lord's life and teaching must have been adapted to three kinds of hearers which had to be taught by the apostles—the first class consisted mainly of Jews, the second mainly of Gentiles, the third was a class mixed of Jews and Gentiles—hence, the authentic oral tradition containing our Lord's life and teaching must have assumed a triple form, one adapted to the conversion of the Jews and to the confirmation of the Jewish converts in the Christian faith; a second, adapted to the conversion of Gentiles and to the instruction of Gentile converts; a third, adapted to convert members of a mixed society or to confirm them in their new faith. 'Now again, for the Jewish readers the Christian faith had to be proved by its essential connection with the Old Testament, and had to be explained by its relation to the Mosaic Law; for the Gentiles, the Christian faith had to be proved by means of the divine seal imprinted on the life and teaching of our Lord, in other words, by an appeal to signs and miracles; for the mixed society it was of supreme importance to show that Christ's redemption was not intended for the Jew alone, but extends to all classes of men and all ages. Hence, we must assume that the authentic oral tradition though one in its substance must have been threefold in form in

such a manner that one form connected Christianity with Judaism, another proved the truth of Christianity by means of miracles, and a third showed the universality of Christianity. Finally, besides the difference in material contained according to the foregoing reasoning in the threefold form of Christian tradition there must have been a difference in language depending on the principal apostle that used each of the three forms of tradition; hence the threefold authentic oral tradition was differentiated not only by certain peculiarities of material but also by certain characteristics of language. Now, on examining our synoptic gospels we find that they agree substantially in material and in language, but that they differ in both material and expression just as the authentic forms of the oral tradition must have differed from one another; hence we are inclined, almost a priori, to identify our three synoptic gospels with the threefold oral tradition. Lastly, the testimony of the earliest witnesses expressly identifies our synoptic gospels with the foregoing forms of tradition, the first gospel with the tradition of the Jewish church, the second with that of the Gentile church, and the third with that of the church consisting of both Jewish and Gentile converts; hence we are justified in explaining the agreements and the disagreements existing in our synoptic gospels by their origin from the different forms of the authentic oral tradition existing in the early church.

We do not think that it needs much of a proof to show that the memory of religious facts and doctrine was preserved in the early church just as it was preserved among the Jews. It suffices to call to mind that the earliest Christian community consisted of Jewish converts, and that they had received no instruction from our Lord to change the manner of teaching or recording.<sup>1</sup> That the Jewish manner of preserving and teaching religious doctrine was that of authentic oral tradition has been well shown by Schürer;<sup>2</sup> after proving that teaching was in the Rabbinic schools identical with repeating, so much so that "doctrine" is simply called "repetition," he concludes that a pupil had only two duties: one was to keep everything faithfully in memory, and the second, never to teach anything otherwise than it had been delivered to him, confining himself even to the verbal expressions of his teacher, so that it was the highest praise of a pupil to be "like a well lined with lime which loses not one drop."<sup>3</sup> The first conclusion according to which the Christian body of religious truth must have been embodied in an authentic oral tradition is confirmed by what we read in Act vi, 1-6 concerning the earliest ministry of the apostles; again, by Lk. i 4.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mt. x, 5 ff.; xxviii, 20; Mk. xvi, 13; Act. i, 8; Jn. xv, 27; xvi, 12 ff.; xvii, 18 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, div. ii, vol. i, p. 324 f. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Aboth, ii, 8;

where the evangelist according to our version says "in which thou hast been instructed," while the Greek original term signifies "in which thou hast been catechised" or instructed orally. We need not suppose that the whole body of Christian tradition was delivered to the catechumens before their baptism; in point of fact, the earliest apostolic instructions left us<sup>1</sup> touch mainly upon the death and resurrection of our Lord, apparently supposing the body of Christ's history and doctrine to be known to the audience. But after the reception of the catechumen he must have been instructed more thoroughly in Christian doctrine, and it appears to be this instruction that Luke refers to as to the catechism which Theophilus had been taught. Finally, the epistles of St. Paul suppose that his converts had passed even beyond this stage of knowledge, since they address readers well versed in the mysteries of our faith.

Our next statement according to which the oral tradition had to be adapted in form to the three main classes of hearers evangelized by the apostles, i. e., the Hebrews, the Gentiles, and the mixture of both, hardly needs further confirmation. Common sense would have directed the apostle not to address the Gentiles, e. g., as he addressed the Jew; and the guidance of the Holy Ghost must have rendered this principle much more evident. It is also plain that the Jews were not first taught to abandon Judaism, and only after this induced to embrace Christianity; but their ancient faith had to be a stepping-stone to the doctrine of Christ so that the apostles must connect their preaching with the prophecies as well as with the laws of the Old Testament. On the other hand, it would have been a long process to convert the Gentile first to Judaism and then to Christianity; in order to lead them to the true faith the evidence had to be such as to prove without having to rely on the knowledge and truth of the Old Testament, in other words, it had to appeal to miracles. In the case of the mixed audience the evangelist had to announce the new creed on the basis of Judaism indeed, but of a Judaism denationalized, and extending its hopes and promises to all nations. Moreover, it is evident that the verbal expression of this threefold catechism varied according to the character of the principal apostle teaching it and according to the material contained therein.

That the material of the three synoptic gospels differs according

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Gfrörer, *Das Jahrh. des Heils*, i, 168-173; we may compare with this also what Max Müller tells us concerning the oral tradition of the Rig Veda, with the statement of Dionysius of Halicarn. (ed. Reiske, tom. vii, p. 819) concerning the Greek "logographers" anterior to Herodotus, with the Homeric rhapsodists, with the Arab preservation of their poetry before the time of Mohammed, and finally with the daily practice of certain Russian Jews reciting even to-day the whole psalter from memory.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Act. ii, 14; iii, 12 ff.; v, 30 ff.; xiii, 28 ff.; x, 34 ff.; xvii, 22 ff.; xxvi, 2 ff.



to the character of the three catechetical traditions is well known to every Bible reader; while the first gospel connects Christianity with the Old Testament and explains its relation to the Mosaic Law, the second gospel insists on the miraculous power of our Lord and exhibits him as the omnipotent Lord of heaven and earth, and the third represents our Saviour as the God of mercy who receives the Jew and the Gentile alike, who does not discriminate between the rich and the poor, between the old and the young, between the just and the sinner. But the verbal expression too differs just as one would expect that one account of an oral tradition should differ from another. Thus there is greater agreement in the mere report of the words of our Lord or of other speakers, but greater disagreement in the narrative portions, and in the transitions from part to part; while on the whole the same order is kept in the historical parts, there occur stilistic unevennesses that would be unpardonable in the transcriber of a written source. Again, certain minor elements are transposed and even scattered about in the parallel passages, which cannot have been the result of a common borrowing from the same written document. Finally, we may compare parallel passages of the synoptic gospels with certain variations of passages quoted from memory in the Book of Acts: thus Peter's vision is told twice,<sup>1</sup> and the history of St. Paul's conversion is repeated three times.<sup>2</sup> Now, on the one hand, these repetitions are recited from memory just as the oral tradition of the synoptists had to be recorded; and on the other, the variations of language and material in these repetitions are wholly similar to the variations of parallel passages in the synoptic gospels. The latter, therefore, are rightly attributed to the fact that our synoptic gospels were written down from memory.

Finally, the authority of ancient writers upholds our view that the synoptic gospels are nothing but the written records of the preaching of St. Paul, of St. Peter, and of St. Matthew. Eusebius<sup>3</sup> has preserved the words of Irenaeus according to which "Luke who had accompanied Paul, gathered together in his book the gospel preached by the latter." The same Eusebius<sup>4</sup> testifies concerning the first gospel: "Matthew, having first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go also to others, delivered to them his gospel written in their native language, and thus compensated those from whom he was departing for the want of his presence by the writing." Papias<sup>5</sup> says about our second gospel: "This also the presbyter (John) used to say: Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he remembered . . . who (Peter) used to

<sup>1</sup> Act. x, 10 and xi, 15. <sup>2</sup> Act. ix, 2; xxii, 5; xxvi, 12. <sup>3</sup> H. E. v, 8. <sup>4</sup> H. E. iii, 24. <sup>5</sup> Cl. Eus. H. E. iii, 39.

frame his teaching to meet the wants" (of his hearers). Besides, the second gospel is identified with Peter's preaching by Irenaeus,<sup>1</sup> Tertullian,<sup>2</sup> Clement of Alexandria,<sup>3</sup> Origen,<sup>4</sup> and Eusebius;<sup>5</sup> so that our synoptic problem has been unwittingly solved even by the earliest patristic writers.

A. J. MAAS, S. J.

Wookstock.

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### SPAIN'S LEGACY TO MEXICO. ✓

THAT broadening and liberalizing effect upon character and opinions which extensive travel confers in the vast majority of cases ought to be felt and reflected upon popular sentiment in the United States more than anywhere else perhaps, because its wealthy citizens are remarkable for their love of foreign travel. Nevertheless the insularity of notions and prejudices which is found flourishing here is perfectly astonishing. In regard to South America particularly, the misconceptions which prevail are almost as erroneous as the geography of the ages when the Pillars of Hercules and Ultima Thule were regarded as the bounds of a flat world. In the time of the English Commonwealth it was a vulgar belief that the people of Ireland were a lower sort of bipeds whose inferiority in the natural order was indicated by the fact of the spinal vertebræ terminating in a tail like a quadruped's. The author of a new book on Mexico happily quotes the historic fact of a Washington statesman gasping out in amazement when he first saw the capital city, "Why, they have houses!" He expected, no doubt, to find the people living either in tepees, "dug-outs," or pigeon-boxes up in the cliffs, in the manner of the early aborigines. The same state of misconception with regard to Mexico exists largely to-day, despite the fact that the facilities for reaching the country are quite equal to those offered for reaching California or Canada. The few people who go from the United States there are unfortunately, also, so unsympathetic and ingrained with hereditary antipathy and narrowness in regard to races whose language and ethnic peculiarities are strange, that they fail to be impressed with anything save the most superficial appearances and climatic and scenic features of their pilgrimage. We, ourselves, quite re-

<sup>1</sup> Haer. III, 1, 1. <sup>2</sup> Adv. Marc. iv, 5. <sup>3</sup> Eus. H. E. ii, 15; vi, 14. <sup>4</sup> Eus. H. E. vi, 25; ii, 15. <sup>5</sup> H. E. ii, 15; Dem. Ev. iii, 5.

cently heard the most astonishing things stated about Mexico and its people by a newly-returned lecturer, and accepted as truth, evidently, by a large audience, because some of these statements tallied entirely with the tales of popular superstition and ignorance, and ecclesiastical tyranny to which they had been accustomed all their lives. We could heartily wish for the sake of international amity, that Mr. Lummis's book on Mexico, called "The Awakening of a Nation," could be put into every family and every school house in the United States, for nothing could be more serviceable in the way of removing ridiculous misapprehensions and modifying that prevalent self-consciousness which by a long course of careful cultivation has induced the belief that there is no improvement possible on American methods in anything whatsoever. Nothing,—unless the author's own recommendations could be made compulsory in the national curriculum. These consist of two things—a course of travel for all adults, and a knowledge of the language of the country one is going to speak about, ere anything regarding the place be printed.

Mr. Lummis's book is not a philosophic study. It is more an economical and social one. A Boston Protestant, he has been brought into contact for a good many years with a civilization as novel to his earlier experience as that of a new planet. And not only a civilization but a national character. There is a temperament in Mexico, distinctive and all-pervading, and imparting an elevating ideal, as in the case of the ancient Hellenes. Living in a land of beauty, the sweetness of the surroundings has saturated the soul of the people, and reflected itself in the general character. Contentment, urbanity, good-nature, politeness even to the beggars and among beggars, are the external marks of the whole Mexican people. The hard side of life, the only one present to the New England mind, is unseen or unfelt there. That felicitous blending of the poetic and the artistic which religion wrought among the Latin races pervades the land and the people. Spain's wonderful civilization has impressed itself upon the country so deeply as to be practically ineffaceable. To say that anything good could have come from Spain would have been a brief while ago to make oneself unpopular. But the good which this Boston traveller has found from it, for all that, appears to have staggered him. He makes honest confession of his surprise, and the decided inferiority of the Anglo-Saxon method, as perceptible in the United States. As he is a very keen observer, and has noted a multiplicity of facts bearing on the material condition of the country, in the past no less than the present, his work must be immensely serviceable to any writer who goes there with a view to a more compre-

hensive and exalted study of the lessons of Spanish conquest and failure, as illustrated in the case of Mexico, than that of the writer of this remarkable book.

Although Mr. Lummis is not a Catholic, he is confronted by such phenomena in the present state of Mexico, and in the history of her development, that he confesses to the potency of the Church in the moulding of that delightful civilization and its influence upon the national temperament. It was the Church which changed the conqueror into the assimilator. Where the Anglo-Saxon exterminated, because he was devoid of moral restraint, the Spaniard conciliated and won over and formed blood-ties with. That he did so was entirely owing, as we all know, to the irresistible suasion of the Church. But it is a rare thing to find those of the other civilization and the other religion confessing it—at least so frankly as this author.

Literature and art came hand in hand with Spanish supremacy—instantly came, one might say. With the Anglo-Saxon colonists it was the very reverse. These polite luxuries never entered into the dreams of the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers until they had cleared the woods of Indians and timber. And do we not know that it was because of the Church that this was so? In Spain these handmaidens of the Church were never sundered. The Pagan Renaissance made little impression there. Had it been English Puritans who settled in Mexico, literature and art would still be conspicuous by their absence—Mexicans, too, in all human probability.

If Mr. Lummis had any aim in his book beyond that of furnishing a valuable contribution to the sum of useful knowledge, it would appear to be that of justifying the secularistic movement begun in Mexico shortly after our own war with that country. The President, Porfirio Diaz, whose policy is the refinement and completion of that system, is to him a hero. And yet the author agrees that the process may be harmful if carried out to its fullest extreme. Catholics, he finds, have far less "rope" in Mexico than in what he calls the "Protestant" United States. No religious processions are allowed; a priest cannot even appear in the streets in sacerdotal garments. This severity he considers a justifiable reaction against the former absolutism of the Church, but he pronounces the reaction no less a tyranny that cannot logically much longer last. There are signs of a better spirit, such as the expression of a desire that the Sisters of Charity may be allowed to return to Mexico; and he hopes this may be realized. "Those," he says, "who have seen the Yellow Death when it walks a city of the tropics, who have seen men fall rotting by the curb, deserted by brother and

mother, but picked up by these daughters of God—aye, and has himself felt their tender mercy upon his broken shell—such a one will hope for Mexico thus much alleviation of its severity.” But he may be over-sanguine. The Freemason incubus is not so easily shaken off. It holds the countries of Latin civilization in a grip of iron, and its emissaries are pastmasters in the art of smothering or overruling the popular will.

Mexico’s progress, ever since Diaz took the helm, has been phenomenal, as Mr. Lummis very lucidly and indeed convincingly demonstrates. This progress is, in his view, the result of the secularization system, known as the Reforma, and the whole administration being in the hands of one man with clear views of what is best for the country and the power as well as the resolution to carry out his policy. Mexico is prosperous, in other words, according to the author’s belief, because of the suppression of the Church. It is also his view that one of the reasons of its prosperity is a silver currency. Many will say “bahl” to the latter theory who will smile with approval at the former. The one will appear a paradox; the other a self-evident proposition.

But what must appear to the thoughtful man as really paradoxical in the general argument is the admiration of the writer for a beneficent depotism in the case of a man—for such, indeed, President Diaz’s rule seems to be in reality—and his disapproval of an absolutism, as he styles it, that worked out such astonishing results, as he admits, as the Catholic Church of Mexico did. The introduction of religion was followed by the introduction of the arts, of literature, of hospitals, schools for the Indians, of a social system as wide as the whole land and as generous as the soil and the climate of that richest of all lands in this respect. The system was an institution of permanency, made to last down the ages, as long as the people should endure; the individual despot has only a transient existence. Does it not strike the writer that this man of wonderful mind is the product and the natural outcome of that system which is stigmatized as tyrannical? Mexico did not spring at once into existence like Minerva, full-panoplied. She is the sum of successive waves of Spanish genius, statesmanship, and philanthropy. The lines of her civilization, originally laid broad and deep on foundations of wisdom and piety, have been strengthened and extended by the process of natural sequence. Were the materials not ready to his hand, Diaz never could have constructed the edifice alone. And the great architect of the edifice was, as Mr. Lummis tacitly admits, the now persecuted Church. Speaking of the readiness of the Spaniards to intermingle with native races, he remarks significantly, “The *conquistador* was human,

but the hand of the Church was always upon his shoulder." Everywhere he went he married into the native races, under this salutary compulsion, and the Spanish character is thus stamped unmistakably to-day upon forty millions of people, and transmitted with more fidelity from one generation to another than among any other people save perhaps the Jews.

We cannot conceive of any more inconsistent line of argument than that which rests upon the efficacy of secularism as the chief factor in progress. Had that principle been in operation when Mexico was discovered, we are entitled to speculate where would its civilization be now. There is no initiatory force in secularism. It is only a principle of accommodation—a huckster's endeavor to strike a bargain between intellect and selfishness. Deep piety was a distinguishing mark of some at least of the first conquerors. Although Cortez is execrated by American historians for his cruelty, his first great act was to found a hospital in Mexico. Mr. Lummis says: "On the street of Ixtapalapa, by whose causeway he first entered town, in 1519, he built in 1527 the Hospital of the Clean Conception of Jesus, endowing it with an hacienda in Cuernavaca. For three hundred and seventy years it has been doing its work of mercy; and to-day its appointments are up to date with accommodations and lovely environment for seventy-five patients of both sexes. It is still controlled by the descendants of Cortez."

Mr. Lummis is very frank in following the line of thought suggested by this initial act of the Conquerors. "No other nation," he observes, "has founded so extensively such beneficences in its colonies, and few colonies have built so well upon their inheritance. It is a useful Delsartean attitude for the mind to try to 'fahncy' England peppering New England with schools, hospitals, asylums, and churches for Indians. But that is what infamous Spain did, three hundred years ago, up and down a space which measures something over *one hundred and three New Englands*. We may pick flaws in these institutions as administered while we were hanging witches, but the institutions were there—and are there yet."

Some of the hospitals, by the way, are of colossal proportions. The Royal Hospital of Mexico (for Indians), founded in 1553, covered three and a half acres. Nearly nine thousand patients were crowded into it in the year 1762, during a great epidemic. A couple of other great hospitals date their foundation nearly as far back.

Humanity, next to the salvation of souls, was the first consideration, it will thus be seen, with the execrated Spaniards. Where the greed of the commercial speculator sought to enslave the Indian, the religious orders stepped in to defend him, and under the shadow of the Cross set up the hospital to minister to his bodily ailments.

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y/ When the torch of learning was lighted, that intellect might be tended as well as soul and body, Mr. Lummis shows the picture of the house, still standing in the heart of the city, where the first printing press was set up in the New World. The date was the year 1536, and the man who caused it to be set up, one of those dreadful Spanish ecclesiastics, apostles of superstition and darkness, Bishop Zumarraga. Not until a hundred and two years later was there a printing press in any part of New England. Music was struck off at this press as early as 1584, and the first newspaper of the New World was the *Mercúrio Volante*, which was started in Mexico in 1693. It is commonly supposed that the industrial school is an invention of our modern and superior civilization. Mr. Lummis recalls our attention to the fact that industrial schools for Indians were founded by the Spaniards in Mexico as early as the year 1543. The ordinary schools antedated these by nearly a decade. In 1524 Father Pedro de Sante threw open the doors of the first of these in the same city. Thus, within a couple of years after the city fell into the hands of Cortez, the Indians whom the horrible Aztecs would have been butchering in hundreds on the altars of the great pyramidal teocalli, as a sacrifice to the God Huitzilopochtli, were being taught the religion of the God of Peace and the ways of peaceful industry. The Indians were saved and educated, to be citizens all, remarks Mr. Lummis, "and among them important scholars, great engineers, and sometimes presidents of a republic. To grasp just how much this means of contrast between the methods of the noble Saxon and the brutal Spaniard, we need only fancy ourselves electing Tecumseh or Red Cloud or Osceola to be president of the United States. We might also hunt up the churches that we have built for our aborigines while Mexico was building thousands. And we might even ponder upon the 250,000 Indians left of our millions, while it is a proved fact that the Indian population, not only of Mexico but of Spanish America by-and-large, is greater to-day than at the conquest—and incomparably better off."

Perfect equality between the races is the rule in all Spanish America. "The Man and the Brother," remarks Mr. Lummis, "has far greater rights than in the United States. In the Pullman car, the first-class hotel, the theatre, and anywhere else, he is just as good as any one." And why? Because, he answers, "human slavery was never a divine institution in those colonies. While this statement may derive a shriek from those who have learned history by not studying it, it is strictly true."

As the moral condition of a people is the one great test of its past, we take the institutions which publicly indicate that condition

as the proper criteria. The orphanage, perhaps, ought to be placed at the head of the list. Paganism was ignorant of orphanage and hospital; these, next to the Church, are the distinctive social marks of Christianity. The public orphanage, says Mr. Lummis, is found in every city in Mexico. An orphan babe can find a home on the first day of its life. There is no infanticide "in any degree" in the country. This, he says, is "a civilized invention" wholly unknown in Spanish America. And what is the cause of this remarkable ignorance? In his closing chapter, dealing with the unmistakable race characteristics impressed by Spanish civilization, the author has this to say of the spirituality of the Hispano-American type of beauty:

"To no woman on earth is religion a more vital, ever-present, all-pervading actuality; and that is why you meet the face of the Madonna almost literally at every corner of Spanish America. And it is not a superficial thing. There is none in whom the wife-heart, the mother-heart is truer-womanly. The *doña* is human. She may err, but she can never be gross. It is a truth so well known to every traveller that I wonder to find our philosophers so dumb about it—that even when an outcast no woman of Spanish blood falls or can fall to the utter vileness which haunts the purlieus of every English-speaking great city. And, thanks to her religion and to her social conservatism, she contributes, perhaps, fewer recruits to the outcast ranks than any other civilized woman."

Virtue is the first foundation of a nation's greatness; hence when we hear our Gradgrinds declaiming about the Anglo-Saxon claim to predominance let us apply this test to his argument and look around at the results of his rule and tradition. Infanticide "in every degree" is the first hideous trade-mark; the trampling out of inferior races the next; the divorce court competes with these monsters of civilization for pre-eminence in evil. This triple-headed Cerberus guards the gate of Anglo-Saxon civilization; the influence of religion and the high ideals of womanhood which follow in its train have kept the Spanish colonies free from their contamination.

Hospitals, emblems of the charity of Christianity, abound in Mexico. Not only those already noted in the capital, but in all the other chief cities. The Spaniard was no sooner planted in the country than he established hospitals for the sick and infirm. He did it, as he did everything else, on a magnificent scale. Nor did he forget the insane, the blind, the deaf and dumb. So far back as the year 1803 the City of Mexico alone, with a population of only 140,000, had hospital accommodation amounting to eleven hundred beds. It is now completing a general hospital consisting of thirty-

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five separate buildings, whose cost will be eight hundred thousand dollars.

Architecture, learning, education and humanity were the gifts which Spain all at once brought to Mexico. It did not take, as with us, decades and even centuries to establish these; they came almost at the very beginning. The land was quickly dotted with gems of architecture—and some of them immense gems—the beautiful lines and exquisite semi-Moorish ornamentation of many of which still entrance the poet and the painter and the sculptor. It was not the cathedral alone, but the convent and the monastery on which was lavished the imagination and the taste of the Spanish architect. In their venerable softness many of those old convents seem to-day like an antiquarian's dream, so lovely are they in their quaint design and reposeful massiveness—combinations of that elegant lightness and assured durability which the Moors left to Spain to temper the Gothic and the Byzantine. Many of the convents and monasteries are now used as prisons and barracks—a result of the *Reforma*. Humboldt described Mexico as “a city of palaces.” There is nothing to parallel its architecture, says Mr. Lummis. And the same beauty of structure is visible in Puebla, Guanajuato, Chapultepec, and many other places.

The university, the printing-press, the public school came to Mexico right in the wake of Spanish conquest. They came to supplant a spurious civilization with which one is almost tempted to sympathize when it is presented by writers like Prescott. The Aztec system, with all its picturesqueness, was a horrible wholesale Moloch cult, demanding hecatombs of victims for its great festivals. What mattered it that the victims were feasted and decked with flowers and gorgeous robes and feathers before the day of doom? The blood flowed in torrents down the slopes of the great sacrificial pyramid, and the butchery of the victims by the so-called priests, carried on from morn till nightfall on great occasions, was accompanied by details which make the reader's blood run cold. If we allowed ourselves to be carried away by the pictures of those writers who hate the name of Spain we should be found deploring the fate which overtook the empire of Montezuma and objurgating the advent of a system which, in the course of a little more than a century, covered a territory of five thousand miles' stretch with churches, schools, courts of justice, aqueducts, and roads so splendid as to form the wonder and delight of the traveller of to-day, and so serviceable to their respective localities as to need but little impulse from the spirit of modern improvement to place them on an equality with the most progressive of modern centres. We doubt if any parallel can be found for such colonization, in either ancient or modern experience.

Attention was recently attracted to the subject of Protestant proselytizing in Mexico by a tale no less silly than malicious about "raffles for souls," started by a zealous missionary in Puebla—a resurrected fable. Mr. Lummis recalls, in this connection, the story of Protestant failure in a manner very creditable to his own sense of decency and propriety. In illustrating the vices and virtues of the early bonanza-kings of Mexico, he mentions the case of Don Manuel Correa, who, having won eighteen thousand dollars one night at cards, gave the sum with seven thousand more to the Convent of San Augustin, at Zacatecas. Another bonanza-king, Avala, at his own cost, built the present Church and Convent, and when the *Reforma* came these beautiful edifices were coolly taken by the government and sold to the highest bidder. The Church was bought by the Presbyterians for twenty-five thousand dollars—"possibly one-sixth of its value," remarks Mr. Lummis—and converted to their uses in 1882. His opinion regarding these missionary enterprises is frankly expressed: "The American missions to 'convert' Mexicans from one Christian Church to another meet a notable tolerance in Mexico, considering their errand, and maintain small congregations of the lower class, who attend for motives not wholly unselfish or religious."

Much credit is given the government of modern Mexico for its efforts to diffuse the benefits of education. But it must be owned that it had the advantage of a sure foundation whereon to build up a system. Since Mr. Lummis wrote his book we have had a new work by one who can speak still more authoritatively, Señor Romero, long the representative of Mexico at Washington. A large portion of his book is devoted to a survey of the condition of education in the country, in the past as well as in the present, and we gain from the writing a picture of wise and broad-minded statesmanship in that particular field which, we believe, no other nation could boast of. Señor Romero recalls the fact that only eight years after the conquest there was established in the city of Mexico the College of San Juan de Letran for giving secondary education to intelligent Indians as well as to the sons of the invading race. A university was founded in 1553, that is to say, eighty-three years before Harvard College was opened. In 1573 were started the colleges of San Gregorio and San Ildefonso, the latter still extant, but converted into the National Preparatory School. Long before the seventeenth century had dawned two more colleges and a divinity school were organized, so that, within sixty-five years after the landing of Cortez, no fewer than seven seats of the higher learning had been created in New Spain. In 1578 a first chair of medicine was established in the University of Mexico; twenty-one years later, a

second medical professorship was founded: in 1661 facilities for the study of anatomy and surgery were added, and, subsequently, dissection was authorized. In 1768 a royal college for surgeons was organized in the City of Mexico on the pattern of the institutions existing in Cadiz and Barcelona. Amid the disturbances that followed the attainment of independence the educational establishments suffered, but since 1857 there have been but few interruptions to the encouragement which they have received from the Federal Government. It is not, of course, true to-day as it was in 1804, when Humboldt made the statement, that "no city of the New World, not excepting those of the United States, presents scientific establishments so great and solid as those of the capital of Mexico." There is no doubt, nevertheless, that the Mexican School of Mines and Engineering is the best in Spanish America; it is lodged in a magnificent edifice which cost \$3,000,000. The National College of Medicine is housed in the old Palace of the Inquisition. The Normal School for Males, which has 600 pupils, occupies the Convent of Santa Teresa. The Normal School for Females accommodates 1,400 pupils. At the Manual Training School of San Lorenzo, started in 1598, poor boys are taught, gratuitously, engraving, lithography, printing, carpentry and many other trades. There is a similar institution for girls dating from 1874. The building occupied by the establishment named *Collegio de la Paz*, but better known as the *Vizcainas*, cost \$2,000,000 in 1734; it is devoted to the education of young women. On the grounds of Chapultepec is a high-grade military academy. There are also in the Federal capital a National Academy of Art and a National Conservatory of Music. The National Library, comprising 200,000 volumes, is housed in the sequestered Church of San Augustin. The National Museum occupies part of the building erected in 1731 at a cost of \$1,000,000 for the Royal Mint.

Señor Romero was an official; he may have been, for all we know, one of those who succeeded in getting religion stricken out of the schools in a land where ninety-five per cent. of the people belong to the Catholic Church. Mr. Lummis is a Protestant traveller, having no particularly strong leanings toward the claims of Catholicism, yet confessing that the Church has been cheated and plundered shamefully by this myterious brotherhood. But neither from the work of Mr. Lummis nor of Señor Romero would be reading world be led to believe that the Church did anything but acquiesce tamely in the banishment of religion from the public schools, or made any effort to frustrate the audacious design to tear the Mexican nation away from God. No greater mistake could be made. Against the sacrileges begun under the dictator-

ship of Juarez, it struggled strenuously but ineffectually, for the public mind was unbalanced by civil war, and military supremacy was the decisive factor in all public problems. Under Juarez Mexico witnessed what England witnessed under Henry VIII. Robber hands were laid upon the temporals of the Church; the splendid convents and monasteries were seized and their pious inmates driven out as though they were criminals. The secular school system came, when the spoliation was complete, to cap the climax of impiety. When this iniquitous measure was first mooted the bishops and clergy held meetings in protest, and their action was followed by the heads of families throughout the country. Monster petitions were presented to Congress, but that body was as potters' clay in the hands of the Freemason chiefs—men who occupied much the same position as the American political "boss" to the "machine." Perceiving the futility of their efforts to avert the calamity the bishops took measures to mitigate, as best they could, its disastrous effects. They determined to organize parochial schools, just as the American bishops have done, and these parochial schools ramify all over the country and are doing all they can, although hampered—and here the Mexican rule shows itself spiteful and mean in comparison with the American—in every possible way in their work by vexatious State meddling. The ignoring of what is being done by the bishops and clergy of Mexico in the way of educating the people looks singularly suspicious.

Still we are making some progress. In the fact that neither of these authorities has attempted the task of vilifying the Church and the clergy who made Mexican civilization the splendid thing it is to-day we ought to find, perhaps, cause for thankfulness, considering the way in which the ground had been prepared for the cultivation of a false judgment. Turning back to the Report of our own Commissioner of Education for 1895-96, vol. I., we find embodied in it a paper, by "F. F. Hilder," purporting to be a survey of the condition and historical development of education in Mexico and Central America, which not only also omits any reference to the work of the parochial schools but is literally bristling with rancor and calumny against the despoiled Church and those splendid and venerable institutions of learning and piety which even in their decadence and desecration wring rapturous tributes of admiration from Mr. Lummis. We may charitably conclude that the writer, whether man or woman, was never in the country which he or she undertook to picture from its educational side, and was merely writing from a handbook or statistical report. At the very outset of this report—the only one accessible to the American public for a considerable time, it should be remembered—the animus of the writer breaks out:

"In the construction of their constitutions the United States and Mexico made grievous errors, which in both instances came near destroying the Governments. The United States guaranteed slavery and made religion free. Mexico abolished slavery but restricted the right of worship to a single sect. Both of these errors have been rectified, but by a fearful expenditure of blood and treasure, and in the case of Mexico by the prolongation of her exhausting struggle for freedom."

If the Catholic Church come within this writer's definition of a sect, one must be curious to know what would be defined as a religion. We are justified in concluding that any sort of religion is obnoxious to such minds, since the supremacy of the State in everything is what is insisted on:

"It is to the credit of the statesmen who have directed the career of the country in its heroic struggle for liberty that they have always recognized the fact that popular education is one of the primary functions in the life of the State; that no republican form of government can exist without it, and that the question of the education of its citizens is one which concerns the life and permanence of the State. They saw clearly that it was a question for the State, and one that could not be left to a church or a parent to decide; that the Republic must claim the right to educate its citizens, not only from a humanitarian point of view, but to preserve its integrity and existence."

Still there are some strange flaws in the bill of indictment against the ancient system. The overthrow of the rule of Spain is found not to have been an unmixed blessing:

"In spite of all the unrest and turmoil of the years which followed the downfall of the Spanish power in Mexico, the attention of the Government was directed toward the question of education. The first law on the subject, which was compiled by Don Jose Louis Mora, during the presidency of Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa-Anna, was promulgated in October, 1833. It was based upon advanced and liberal principles, and contained an excellent plan of study for use in the public schools. It, however, contained also a provision authorizing the appropriation of some real estate belonging to the church to provide the necessary funds. The clergy were excluded from taking any part in public education maintained at the expense of the Government, and the ancient Clerical University was suppressed."

Notwithstanding the advanced and liberal principles of this government, we read later on:

"In 1855 this insupportable tyranny [Santa Anna's government] was overthrown and a constitutional republic was established, one

of the first acts of which was to restore the educational law of 1843. In April, 1861, when Don Ignacio Ramirez was minister of justice, he obtained the passage of another law on the subject, which was one of the most liberal that had been promulgated, and true to the spirit of the law of 1833,"

That the old Spanish system was not altogether a rotten tree that deserved to be cut down may be gleaned from this suggestive paragraph in F. F. Hilder's synopsis:

"La Paz College owes its origin to the benevolence of a few wealthy gentlemen, and was founded in the year 1734 as a house of refuge and school for poor girls and a shelter for poor and invalid Spanish widows. During the colonial period it was under the direct patronage of the King of Spain and was governed by the rector and congregation of Aranzazu. This confraternity was suppressed, together with all similar religious organizations, by the law passed in June, 1879, and the management of the college and its property was assumed by the National Government. In reorganizing the institution the Government has preserved, as nearly as possible, the rules and arrangements established by the founders."

It was thoughtful to take over the principle of the institution when the larceny of its material property was perpetrated. But the charity which prompted the foundation of the old system was beyond the grasp of the spoilers. The State has no soul.

We believe that it is not through mere ignorance that such writers pass over what the Church, plundered and manacled though she be in Mexico, is doing for the education of the people. Truth cannot be altogether hidden away. Mr. David A. Wells, a Protestant gentleman, published a book on Mexico ten or a dozen years ago, in which he wrote:

"The Catholic Church is giving much attention to popular education. It is said to be acting upon the principle of immediately establishing two schools whenever in a given locality the government or any of the Protestant denominations establish one."

About five years ago the Rev. Kenelm Vaughan, brother of the cardinal, made an extensive tour of Mexico and on his return published in the *Catholic World* a statement of the position of Catholic education in the republic. In the City of Mexico he found that the bishops and clergy were much hampered in their work, owing to the jealous supervision of the government, but in the provinces they had a freer hand. The funds raised yearly in the capital for the support of Catholic education, he said, is approximately about \$150,000. This money is collected in the parish churches, where alms-boxes are placed with this superscription: "Para las Escuelas Parroquiales." Besides public subscriptions, collected in this and

various other ways, private donations are yearly contributed for Catholic educational purposes. The late archbishop devoted \$60,000 yearly in supporting free Catholic schools of his own, besides distributing annually \$17,000 among poorer schools of this city.

He gives the following details of the expenditure of these and similar funds elsewhere:

There are fourteen parishes in Mexico city; ten of them are provided with two or more parish schools. As a rule these schools are poor, deficient in space, and not up to the mark. They are also generally located in an out-of-the-way place in the outskirts of the city, where rooms for schools are hired at a cheaper rate. The boys who cannot find room there have to attend the official schools. In that case the parish priests assemble them every Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday in their respective parish churches, where they receive religious instruction.

Then there are the schools of the *Sagrada Mitra*—namely, those that depend entirely on the archbishop. These are eight in number, and are scattered over the city. They are attended each of them by about 200 to 250 boys. Señor Cervantes de Silva, the inspector of the *Mitra* schools, kindly took me to visit them. And all that met my eyes and ears gave evidence of the aptitude of the teachers, the proficiency of the boys, and the order and discipline of these schools. Indeed they are in a flourishing condition, and leave nothing to be desired.

Again, there are eight schools supported by the "*Sociedad Católica*," which is presided over by Sr. Joaquin Araoz, and as many schools again maintained by the "*Sociedad Guadalupeana*." The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have also founded a large poor-school in the vicinity of the city, which they teach themselves.

Lastly, there are schools which are the creation of individual charity. For instance, Padre Plancarte, of Labastida, nephew of the late archbishop, has founded and supports with his own large inherited fortune three poor schools where 590 boys and girls are taught, and three orphanages where 410 orphan girls receive a lasting home, and an education based upon religious instruction and handiwork. But these establishments are not all in the city. There are besides 70 free schools or more, and there are over 152 pay schools of private enterprise. At every turn in the city you come across a house bearing a notice like the following over its door: "*Instituto Católico*." The principal high colleges are those conducted by Señores Soto, Bernardo Duran, Grosso, Villagran, and Echeagary; and the principal high-school for girls is the one conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. Though many of these

pay colleges for boys follow a high standard of studies, yet a superior college for higher studies is much needed, and great hopes are entertained that the Jesuits may be induced to start such an institution. At present Catholic young men, wishing to graduate as engineers, lawyers, or doctors, have to offer themselves for examination in the national high-schools where the infidel philosophy of such men as Herbert Spencer, Stuart Mill, and Augustus Comté is taught, and where professors spend more time in teaching positivism and whatever is contrary to Catholic doctrine than in teaching science. The consequence is that Catholic young men who are trained in Catholic philosophy are invariably plucked; for bigoted hatred of Catholicity among official examiners seems to override all sentiments of justice and fair play.

The number of children attending Catholic schools in this city, I calculate, is approximately about 16,390.

But Catholic schools are more numerous and better organized in the interior of Mexico than in the capital, as I have had occasion to witness. In Guadalajara, for instance, there are five parishes, and each of them is provided with large parish schools for boys and girls, which are controlled by a Board of Directors. Besides there is a flourishing seminary in that city, a college for jurisprudence founded by the "*Sociedad Católica*," and a Catholic lyceum, each of these establishments having upwards of 500 students. Morella is also well supplied with facilities for Catholic education in having four free schools, attended by 500 boys; and one attended by 80 girls. They have also a magnificent college where young girls graduate as teachers, which contains 1,500 pupils. There is also an academy for a higher course of studies, where young men enter to prepare themselves for the church, for law, for medicine, and for commerce. It contains about 500 students.

Again, in Tobasco, the poorest diocese in Mexico, there are 28 parish schools, thanks to the indefatigable labors of its Oratorian bishop. In these provincial cities and towns the Catholic schools are more numerously attended than are the national schools. And their standard of secular teaching is superior.

There must be a very successful conspiracy of silence maintained in good working order in Mexico when such extensive work as this could elude the observation of an observer so keen and so long acquainted with the country as Mr. Lummis. We may say frankly that we believe if he knew of it he would not suppress the fact, for only in one passage in his book do we find anything seriously objectionable as regards Catholicity, and this is the doubt he throws on the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which he endeavors to dispose of in a way which will not bear scientific test.



A similar conspiracy has succeeded in keeping the American public misinformed hitherto regarding Mexico. It did not need to have taken definite form as a conspiracy to be effectual; its action as a cloaker of the truth may be regarded as automatic. Broadly speaking two classes of Americans, says Mr. Lummis, invade the country. One class proceeds upon what he calls the "pickhandle" policy—"if one of these blanked dagos does not comprehend or is a trifle slow, why fetch him one over the head with the nearest club. This is the way to get respect among the — heathen." The other class play the fox. It proceeds on the assumption that those who do not speak English must be dishonest; therefore to succeed in business it is necessary to "fix" them. In both classes, he adds, "it is equally etiquette to blacken the virtue of the women, the courage of the men, and the brains of the race, loudly and in all companies." If he had added that heaping obloquy on the Church was also a usual part of the procedure, he would have given the true finishing touch to the picture.

What sort of a monument the much-abused Spaniard has erected for himself in Mexico may be approximately measured from one of the final passages in Mr. Lummis' highly interesting book:

"It is a curious fact that no other nation in history has ever legitimately produced crosses with so many aboriginal bloods as has Spain. The *conquistador* was human; but the hand of the Church was always upon his shoulder. Individually and casually he might elude it, but broadly he could not. He intermarried with a thousand distinct types of the original American; and all the way from Denver to Valparaiso you can tally the varying fruits of these first wedlocks of the first frontier. You are often in doubt as to the mother, distinct as tribe originally is from tribe; but the father—you need no directory to find him. Among these Mestizos are some of the finest types, physically, of Spanish America."

The production of Mr. Lummis' book was not fortunate in point of time. Just when it appeared the war with Spain broke out, and anything that reflected credit in any way on that country was unpalatable. Now that the "unpleasantness" has terminated, it may be hoped that it will attract the wide attention it deserves. If it does not tell all the truth, it evidently tells all it knows; and that is very, very much.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

ROSARY SOCIETIES.—THE *UBI PRIMUM.*

AT no time since the institution of the Church by our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, were the benefits accruing to the members of mutual benevolent societies better understood by the members or more assiduously sought after than in our day. Wise men join these societies for their business interests, shrewd men see in them a means for social and political advancement, and all men recognize in them a potent instrumentality for good or evil. These are self-evident truths needing no demonstration, and patent to the view of all men of judgment and experience. Hence societies of this kind are constantly increasing in membership, and new ones are daily coming into existence, because their benevolent features are becoming better understood and appreciated. In fact, this may be called preëminently the age of such societies secret and public, and unfortunately for the age, there are more of these societies narrow, secret, close corporations, than broad, charitable humanitarian institutions.

This animadversion cannot be cast at the Rosary Society, called the Confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary. Membership in this Confraternity is as easily attained as membership in the Catholic Church itself. No one is excluded from its membership because of age, health, rank, race, or color. No signs, grasps, or passwords are needed or employed. To be a Catholic is the one necessary condition for eligibility to membership. And when we come to consider the special advantages of membership in this Confraternity we find ourselves confronted with the almost inexplicable incongruity of the age, that very many millions of Catholics have not yet applied for membership in the very best mutual benefit organization of the age in which we live. The object of the Confraternity is to bring down upon its members the special blessings of Almighty God, and the special protection of her who was chosen from all eternity to be the Mother of God, of her who in time became the Mother of God—the King of kings—of her who was His queen, to whom He was “subject.”

This Confraternity was first erected in the early part of the thirteenth century by St. Dominic at the inspiration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in her honor, as the special vessel of holiness and grace chosen by Almighty God to bear to her race that grace and forgiveness purchased by her Divine Son at the price of His precious blood.

The obligation of membership imposes a very light burden—the recitation of the entire rosary at least once a week, and during the verbal recitation of the fifteenth decades, mental meditation on the mysteries commemorated.

In the first part of the rosary which ought to be said by daily recitants on Mondays and Thursdays, and the Sundays from the first Sunday of Advent to the first Sunday of Lent there are commemorated the mysteries of the “Annunciation” to Mary that she was to become the mother of the long awaited promised Messiah; the “Visitation” of Mary to her cousin St. Elizabeth at which St. John the Baptist was cleansed from original sin, and otherwise gifted with extraordinary graces to fit him for his office of precursor; the “Nativity” in a stable at Bethlehem, announced to the shepherds by the angel as “tidings of great joy,” and as a message of “peace to men of good will” from God Himself; the “Presentation” where the infant Saviour is presented in the temple to His heavenly Father, as the first fruits of the human race, and as a most worthy and acceptable offering even to God Himself; and the “Finding in the temple,” where the Child, as the universal doctor and teacher, is found instructing the doctors of the old law and expounding for them the ancient prophecies which were obscurity to them but light to Him.

In the second part which ought to be said on Tuesdays and Fridays and the Sundays of Lent are commemorated the mysteries of the passion; the “Agony in the Garden,” where the special wrath of God was poured forth in divine measure upon our Saviour, as the voluntary vicar of sinners; the “Scourging at the Pillar,” in which the unjust judgment of men was wreaked upon him; the “Crowning with Thorns,” in which all the usurpations and tyrannies of power are expiated; the “Carriage of the Cross” by the guiltless for the guilty; the “Crucifixion” for a “plentiful redemption.”

In the third part, which is recited on Wednesdays and Saturdays throughout the year, and on the Sundays from Easter to the first Sunday of Advent are commemorated the mysteries of the “Resurrection of Christ”—the proof of His divinity, the accomplishment of His promises, the victory for men over death and hell; the “Ascension of Christ,” His glorified divine body triumphing over the natural laws of gravitation, respiration, etc., ascending by His own divine power in an unconceivably happy re-union with His glorified divine soul to the right hand of the Father to be our Almighty advocate forever; the “Descent of the Holy Ghost” according to the promise of our Blessed Lord, to be the guide and comforter of His church even to the consummation of the world; the “Assumption” of the Blessed Virgin Mary, body and soul re-united,

into Heaven, the first exercise of Christ's power of resurrecting the dead, and assuming the faithful into His everlasting kingdom; and the "Coronation" of the Blessed Virgin in Heaven, as the queen of angels and men, thereby receiving before the general resurrection, assumption, and coronation of the rest of the faithful that "crown of justice" which the apostle assures us is laid up for all good and faithful Christians.

The meditations on the mysteries of the Rosary sweep over a field wide and profound as eternity itself, and give ample latitude to the brightest as well as the least gifted intellects. The meditations on these mysteries are replete with simplicity to the simple and with profundity to the profound. No devotion can excite so sensibly phantasms for the operation of the intellect,—pictures which are better calculated to fix the mind in a lengthened examination of them than the Holy Rosary. Many of these pictures have been transferred by painters to the walls of convents, and to canvas as the very best specimens of art that have ever been produced. They can be multiplied indefinitely in the imagination of the devout and intelligent rosarian, because of the depth of the mysteries, the history of the incidents related about them in the Gospel, the traditions of the early Fathers of the Church, and the analogies drawn from the old testament. Is there one of these mysteries that is not brimful of the infinite goodness and infinite mercy of God, conspiring together, as it were, to find a complete remedy for the satisfaction and immutability of His infinite justice in regard to the sins of mankind?

The due fulfilment of the obligation of membership in the Rosary Confraternity means not only the saying of those prayers which are most pleasing to Almighty God;—the Lord's Prayer which was composed by our Blessed Lord Himself; the Hail Mary which was the salutation of the Father by the mouth of His ambassador; the Holy Mary which was the prayer of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus enlightened, guided and directed by the Holy Spirit; and the doxology which is a most pleasing prayer and benediction to the Blessed Trinity when it wells up from the sincere, loving hearts of the faithful; but in addition the mind is continually and fruitfully occupied without intermission or distractions on the pictures presented to it by holy and devout meditation on the sublime mysteries which it commemorates.

Here we have the powers of the body and soul engaged in the service of God—the tongue working like Martha, the mind contemplating like Mary. This devotion must be pleasing to God, honorable to the Blessed Virgin whom God was pleased to ally so closely with our redemption, and whom He delights to honor and

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see honored, and fruitful of graces and blessings temporal and eternal to those who practise it regularly.

All members share with each other the inestimable gifts granted by Almighty God—the bountiful Giver of every good and perfect gift—in answer to humble and persevering prayer. “Whatsoever you shall ask in prayer, if you ask with faith, that is with confidence in God, you shall obtain it.” The prayer of the sinner is however an “abomination to God,” and while there are tens of thousands of saintly men and women in this Confraternity, there are perhaps hundreds of thousands sinful men and women. The former rejoice when God in His goodness in answer to their prayers grants the grace of repentance to sinners, while the latter on the other hand rejoice in freedom from the intolerable yoke of sin. Here is a mutual benefit to the members of this Confraternity to which no temporal advantage bears any comparison whatsoever.

Again, to encourage the devotion and seal its unqualified approbation thereof, the church through its supreme pontiffs has granted to members so many indulgences that they seem to be unknown, overlooked, or even despised because so few attempt to obtain them. This treatment of the pardon of the temporal punishment actually due to sin cannot but be slighting and offensive to God who in His infinite goodness and generosity gave to His church the most liberal power of “loosing” from this temporal punishment. The Church too grants this pardon on the most liberal terms to members of this Confraternity. When the law of the land has been violated and temporal punishment imposed what resources are left unemployed to obtain pardon? God and His church, fulfilling His divine will, offers pardon to sinners on repentance and the fulfilment of the easiest possible conditions, and His pardon either is not asked or is positively rejected. No wonder that so many temporal evils befall men. No wonder that the evils of our day are so grievous. Eternal justice must be satisfied, and pardon must be sought by the offender in the manner that He has thought fit to lay down, and from the pardoning power that He has established upon earth.

The terms are easy and simple to members of the Rosary Confraternity: a good Confession and a worthy Communion together with some short prayers for the Pope’s intention will obtain for rosarians plenary indulgences on the Feasts of our Lord, the first and fourth Sundays of the month, all of the principal feasts of the Blessed Virgin, all of the feasts of the mysteries of the rosary, and on the feasts of the Dominican Saints. For the recital of a third part of the rosary in the church of the Confraternity, or in the chapel of the rosary, or in any part of the church where the altar of the rosary can be seen fifty years of indulgences once a day.

When we look over the long list of indulgences, plenary and partial, in the *Racolta* which had been granted to this devotion by pope after pope we are amazed at the profuse liberality with which the church has opened the treasuries of her beneficence to rosarians and proffered to them freedom from the ancient canonical penances so rigorously exacted for sin. Moreover, the recital of very many other prayers and the performance of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy are specially indulgenced for them when they carry their beads with them during the recitation of these prayers and their performance of these good works. More than one plenary indulgence can be gained on the same day. For instance, the rosarian who on the first Sunday of the month approaches the sacraments worthily and says some prayers for the Pope's intention and thereby gains a plenary indulgence, may gain another plenary indulgence by visiting a chapel or altar of the Rosary Confraternity, and still another by attending the Rosary procession, and these indulgences are all applicable to the holy souls in purgatory.

To be rosarians their names must be inscribed in the register of the Confraternity kept by the priors of Dominican convents or by the directors of the Confraternity appointed by letters patent from the Master General of the Dominicans, and their beads must be blessed by a Dominican priest, or a priest who has obtained the necessary faculties from the Master General of the Dominicans.

The Holy Father, Leo XIII, moved by his all absorbing charity for the faithful, and desirous that they should obtain all those concessions which the church holds out to rosarians, and knowing the special favors and glorious triumphs which Almighty God has vouchsafed to grant in answer to the devout practice of this form of prayer called the Rosary in which vocal and mental prayer are so felicitously conjoined, again draws our attention to the laws, rights, and privileges of the Confraternity of the holy Rosary in the Constitution, *Ubi Primum*, which he has just promulgated. This constitution clearly leaves no ground of dispute regarding the future establishment of the confraternities of the Rosary, and fixes once and for all the proper authority from whom the canonical erection of a Rosary confraternity should emanate. In the second declaration of the constitution His Holiness says: "The Order of Dominicans which from its very beginning has been most devoted in honoring the Blessed Virgin and by which the institution and propagation of the confraternity of the most Holy Rosary was accomplished holds, as it were, by an hereditary right all that belongs to this devotion. "To the Master-General of the Dominicans alone, then, let there be the right of instituting sodalities of the most Holy Rosary. When he is absent from Rome let this right devolve upon his Vicar-General;

and in the case of the death or removal from office of the Master-General, the right belongs to the Vicar-General of the Order. Wherefore whatever sodality may be hereafter established cannot enjoy any of the benefits, privileges and indulgences with which the Roman Pontiffs have enriched the lawful and true confraternity of the Rosary, unless a diploma of institution be obtained from the Master-General, or the aforesaid Vicars."

The proof of the first paragraph of this declaration was found in the review of the history of the establishment and propagation of the devotion to the Rosary. It is by no means a new or startling announcement; it is a matter of history that St. Dominic and his Order preached the Rosary devotion from the very foundation of the Order. By the preaching and practice of this devotion one hundred thousand Albigenses obtained the grace of abjuring their heresies and returning to the sheep-fold of Christ.

St. Dominic established the confraternity, and his children cherished and promoted it until on the fifth of May, 1258, the reigning pontiff Alexander IV, in his bull "Splendor Paternae," recognized and indulgenced it. For one hundred and fifty years it prospered and numerous are the admonitions and directions given by the Masters-General and general chapters of the Order in regard to the intrinsic work and propagation of the devotion.

Not only are these internal documents of the Order extant but also the testimony of such authorities as Benedict XIII in the lessons of the second nocturn of the feast of the most Holy Rosary; Pius V in his bull "Consueverunt" 17th of September, 1569; Benedict XIV in his work "On the Beatification of the Servants of God and the Canonization of the Beatified." Father Thomas Alamachia, a very renowned author, in his "Annals" treats of the wars of the Albigenses, and the final victory of Simon De Montfort over the Count of Toulouse, which the former attributed to St. Dominic and the prayer of the Rosary rather than to the valor of his insignificant forces. The same author describes the origin and progress of this Confraternity under the Order of Preachers until it embraced in an incredibly short space of time most of the countries of Europe. Very many other writers give corroboratory testimony, such as Prosper Lambertini, Thomas Leonardi, etc.

From 1350 to 1460 the Confraternity lapsed on account of the temporary decline of the Order, but it was again renovated, in the end of the fifteenth century, chiefly by the exertions of the Blessed Alan of the Order, and received new vigor after the battle of Lepanto, universally attributed to the Rosary and the institution of the feast of the holy Rosary on the first Sunday of October, and it is expected that a fresh impetus will be given to this grand devotion in

the end of the 19th century by the prisoner of the Vatican, who occupies the stand on the watch-tower of Israel. Moreover the two hundred and fifty bulls, encyclicals, briefs of the Roman Pontiffs, and decrees and decisions of the Roman congregations all sufficiently attest the historical truth of this declaration of fact by our present Pontiff.

In the second paragraph of this declaration his Holiness, following in the footsteps of his distinguished predecessors, Julius III, *Sincerae Devotionis*, 24 Aug., 1551; St. Pius V, *Inter Desiderabilia*, 29 June, 1569; Paulus V, *Vivae Vocis Oraculo*, 18 Sept., 1608; Paulus V, *Cum Olim*, 20 Sept., 1608; Alexander VII, *decreto S. C. Rituum*, 9 Apr., 1661; Innocent XI, *Nuper Pro Parte*, 31 July, 1679; Benedict XIII, *Pretiosus*, 26 May, 1727; Benedict XIV, *decreto S. C. Indulg.*, 26 Aug., 1747, and Pius IX, *decreto S. C. Indulg.*, 11 Apr., 1864; gives to the Master-General of the Order of Preachers the sole right to erect these Confraternities; and every sodality to be erected in connection with any church for the future must have obtained the necessary diploma of institution from the Master-General of the Dominicans, or his Vicar in his absence, or the Vicar-General of the Order in case of his death or removal from office.

For several years some confraternities of the Rosary were erected by some of the bishops in missionary countries without recourse to the Master-General, and these, though they never had the extraordinary indulgences apostolically granted to the members of the ancient confraternity, are nevertheless gratuitously and charitably sustained and enriched by his Holiness for the space of one year in the third declaration, which says: "Whatever sodalities of the most holy Rosary have been instituted in the past and are in existence to this day without the letters patent of the Master-General, must within the space of one year from this date (1st Oct., 1898) obtain the aforesaid document. In the meantime, however, provided they labor under no other defect, we, by our apostolic authority graciously declare, that the sodalities, until such time as their diplomas are sent, are to be considered as sanctioned and lawful, and as participating in all the privileges, benefits, and indulgences of the confraternity of the most holy Rosary." Our Holy Father gives these specially erected sodalities *in articulo mortis* all the last rights until their sanction is procured through the designated channel. The attention of these sodalities need scarcely be drawn to the fulfilment of the necessary condition for their perpetuation, nor to the wisdom of the Holy See in the appointment of one authority for the unification of all the branches of the confraternity.

In the fourth declaration the process of erection is treated: "For  
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the erection of the confraternity in any particular church, the Master-General is to depute by the usual document a priest of his own Order; where there are no convents of Dominican fathers, he is to appoint a priest approved of by the bishop: but he cannot in general, and without limitation, transfer the faculties which he possesses to the provincials of his own or any other order or institute."

"We revoke the faculty granted by Benedict XIII, of happy memory to the Masters of the Order, of delegating provincials beyond the sea (*transmarinos*) without restriction. We grant, however, considering it expedient that they may give, power to the priors, vicars and superiors of missions, in such provinces, to erect a certain number of sodalities of which the latter must render to them (the Masters-General) an accurate account."

In order better and more fully to understand the first paragraph of this declaration it may not be inappropriate to explain here the usual process of the erection of this confraternity. The priest in charge of the particular church in which the confraternity is to be erected ought to explain fully to his people beforehand the devotion of the Rosary, and the privileges, benefits, and indulgences of the confraternity. He should in the next place obtain the approval of his bishop for its erection in his church. He then applies to the Master-General of the Dominican Order, or to the Provincial in our country, to obtain the diploma of institution for the erection of the confraternity, in which the patron saint of the church, and the diocese are to be named, as also the name and office (pastor or curate) of the future director of the confraternity. He should also ask the Master-General of the Provincial to send a Dominican father to erect the confraternity; or if this cannot be conveniently done, he should name some priest acceptable to the bishop, who may be empowered to erect the confraternity. The patent of erection when obtained from the master-general or the provincial is sent to the bishop of the diocese together with the list of the indulgences which the master-general is now preparing in accordance with the instructions given in the XVI declaration of this constitution, and the particular statutes which may be enacted by any particular branch of the confraternity under the VII declaration of this constitution that all may receive the approval of the ordinary. A day is then appointed for the erection of the confraternity, and in the meantime the people are prepared by sermons and instructions on the Rosary for the worthy reception of the confraternity in their midst. A representation of Our Blessed Lady giving the Rosary to St. Dominic for the Rosary altar and a book for the registration of members have to be provided beforehand. On the day of erection the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary are to be recited publicly in the

church at convenient hours. Before the mass on the day of erection the hymn *Veni Creator* is sung, and the father who is to erect the confraternity preaches to the people on the objects of the confraternity, its excellence, efficacy, dignity, rights, prerogatives and indulgences. Then the *Ave Maris Stella* is sung, during which the father puts on the cope and proceeds with the attendants to the altar which is to be dedicated to the Rosary of the B. V. M., where, standing at the gospel corner, and turning towards the people he erects the confraternity with the proper form: "I, —, by authority committed by the very reverend father N—, prior provincial of the province of N—, of the Order of Preachers, in the name of the most reverend Father N—, Master-General of the holy Order of Preachers, institute and erect the confraternity of the most holy Rosary of Mary the Virgin Mother of God, in this church of St. N—, and declare it instituted and erected, with all the graces, privileges and indulgences which societies are accustomed to possess and enjoy; to the praise and glory of Almighty God, of Blessed Mary ever Virgin, Queen of the most holy Rosary and of blessed Dominic our Father, the author and inventor of the same, and of all the saints of God; for the salvation of souls; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." After this is read aloud to the people, the father declares the privileged altar, the chapel of the confraternity, director, etc., and the mass proceeds as usual. In the afternoon or evening a second sermon is given on the Rosary, at the termination of which those who wish to join the confraternity arrange themselves in an orderly and decorous manner around the altar, with their names legibly written on cards which they hold in their hands and afterwards give to the father for registration in the confraternity register. They also hold up their Rosary beads while the father recites the proper form for imparting the blessing and indulgences to these beads, and sprinkles them with holy water. Then the first procession of the Rosary confraternity is formed and the Rosary is recited in common. The Blessed Sacrament is next exposed for benediction at which the *Te Deum* is sung. Then the pastor says three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys, first for the Pope; second for the Master-General of the Dominican Order; third for the Father who erected the confraternity. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament concludes the impressive ceremony.

In the fifth declaration is stated where the confraternity may be erected:

"The confraternity of the Rosary may be established in any church or public oratory to which the faithful have free access, except the churches of nuns and other pious women living in community, as the holy Roman Congregations have frequently declared.

"Seeing that it has already been decided by the Apostolic See that more than one sodality of the most Holy Rosary must not exist in one and the same place, we again enforce this law and command that it be everywhere observed. If, however, at present it happens that there are several sodalities properly constituted in any one place, the Master-General of the Order has authority to decide the matter in whatever manner he thinks just. In large cities, as has been already granted, there may be several sodalities of the Rosary; these for their lawful institution must be proposed by the ordinary through the Master-General."

By a rescript of the sacred congregation of Indulgences approved by his Holiness on the 20th of May, 1896, it was graciously conceded to the ordinaries of the place in accordance with their discretion and prudence and the convenience of the distance to dispense with the constitution *Quaecumque* of Clement VIII, forbidding the erection of more than one confraternity in one city, town or place. In the present constitution *Ubi primum*, in order the better to preserve both the integrity of the confraternity and the authority and rights of the Master-General of the Order, his Holiness re-establishes the former mode of erection of confraternities to exactly respond to his desire for the multiplication of sodalities in large cities because of the inestimable good they accomplish, and at the same time preserve intact the unity of the confraternity in all its essential features, and therefore he sanctions his former permission for the establishment of more than one confraternity in large cities, and at the same time imposes an obligation on the prudence and discretion of ordinaries in proposing their institution, and on the zeal, fervor and equity of the Masters-General in their erection. The privilege of erecting confraternities of the most holy Rosary was first confined to the Master-General of the Dominicans by St. Pius V in the constitution *Inter Desiderabilia*, 28 June, 1569. This privilege for the erection of confraternities of the most holy Rosary embraced both the fact of erecting and the mode of erection. The fact of erection has never been questioned but the mode of erecting has undergone changes which may be here mentioned.

From the year 1470 up to the beginning of the 17th century, the Masters-General deputed fathers of their own Order or other priests not of their Order who were designated by *name* in the faculties, and who could by such right of deputation erect confraternities in any place which seemed expedient. From the beginning of the 17th century until 1854 in the faculties for erection the *place* of erection was determined in the authentic document, and the personal faculties to individuals were no longer in vogue, and new faculties were required for each particular case. From 1854 and up to the

decree of the S. C. of Indulg. of 1896, the Master-General gave to the provincials of the Order a certain number of authentic documents for the erection of the confraternity in which the provincials were to insert both the *name* of the deputy and the *place* of erection. Since 1896 the faculties must contain the *name* of the deputy and of the *place* inserted therein by the Master-General himself, except in case of a certain definite number privileged by the special grant in the IV declaration of this constitution. In all cases, however, a document called the verbal process of the erection of the confraternity must be drawn up, attested and preserved—one copy in the archives of the parish, and another has to be transmitted to the Master-General of the Order either directly by the rector or indirectly through the provincials.

“The Supreme Pontiff next makes the following ordinance:

“Since there is no chief confraternity of the most Holy Rosary to which the other lesser sodalities are aggregated, it follows that each new association of the Rosary by its own canonical institution enjoys all the benefits, indulgences and privileges which are granted by the Apostolic See to the other sodalities of the Rosary throughout the world. This association adheres to the church in which it is instituted; for although the privileges of the sodality belong to the members, yet many indulgences granted to those visiting its chapel or altar, as also the privileged altar, are inherent to the place, and therefore cannot be taken from it, nor transferred without a special apostolic indult. Wherever, therefore, the sodality is for any reason to be transferred to another church, a new document for that purpose must be applied for to the Master-General. If, however, the church is destroyed and a new church is erected under the same title in the same site, or in the vicinity, to this, inasmuch as it may be considered the same place, all the privileges and indulgences are transferred and the institution of a new sodality is not required. But if in any place, after the sodality has been canonically instituted in a church, a convent with a church of the Order of Preachers be erected, the sodality as a matter of right is transferred to the church belonging to that convent; but if in any exceptional case it may seem advisable to depart from this rule we grant authority to the Master-General of the Order to arrange the matter according to his own discretion and prudence, maintaining in its integrity the right of his Order.

“In the canonical erection of a confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary the Father deputed for its institution always makes these declarations: ‘Whenever it shall happen that the Fathers of the Order of Preachers shall obtain a church in this city or place, this confraternity, both by law and fact, without further declaration, and

all appertaining to it, shall be transferred entirely to the church of the Fathers of the said Order unless a dispensation be obtained to the contrary.

“The Most Reverend Master-General of the Order of Preachers reserves to himself the right of suppressing this confraternity, erected by me in his name, if the members should neglect or contemn its statutes and rules thereof, which may God avert.”

Pope Gregory XIV in his constitution, *Apostolicæ servitutis* 25 Sept., 1591, recognizes and declares this right of the Master-General to suppress as well as institute confraternities of the Most Holy Rosary. In fact the right of the Master-General to the institution and suppression of any sodality of the confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary has never been seriously called in question by any canonist, and is only declared anew by his Holiness in this constitution, and the action in several exceptional cases in regard to the transfer of sodalities is greatly strengthened by the support of this canon.

In the seventh declaration the privilege is conceded to each sodality to frame its own special statutes if it so desire, but these statutes must have the approbation of the bishop of the diocese, and remain subject to his authority, as was sanctioned in the *Quaecumque* of Clement VIII.

In the eighth declaration the appointment of directors who are to enroll the members of the confraternity, bless Rosary beads, and discharge all the principal duties connected with the sodality, is declared to belong to the Master-General of the Order with the consent of the ordinary of the place in the case of churches under the charge of the secular clergy. The director is appointed by the Master-General in the verbal process of erection, and the declaration of his appointment is made at the time of its erection, by the Father instituting the confraternity. Where the director named by the Master-General or his successors in office is wanting, the bishop can confer the necessary faculties on the pastor in accordance with the power granted in the rescript of the S. C. of Indulg. 8th of Jan., 1861. But, as regards the future, his Holiness has graciously deigned to grant to the ordinaries of the place the power to freely designate as may seem to them expedient in the Lord pastors *pro tempore* as rectors, moderators, etc., of confraternities.

In the ninth declaration the Master-General is empowered to grant to the director of a sodality the power of sub-delegating, not in general, but in individual cases, to another approved priest his own powers and rights over the sodality as often as for any reasonable cause he deems it expedient.

In the tenth declaration the Master-General is empowered to ap-

point other priests in places where the sodality of the Rosary and its director cannot be instituted, to take the names of the faithful who are desirous of gaining the indulgences, for enrollment in the nearest sodality and to bless their beads.

In the eleventh declaration the usual form given in the appendix of the Roman Ritual for blessing Rosary beads is directed to be retained.

In the twelfth declaration the reception of members into the confraternity is treated, and the more solemn reception on the first Sunday of each month, and on the principal feasts of the Mother of God is strongly commended.

The thirteenth declaration says: "The only obligation imposed on the members of the confraternity, which does not however, bind under sin, is to recite once in each week the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary, devoutly meditating on them. But the true form of the Rosary beads must be used, so that they should always be composed of five, ten, or fifteen decades—other beads should not be called by the name of Rosary. In meditating on the mysteries of our Redemption other mysteries should not be substituted for those in general use. The Apostolic See has already decreed that those who do not observe the usual order in meditating on the mysteries do not gain the indulgences of the Rosary.

"The directors of the Confraternities will diligently take care to have the Rosary publicly recited at the altar of the Confraternity daily, or as frequently as possible, especially on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin.

Mental prayer or meditation on the mystery, the vocal prayers of which are recited at the time, has always to accompany these vocal prayers in order to gain the indulgences of the Rosary, as has been decreed by St. Pius V in the *Consueverunt*, and again declared by the S. C. of Indulg. in the decree of the 13th Aug., 1726, which was sanctioned by Benedict XIII. In the fourth paragraph of the *Pretiosus* of Benedict XIII, dated 26th May, 1727, however, the following concession is granted: "For the consolation of persons truly unenlightened and incapable of meditating on the divine mysteries comprehended in the Holy Rosary, we declare that such persons by a devout and pious recitation of the Rosary are able to gain all the aforesaid indulgences conceded only to those meditating on these mysteries; nevertheless we clearly wish that they would become accustomed to meditating upon these same most holy mysteries of our Redemption in accordance with the purposes of the Rosary."

In a decree of the S. C. of Indulg. dated 28 Jan., 1842, it is affirmed that for idiots who have no capacity for meditating on

such mysteries the devout recitation of the Rosary alone suffices for obtaining the indulgences. The *Ubi Primum* makes no innovation in these cases and only declares against those who introduce meditations on other mysteries, which may be very excellent in themselves and at other times, into the proper and customary meditations on the mysteries of the Rosary, during the devout recital of the prescribed vocal prayers of the Rosary. Points of meditation on these mysteries may be obtained for those unaccustomed to meditation from any of the pious books written on the Rosary devotion, such as the "Crown of Mary," "Rosa Aurea," etc.

The constitution continues to say:

"Amongst the pious exercises of the Confraternity the first place is, on account of its merit, given to the solemn procession in honor of the Mother of God, which takes place on the first Sunday of each month and especially on the first Sunday of October. St. Pius V commended this ancient custom. Gregory XIII mentions it amongst the praiseworthy exercises and customs of the confraternity, and many sovereign pontiffs have attached to it special indulgences.

"In order that this ceremony may never be omitted, at least within the church, when it is impossible to have it in the open air, we extend to all the directors of the Confraternity the privilege granted by Benedict XIII to the Order of Preachers of transferring the procession to another Sunday, when, for any reason, it cannot take place on the first Sunday of the month.

"But when, on account of want of space, and of the number of the faithful, the solemn procession cannot conveniently take place in the church, we permit that whilst the priest with his attendants make the circuit of the church, the members of the confraternity who are present may gain all the indulgences attached to the procession."

From the time of Benedict XIII (*Preliosus* 26, May, 1727,) the Order of Preachers has availed itself of these privileges in regard to the procession in honor of our Blessed Lady on the first Sunday of the month, and the extension of them to all the Confraternities of the Most Holy Rosary is but another proof of the depth of the love of our present Pontiff for the public honor of the Queen of Heaven, and the intensity of his desire that all of the faithful should have a convenient opportunity afforded them of gaining all the indulgences attached by the Apostolic See to participation in the Rosary procession. The concession of these privileges will unquestionably infuse fresh vigor into all the existing Confraternities, and greatly promote the erection of new ones in those parishes where they have not as yet been instituted.

Akin to this is the privilege of the votive mass in the fifteenth declaration which reads: "We wish the privilege of the votive mass of the Most Holy Rosary, so often confirmed for the Order of Preachers, to be retained, and in such manner, that not only Dominican priests, but also priests who are tertiaries, and who have received from the Master-General the faculty of legitimately using the missal of the Order, may celebrate the votive mass, *Salve Radix Sancta*, twice in the week, according to the decree of the S. C. Rituum.

"But other priests, members of the confraternity, have permission to celebrate only the votive mass in the Roman missal, *Pro diversitate temporum*, at the altar of the Confraternity on the same days as above, and with the same indulgence. The lay members of the confraternity can share in these indulgences, if they assist at the mass and either having confessed their sins, or having contrition of heart, and the intention of approaching the sacrament of Penance, they pour forth their prayers to God."

Well may Leo XIII after writing this constitution exclaim: "What more can I do for this devotion of the Most Holy Rosary and its Confraternity that I have not done?"

The votive mass, *Salve Radix Sancta*, in honor of the Queen of the Most Holy Rosary was first inserted in the missal of the Order of Preachers by Julius III and approved by Clement VIII, 2d April, 1622; Clement X, *Coelestium munus*, 16 Feb., 1671; Innocent XI, S. C. Rituum 25th June, 1622. This mass is peculiar to the special rite of the Order of Preachers, and hence only priests of the Order or Tertiaries having the legitimate faculty for using the missal of the Order can say the mass, *Salve Radix Sancta*. In their own churches priests of the Order are privileged to say the votive mass twice in the week, on the Wednesdays and Saturdays of each week, provided a feast of the first or second class, or of precept or feria, vigil, or privileged octave does not fall on these days. The votive mass can be said in white vestments, even though this color does not harmonize with the color of the office and feast of the day." (Decree of S. C. Rites, 18 Dec., 1779.)

A similar privilege is now extended to members of the Confraternity who are not members of the Order, and is attached to the votive mass in the Roman missal, *Pro diversitate temporum*, said at the Confraternity altar, and the concession is also given to those lay members assisting at these votive masses of gaining the indulgences; provided of course they are in the state of grace which is obtained either by a good and worthy reception of the sacrament of Penance, or perfect contrition with a firm determination of approaching this sacrament. (See also decree S. C. Rites 25th June,



1622; Clement X, *Coelestium munerum*, 16 Feb., 1671; Innocent XI, *Nuper pro parte*, 31 July, 1679, and Pius IX, *Summary of Indulgences*, 18 Sept., 1862.)

Two other Rosary societies remain to be mentioned: "The Perpetual Rosary" and "The Living Rosary." The former as its name indicates, aims at the perpetual recitation of the Rosary by members of the association of the Perpetual Rosary. The members choose one hour each month, or more frequently if they so desire, to say the entire Rosary and meditate at greater length than usual on its mysteries. The hours are so apportioned among the members that there is no hour, day or night, in which the psalter of Mary is not said, her graces and virtues remembered, and her powerful intercession before the throne of God sought and obtained.

From the Acts of the Chapter of the Order of Preachers, held at Rome in 1650, we find that the venerable Father Master Timothy Ricci, O. P., was the founder of this society. Many of the sovereign pontiffs have approved the society and enriched it with abundant indulgences. (Alexander VII, *Ad Augendum*, 1 June, 1656, *Ad Augendum*, Apr. 8, 1658; *Ad Augendum*, 15 Jan., 1663; Clement X, *Ad Augendum*, 17 Feb., 1676; Innocent XI, *Ad Augendum*, 17 Feb., 1683; Clement XI, *Ad Augendum*, 14 Nov., 1723; Clement XII, *Ad Augendum*, 20 May, 1737; Pius VI, *Ad Augendum*, 17 Dec., 1779; *Ad Augendum*, 13 May, 1786; Pius VII, *Ad Augendum*, 16 Feb., 1808.

Finally, by a brief of Pope Pius IX, dated 12 Apr., 1867, the devotion was again approved, and the organization was declared to be a sodality, but not a confraternity, inasmuch as all of its members belong to the Confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary, and the members of the society of the Perpetual Rosary are banded together to more efficaciously advance the aims and purposes of that Confraternity. The society is established in this country with headquarters in the monastery of St. Dominic, Tenth street and Thirteenth avenue, Newark, N. J.

The society of the "Living Rosary" was founded by a pious woman, named Marie Pauline Jaricot, in Lyons, in 1826. It is formed of bands of fifteen, each of whom was obliged to say and meditate upon one mystery at least during the week. In this way the entire Rosary would be said by the Rosary band each week. The society received the approbation of Gregory XVI in a brief dated Jan. 27, 1832. This society like the Perpetual Rosary is under the supreme direction of the Master-General of the Order of Preachers, and its sodalities might be managed by the local authorities of the Rosary Confraternity. This favor was granted by a brief of Aug. 17, 1877. All the necessary information for the formation

of bands, etc., can be obtained from the directors of the Rosary Confraternity. It is scarcely necessary to add that this society is not intended to take the place of a Rosary Confraternity itself, and that all the indulgences attached to it are only still further inducements to members of that Confraternity to advance the grand devotion of the Rosary.

The more we inquire into the Rosary devotion and the advantages of membership in the Rosary Confraternity the more clearly do we see its great importance. It is no wonder, then, that it has always retained such a firm grasp upon the pious Catholic, and that the sovereign Pontiffs, the various religious Orders, and bishops and priests praise and propagate the devotion with so much zeal and charity for the honor of God and his Blessed Mother, and sanctification of immortal souls. That the intrinsic work of the Rosary may be better known, that its glorious triumphs over heresies and heathenism may be remembered, that its spread over the Catholic world may be accomplished, that its future victories may be hastened, and that the special love of Almighty God for this devotion may be recognized is the evident aim of our present Holy Pontiff, Leo XIII, the great, enlightened, experienced Pope of the Rosary.

M. P. O'SULLIVAN, O. P.

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## PRIESTS AND PEOPLE IN FRANCE.

**F**OR the last few years, in the midst of the most unsettled political conditions, a very decided and happy change has been quietly taking place among the French people in regard to Religion and the Church. The storm of persecution which raged so furiously for a time against her has well nigh spent itself. The rural and working classes, ever disposed to distrust their natural guides, and to listen with equal readiness to high-sounding phrases and to base and dishonest insinuations, are gradually opening their eyes to facts and beginning to judge for themselves. Among the political leaders long hostile to religion, some of the most enlightened are now ready to confess that they had overshot the mark and gone farther than the country was prepared to follow them. The chief representatives too of the manufactures, the commerce and the wealth of the nation, though too often strangers to religious belief

and practice, yet realise the fact that the Church is a great conservative power, one of the strongest defences against socialism and anarchy, and that, while it might not be advisable to make her influence preponderant, yet it would be most impolitic to destroy it. Hence a disposition in the governments which have succeeded each other so rapidly in recent years to treat religious interests with some degree of fairness, and to apply as leniently and as little as possible the unjust laws enacted at a time of active hostility.

In the literary world, which always counts for so much in France, it is easy to notice a similar change. Newspapers long known for their opposition to the Church have gradually altered their tone and become fair, if not friendly. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the most widely read and most influential review not only of France but of Europe, uncatholic from the beginning, and placed for many years under the control and management of Renan, is now pursuing a course of which Catholics have little to complain. Other reviews have sprung up of a more decidedly Catholic color, and won a position of honor and influence. Some of the best known literary men, writers of fiction, essayists, critics, poets, are to be found once more on the side of the Church. Religion is treated in a more respectful and sympathetic way than it was wont to be. The priest too fares better at the hands of novelists, with whom he is a favorite character. His work and his inner life are getting to be better understood by them and more happily delineated. Finally the new school of philosophy which has sprung up these latter years as a protest against the growing materialism and sensualism of the age, although proclaiming its independence of all positive religious doctrines, yet by the very nobleness and purity of its principles leads naturally towards the Church.

Influences such as these—and there are many more—give much reason to be hopeful for the religious future of a country to which the Catholic world has never ceased to look with a lively interest. But the most encouraging feature of all, perhaps, is to be found in the altered attitude and action of the clergy, and in the new methods by which an ever increasing section of them succeed in reaching a part of the population estranged from them by a series of causes in operation for several generations.

To understand this, something must be said of the religious conditions of France, a subject regarding which, it must be confessed, the strangest misconceptions prevail outside its boundaries. One day we hear of a "Catholic France," the next day of "Infidel France" as if the whole country were one or the other. The truth is that it is neither. Like so many other countries, France reckons among her children, believers, unbelievers, doubters, inquirers, in

ever varying proportions. By her history, by her traditions, by her action and influence throughout the world for many ages, France is Catholic,—the leading Catholic country of Europe. She remains Catholic in that the immense majority of her children are baptized in the true Church, and furthermore, in that, from North to South and from East to West, individuals and families may be found in the active practice of the highest Christian virtues; nay, whole regions as sincerely religious, as true to priest and to Church as may be found in any part of the world.

But they are only a minority, and side by side with them stands another section with tendencies of the most decided character in the opposite direction; hostile to the Church, to priests, to whatever bears the name and impress of religion. They too are a minority, but active, united, energetic, unscrupulous as to means and most persistent in their efforts to uproot and to destroy.<sup>1</sup> Between the two, and belonging in some degree to one or the other, but entirely to neither, lies the bulk of the nation, uncertain and wavering, unwilling to accept in its integrity the Catholic faith or submit to the ordinances of the Church, yet equally disinclined to sever completely the ties which bind them to her, the great majority still faithful to some of her beliefs and practices, but only in reality to those which imply little effort of the mind or of the will. A keen observer, Abbé Roux, was not far from the truth when, viewing the country as a whole, he wrote: *France is deistic*, that is, she believes in the philosophical creed of Rousseau: God, the Soul, human responsibility and an after life. But she hesitates to go beyond, and while generally ready to admire the spirit and welcome the benefits of Christianity, she instinctively recoils from its mysterious doctrines and dreads the influences which might lead to the acceptance of Christian duty in its fulness. The truth is, the law of life as proclaimed and enforced by the Catholic Church is too much for her. A rule less strict and a diminished creed, such as Protestantism offers, would be much more to her taste. And yet Protestantism has not and never had any serious attraction for her. If earnestly religious at all, she is bound to be Catholic.

There are those who will ask how the Church has lost her hold on so considerable a number of men who almost all belong to her by their baptism and by their early religious formation. But the problem is not limited to France. Though little spoken of in this respect, Italy, Spain, Austria, and other Catholic countries where similar agencies are in operation, present results of the same kind and only different in degree because these same agencies have

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<sup>1</sup> They are commonly connected with Freemasonry, a widespread organization in France, and strongly antagonistic to religion through all continental Europe.

begun to be applied at a later period.<sup>1</sup> The Irish themselves are not so much of an exception as is thought. Persecution, poverty, a superstitious dread of the power of the priest have helped them to be loyal to the Church, as well as their inborn purity and their vivid sense of the unseen. But in circumstances humanly happier, and in closer contact with the movement and life of the modern world, it is not at all sure that they would have fared so well. Pride, impatience of restraint, and the love of forbidden pleasures, wherever found, are consciously or unconsciously leagued against the Church. They are more openly so in France, not because the Frenchman is morally worse, but because he is more impulsive, and at the same time more open and sincere. He takes little trouble to conceal what he thinks and feels; he hates to profess principles which he fails to practice; and the respectable hypocrisy which in this country, and still more in Protestant England, covers such a vast amount of doubt and positive unbelief is utterly abhorrent to him. Nobody talks of "Infidel England" or "Infidel America," yet our conviction is that there exists incomparably more religious belief in France than there is in either of these so-called religious countries. But the Church is uncompromising and exacting. She admits of no halving of belief or of practice; hence, as Christ said of Himself: *Whoever is not for her is against her.*

The estrangement in various degrees of such a large portion of the population of France from the Church goes back far. It may be said to have taken its rise in the great revolution which marks the close of the last century. That huge tidal wave which swept over France, destroying everything in its course, and was felt

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<sup>1</sup> Here is a little picture of the attitude of many Spaniards in regard to religion which just comes to us in the Christmas number of the Boston Herald. It so faithfully expresses the condition of mind of so many in France as well as in Spain that we feel no hesitation in giving it:

People who are born into a religion which does not duck or bend to phases of passing scientific opinion, which has noble ideals and a great history, helps make life easier, and does not bother much with "problems," have things comfortably arranged for them. It is really a great relief to know where you came from, what you are here for, and where you are going, with a choice as to destination. Montaigne, though by nature a genial doubter, was at heart a Catholic. He flew about in the upper air of speculation, trying his philosophical wings, but came back into the big and roomy and comfortable house of the ancient belief when weary, and an indulgent Pope and sensible cardinal refused to give heed to fanatical accusers who would fain have put him to the question, and perhaps have toasted him right brown.

Now the men of cultivation in Spanish countries are very much of the temper of Montaigne. They get together and say unkind things of the church which christened them and brought them up; they become philosophic and scoff at Christianity, and affect to believe in the vagaries of Renan and the latest sceptic, but they do not fail to call in the church for the marrying of their children, for the burial of their dead, and, at last, when the ultimate moment comes, the church of their childhood finds them ready to lay their doubting heads on her broad and motherly bosom. And the wise men among the priests let the men of their flocks talk. They smile indulgently as fathers listening to high-spirited boys who make fun of all things. The patient priest waits. He knows that the wanderer will be very glad to wing himself home in his old age.

through the whole civilised world, did not spare the Church. For a time she disappeared from public life, and a new generation of men grew up almost entire strangers to her. When gradually she emerged and showed herself once more, she was looked upon as a survival of a hated past, still wedded in sympathy to what the revolution had meant to destroy, and so, outside a comparatively small number of faithful adherents, there was little welcome for her. The iron grasp of Napoleon in which she was held during his reign and the favors subsequently bestowed upon her by the unpopular Bourbons were little calculated to secure to her the respect or the love of the nation at large. Respect she won later on; but confidence and love, however well merited, were grudgingly bestowed upon her. There always lingered in the popular mind, a vague suspicion, sedulously cultivated by her opponents, that the Church was not in sympathy with the civilisation and progress of which the age was so proud; that her heart was with the old régime which the revolution had swept away, that while unquestionably exercising a beneficial influence, she had other hidden selfish aims,—and supreme among them, the wish to get power somehow, and compel people to be religious whether they liked it or not. This last has been the popular bugbear right through the century, worked with fatal effect on the imagination of the unenlightened. It was the watchword of Gambetta: *le clericalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*

Such in brief are the people among whom the priests of France have had to exercise their ministry during the whole course of the century now coming to a close: faithful friends, bitter enemies, and a vast fluctuating crowd sometimes disposed to be friendly, to listen and even to conform for a time, but too often standing aloof, suspicious, distrustful, or fearing to be enlightened.

That in this condition of things the principal care of the clergy should be devoted to the "faithful" who sought it of themselves, and who readily gave themselves up to it, was only what might be expected. And in that regard we may safely say that the priests of France as a body have held all through the century an exceptionally high position. In the assiduous administration of the sacraments, constant preaching, missions, confraternities, devotions, ingenious contrivances of all kinds for the benefit of souls, they have set examples which have been copied all over the Church. Nowhere, in particular, has so much been done for the religious instruction of children and preparation for their first communion. And behind it all there was the edifying life of the priests themselves, their faith, their piety, their self-denying, untiring devotion to the service of souls, winning the esteem of believers and unbelievers alike.

The results, as regards the religious portion of the population,

have been excellent. There are in France, as we have said, individuals, families, parishes, whole dioceses of which the Church may be proud. There is in her an abundance and power of spiritual vitality ever bursting forth in new and beautiful forms of religious life. Year after year she gives to an unspiritual and selfish world the spectacle of a host of young men and young women severing the ties that bind them to country and to home, and going forth joyfully to bear to the ends of the earth the message of the Gospel and the blessings of the faith. But why, it will once more be asked, with so much to recommend her, has she failed to disarm her opponents or to win back the loyalty and love of so many of her children? The great difficulty with her is to reach them and to get a hearing, and this brings us to the more recent efforts which have been attempted in that direction and with the most encouraging results, especially within the last ten years.

There is a very common impression abroad regarding the French clergy, that they choose to live too much apart and too widely separated from the people. Unfortunately, it has not been so much a matter of choice with them as of compulsion. In rural districts and small towns where the old faith still reigns supreme, the relations between priests and people remain as close and as cordial as could be wished for. But where religion has lost its hold, and especially in cities and large manufacturing towns, with their ever growing element of "nomads" who, as well as the "settled" workers, are strongly imbued with socialistic theories and are seldom or never seen in a place of worship, the priest has practically become a stranger to them. The hostile feeling generated in certain rural districts has led to the same results. Prejudice on the one side, and a sense of being wronged, or simply timidity, on the other, have been steadily widening the chasm. The priest, finding his advances coldly received, restricted himself more and more to his professional duties; the people contemplating him at a distance, wrapped in his sacred garb and in his mysterious dignity, learned to look upon him as a stranger to what they most cared for, and only concerned to make them religious, and induce them to approach the sacraments. Thus isolation was in a manner forced upon him, and the pious faithful gathering edification from it, naturally encouraged him to persist in it.

It was time to change, and the change is being gradually effected. To reach a people suspicious and estranged is no easy matter. We know that by the difficulty we meet here in reaching non-Catholics, though living in their very midst. The old methods had failed—others are being adopted more in keeping with the spirit and habits of the times, and we will here mention some of the principal ones.

1. The organisation of parishes offers new and interesting features in many places. Besides the parochial schools, a recent and heavy drain on Catholic charities, there are the "patronages" where boys and girls after their first communion are taken away from the contamination of the streets and given every acceptable means of enjoying themselves, especially on Sundays, and thus continue to grow under the blessed influence of religion. Besides the regular sermons, there are conferences and lectures for men only, to which they are, if necessary, invited by letter, a courtesy which hardly ever fails to draw them. Once brought together it is easy enough to handle them. Subjects of various kinds are treated, religious of course, if they meet in the Church; but any interesting subject becomes easily a bond of union and sympathy between the speaker and his audience, leading the latter to listen more readily to questions of religion when the time has come to introduce them. A sight long familiar to us in this country is thus gradually introducing itself to French eyes: priests speaking outside church precincts and on subjects of general interest. Several have thus addressed popular meetings through the country; some have already been elected to the legislature by Catholic constituencies and thus are in a position to reach the whole nation. A form of conference resorted to occasionally with great success consists in introducing the dramatic element into the instructions offered to the people. The subjects chosen are generally those which raise most objections in the popular mind, and the special interest of the method comes from the fact that these objections are presented, not by the preacher who has to answer them, but by an interlocutor who is careful to give them all the color and force they possess in the minds of the hearers. Thus what begins as a sermon ends as a debate in which the audience is keenly interested. Needless to say that to make it successful great tact and judgment are required on both sides. The objector must reflect faithfully the popular impressions without adding strength to them; the lecturer in parrying the thrust of his adversary has to do it deftly and with due regard to the feelings of his hearers, so as to win their sympathy while inflicting defeat on their spokesman.

2. Another means appealed to most successfully is the press. Preaching at its best reaches comparatively few; the printed page goes everywhere. In France it has been a great power for evil, and too long the clergy fought it only by the favorite method of warning and denunciation, good enough, perhaps, to preserve from contamination those who were still undefiled, but utterly powerless to protect or to cure the others. Only through the press can the harm wrought by an irreligious and unscrupulous press be combated, and

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to this the clergy of France are becoming more and more alive. As a consequence a considerable amount of printed matter is put forth and actively circulated by them;—newspapers, magazines, booklets, leaflets, short treatises, popular presentations of religious truth are following closely on the heels of the infidel propaganda. Sold at cost price or distributed gratuitously, they penetrate everywhere and are effecting the happiest change. Pastors of large parishes avail themselves of similar means to keep in touch with those of their people who are never even seen in church. Once a year, or it may be much more frequently the latter receive from their pastor a neat, attractive pamphlet or paper dealing with some religious truth or practice and which is sure to be read. The work is only at its commencement, nor can it, from the nature of the case, be expected to reach its full expansion for years. There is still a lack of proper organisation, a lack too, of experience and dexterity in wielding the new weapons. Priests are not always the most successful apologists. Instead of being satisfied with dealing blows which gradually weaken the enemy, they rush upon him with all their might and strive to crush him at once. Each battle is fought as if all depended on it. To secure an advantage is not enough for them; they must win every time a decisive victory. By education and by temperament, the priests of France are particularly exposed to such faults of strategy, but they are gradually unlearning them. They are coming to realize that the winning of a people or of a single soul to full belief or to a virtuous life is ordinarily not the result of a single engagement but of a lengthened campaign, in which each success has its value; and that to remove misapprehension, to allay prejudice even in a single particular, is always to bring a soul one step nearer to the truth and to God.

3. While religiously indifferent, the working classes are keenly alive to their temporal interests, and here again the clergy are coming down to their level and winning their favor. The rural classes, the backbone of the country, still behindhand in many places in their agricultural methods and economic traditions, have much to learn even for their material interests and their priests have undertaken to teach them. Through their agency improved methods of culture are being introduced, local syndicates and co-operative societies established, agricultural banks, equally profitable to those who invest and to those who borrow, are springing up on all sides; outlets are secured for the various products of the land; the hard-working peasant is finding himself surrounded by more comfort; and, realising that he owes it all to his priest, he is learning to see in him a father and a friend. The operatives of cities, more intelligent but more easily kindled to revolt against all existing authori-

ties, as more or less in league against them, are now coming in contact with priests who have studied the social questions of the day, who are alive to the claims of the workingman and in full sympathy with him in the vindication of his natural and social rights. In a word the priest is coming forth from the sanctuary and mingling with the crowd. He remains the man of God, but he is also becoming the man of the people.

These are only some of the expedients to which their zeal enlightened by experience and by the example of other countries is leading the younger portion of the French clergy. If we would see them in operation, we have only to turn to the marvellously truthful picture of clerical life and work recently given to the public under signature of "Yves le Querdec." A volume of letters supposed to have been written by a country pastor, all about his people and his work;—a second volume in which, having been appointed to a city parish, he continues to describe the various classes of people with whom he has to deal, and the difficulties he encounters among them;—such is the general idea of the work. A last volume entitled "Journal d'un évêque"—(a bishop's diary)—widens the horizon and introduces the reader to the more general interests of religion in which a French bishop is engaged.

As a picture of French society from a religious standpoint, and of the complex, warring elements amid which priest and bishop have to steer their course, it would be difficult to imagine anything more perfect. Each situation is admirably analysed, each feature caught up and presented in exquisite style and with striking accuracy. The reader is living through the whole thing. But it is much more than a picture. It is a lesson taught gently yet forcibly to the clergy of the period, pointing out with consummate tact what may be done successfully and how to do it in the most adverse circumstances. These charming volumes have brought back courage and hope to hundreds of priests disheartened by failure, and even bishops have confessed that they learned not a little from them. So thorough is the knowledge they exhibit, not only of the external aspect and incidents of clerical life, but of its inmost thoughts and aspirations, that behind the *non de plume* of the writer, one could only expect to find some ecclesiastical dignitary of mature years and wide experience, hiding his individuality in order to point the way more freely to priest and bishop. In reality the writer is neither bishop nor priest, but a simple layman,—a distinguished professor of philosophy in one of the lycées of Paris and a well known writer on philosophical subjects.

## III.

But to win back the working classes, as the priests of France have begun to do, would be at most an ephemeral success if they failed to gain over or to hold at the same time the more enlightened part of the nation. For to that portion of the community ultimately devolves the intellectual direction of the whole body. Now two things only can secure abiding influence over such people: knowledge and virtue. Virtue, and of no ordinary kind, as we have already said, the French clergy exhibited all through the century, winning thereby to themselves universal respect. But knowledge was wanting;—not indeed the professional, practical knowledge necessary for the exercise of the ministry; that had been sufficiently supplied by the seminary training; but that knowledge of a higher order which allows men to speak with authority upon the subjects which fill the modern mind. That was habitually missing; nor could it well be otherwise. In past ages the clergy took the lead in almost everything. Even in the last century they occupied a prominent position in all the principal departments of human knowledge. But after the revolution had accomplished its destructive work, they reappeared, despoiled of all the practical means of special study, diminished in numbers, and claimed on every side by the imperative needs of the faithful. And so they have remained through the century; a few men of exceptional gifts emerging here and there among them, but the vast majority absorbed in their daily duties and content to settle down on a fairly respectable, yet comparatively low level. But this was only part of the evil. It is doubtful, in fact, whether special knowledge (outside that of their profession) can be fairly expected at any time in priests engaged in the work of the ministry. But even outside special knowledge, there is such a thing as a broad general culture, keeping men in touch, and as far as possible in sympathy, with contemporary thought and the progressive movement of the age. As a means of influence this would obviously have been invaluable, yet it must be confessed that for a long time in most places it was neglected. The youth of the sanctuary grew up in a sort of intellectual sequestration, taught to distrust and to dread indiscriminately the very things that appealed most powerfully to their generation, and to live practically strangers to what was uppermost in men's thought. Happily that condition of things has well nigh disappeared, and the change is mainly due to the establishment of Catholic universities.

The need of such institutions was long and keenly felt, and from time to time plans were elaborated to carry out so laudable a purpose. At length, a few years after the downfall of the Empire, under the inspiration of Mgr. Dupanloup, the celebrated bishop of

Orleans, then a member of the legislature, a law was passed allowing the creation under certain conditions of free universities, with power of giving degrees. The Catholics of France were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity. Almost simultaneously five universities sprung into existence. Paris, Lyons, Lille, Toulouse, Angers, became the new centers of learning—too many to begin with, from a financial as well as from a political point of view. The old University of France was alarmed, and a new legislature less liberal withdrew the privilege of giving degrees, and forbade even the higher chairs in Catholic colleges to any but graduates of the State National University. The measure was anything but a friendly one, yet, in the eyes of many it proved a blessing in disguise. The Catholic institutions could no longer call themselves universities, nor confer degrees of their own, against which it would have always been easy to foster a prejudice; but they could prepare their students for the state degrees, the value of which nobody would think of questioning. And this is the policy they at once adopted, and have ever since persevered in, with the result of bringing together, year after year, the élite of the clerical youth of each diocese, to be initiated into a deeper knowledge of literature, or of history, or of philosophy, or of the various natural sciences. For obvious reasons, their training is in the hands of graduates of the National University, mostly men of large pedagogic experience, familiar with the most advanced methods of teaching which they naturally impart to their students, thus fitting them not only for the State examinations which they face generally with much credit to themselves, not unfrequently winning the very highest honors,—but also for the teaching in Catholic colleges to which they are mostly destined. To many of these colleges the introduction of the new methods has been an inestimable boon, and our young professors have already gifted the country with some of the best manuals and text books of classical studies.

But there was another department of still more vital importance, the department of clerical studies, or to call them by their generic name, Theology. Here, the bishops, untrammelled by governmental interference and dependent only on the authority of the Pope, proceeded at once to the establishment of higher courses of study. Side by side with the clerics devoted to the pursuit of other subjects, was to be seen an ever increasing number of students entirely given up to the ecclesiastical sciences: dogma, church history, the various branches of Biblical study, etc. Here indeed, was a new, long-wished for and most desirable departure: the opportunity given at last to the French clergy to reconquer its former prominence in the field of sacred learning. Now that the work has been proceeding

for some years, the effect is felt everywhere, not only in the university schools, but through the seminaries of the country, and to the remotest homes of the rural clergy.

This last but not least valuable result has become possible through the ecclesiastical reviews which have recently come into existence as a natural outgrowth of the theological schools. Each one of the latter has its special organ which, besides chronicling the events of the individual school, gives thorough treatment to questions of general interest. In addition to these there are several other reviews, unattached—but very widely diffused—such as *La Revue du Clerge Français*; some, like the *Revue Biblique* or the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, which in their respective spheres take their place side by side with the best English and continental periodicals. The effect of these publications circulating widely among the clergy is incalculable. In regular succession they convey even to those farthest removed from the intellectual centres the latest results of original research, with the problems they give rise to, the new views and solutions to which the ablest men's minds are being led, etc., pointing out at the same time the most valuable among the multitudinous works constantly issuing from the press; being in short like an intellectual leaven permeating and lifting up the whole body of the clergy.

To these higher centres of learning religion is indebted for one more signal benefit: "the Catholic Congresses" or gathering of Catholic scientists and schools, which have been held within the last ten years.<sup>1</sup> The results of their labors have been given each time to the public. It is impossible for an enlightened Catholic to look into them without experiencing a sense of pleasure and pride at seeing so much advanced learning do homage, in some of its brightest representations, to Catholic truth; at the same time he cannot help noticing the considerable share that priests, and in particular French priests, occupy in the proceedings. True, the region of the natural sciences is almost entirely given over to laymen, but in philosophy, in history, and in the biblical sciences, clerics take by far the largest part.

Thus then, in divers ways, the clergy of France are getting back into touch with the various classes of the population from which they have been so long and so unhappily estranged. With more of mutual knowledge, there is a steady decline of prejudice on either side and a growth of mutual appreciation which, if undisturbed by fresh misunderstandings, cannot fail to lead in time to a cordial and helpful union.

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<sup>1</sup> The two first were held in Paris, the following in Brussels, and the last in Freiburg; Munich is the place chosen for the coming Congress of 1900.

What, in the judgment of most American Catholics, would effect the same results much more effectively and thoroughly is the severing, if it were possible, of the band between Church and State, making the clergy entirely dependent on the people in France as in this country. That may be. But the problem is infinitely more complex than is commonly supposed. For the present it is not practical, his present Holiness having forbidden even the discussion of the question.

#### IV.

But, it will be asked, how reconcile so favorable and hopeful a view with the signs of weakness apparent in the clerical body of France—with those numerous defections happening every day; in fact, a sort of general movement towards Protestantism of which we hear in the ranks of the French clergy.

The objection would be perfectly natural if the facts were true. But the trouble is, they are devoid of all serious foundation. The clerical defections of last year are neither more nor less than what may be witnessed any other year. In view of the sensational statements that have gone the rounds recently of the press in this connection, it may not be amiss to state here the real facts. In a country reckoning as many as fifty thousand priests it would be a miracle that none of them should falter or fail. There are always a few upon whom the yoke of the priesthood weighs too heavily. For some, of a restive and undisciplined temperament, it is the yoke of obedience; with others, it is the yoke of Christian and priestly chastity; with a few—very few—it is the yoke of the faith, to bear which they had been insufficiently trained. When such men choose to abandon the duties and life of the priesthood, they generally drop out noiselessly and are heard of no more. They would gain little by publicity, for in no section of society would any sympathy await them. This year things are somewhat different in consequence of special facilities secured to the deserters. A Protestant lady, the widow of a rich banker, has placed a beautiful villa at the disposal of those in question. Those who leave the church are welcomed there, and every effort made to secure them acceptable positions. When it becomes known of a priest that he is tempted in that direction, overtures are made to encourage him. In this way it has been possible to bring together eight, or ten, or maybe twelve unhappy young men. The "liberal" or rationalistic section of Protestants welcomes them; but the "orthodox," that is, those who still cling to the supernatural, give them no countenance. And very rightly indeed, because so far they give proof much more of unlimited love of liberty than of faithfulness to any positive Christian

doctrine. A few in fact have openly disclaimed all further connection with Christianity. They have been much spoken of in other countries, but are almost entirely unnoticed at home. The anti-religious press ever on the look-out for what may harm the Church is utterly silent in their regard. The great Protestant organ "Le Journal of Genève" never refers to them. Whatever notoriety they enjoy is due, first to a monthly bulletin of their own "Le Chrétien Français" which gathers together every symptom of revolt in the clergy and, to enlarge the number of its adherents, roams over the whole world. Whoever, monk or priest, falls away from Catholic unity, be he Spaniard, Italian, German or Oriental, is sure to be recorded in the columns of the "Chrétien Français." In the second place, this publicity has been recently increased by some Catholic newspapers which, strong against "Americanism" endeavor to trace back the defections of these unhappy priests to the liberal spirit breathed across the ocean, and, to strengthen their argument unconsciously magnify the importance of the movement. In reality it has none. The unhappy individuals who have joined it were entirely unknown, except in the case of a few who were too well known, and of whom their bishops were pleased to find themselves suddenly relieved. They can exercise no influence, being with one or two exceptions devoid of all talent, and having nothing to teach. The articles of their organ are the merest declamation about *Christian freedom, liberty of thought, leaning on the Saviour*, and other such platitudes devoid of any definite meaning with which we are at all familiar. What the world craves for to-day, in France as elsewhere, is fixity of principles, something to stand firmly upon and make a basis of action. And this we know can be found only in the Catholic Church.

J. HOGAN.

## PROTESTANTISM AND THE BLESSED EUCHARIST.

RECENTLY the Archbishop of Canterbury, the official head of English Protestantism, delivered himself of some views on the Blessed Eucharist,<sup>1</sup> which have attracted attention from various quarters and for very divergent reasons. The views in themselves contain nothing very new, or very erudite. Nor could anybody expect such from Dr. Temple. There have been, and there are Anglicans of the type of the leaders of the Oxford movement or of the late Canon Liddon, or the large and respectable body known as Ritualists, who have studied the Fathers and theologians and whose patristic sense must be shocked by such utterances as those before us. But the heads of the English Church Establishment are chosen and appointed by the government of the day, not to expound the law and the prophets, but to supervise and continue the traditional movements of the ecclesiastical machine with as little friction as possible. The well-known injunction of the wildest of diplomatists to his appointees—*point de zèle*, or the older adage—*quieta non movere*—forms the chief part of the government's commissions to its episcopal servants. Dr. Temple himself is a good example of the working of this system. It is well known that the former headmaster of Rugby was appointed to London and later to Canterbury in recognition, not of any ascetical zeal or theological attainments, but of shrewd common sense and easy-going complacency. When such men occasionally pronounce on matters ecclesiastical or theological they do so in somewhat the same fictitious manner as the Queen makes speeches. The words she officially utters at the openings of Parliament and on other state occasions represent, not her personal views nor the traditional, historical views of her family, but those of the dominant political party as represented by the existing ministry. In the same way the official utterances of the English or, for that matter, of other Protestant bishops rightfully claim to represent neither scripture nor tradition but the prevailing notions of the average Protestant. It is from this point of view that such pronouncements are of any value to outsiders, Christian or otherwise. To the student of religion, especially to the Catholic, it must prove interesting to consider the latest pronouncement of three hundred years of Protestantism on

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<sup>1</sup> Reported in the *Guardian* of October 12, '88.



the "mysterium fidei," the sacrament of sacraments—the Blessed Eucharist. Of course, the Anglicans, having no Orders, have no Eucharist; for the ministry of the Eucharist was confided by Christ to His ordained disciples and their successors. It is now definitely proved and decided that the Anglicans have no claim to valid succession or valid orders. Hence they have no more power to consecrate than ordinary laymen, that is no power at all. But Dr. Temple speaks on the hypothesis of the validity of Anglican Orders. And it is from this standpoint that we shall consider how illogical, unscriptural and untraditional his views are; we shall set forth some of the causes that have led to such views; and we shall mention a few of the lamentable consequences that have followed therefrom.

Dr. Temple's charge is referred to as follows in a leading article in the *London Spectator*, October 15:

"The present Archbishop of Canterbury has no doubt the defects of his qualities; but then he has qualities, and one of them, rather rare among clerical dignitaries of our day, is fearlessness. He must be much better aware than most men of the controversy that is raging among clergymen as to the Eucharist, of the bitterness the contest excites, and of the real danger of a secession on its account, yet he makes it the first subject of his visitation charge, and delivers his judgment as to the true attitude of the church in regard to it—as clearly and unhesitatingly as if he did not know that great sections of the twenty thousand clerics whom he is really addressing will regard that utterance, some of them with dismay, some of them with anger, and a few with positive abhorrence. He makes no reserves, he conceals nothing, save perhaps his individual opinion, which would have been out of place, and he is never unintelligible. Like it or dislike it, there is no mistaking his exposition of the law. The Archbishop declares that the Church of England permits two widely different opinions as to the nature of the Eucharist, and rejects absolutely a third. The third is the one popularly known as transubstantiation, the Roman belief that the elements when consecrated are actually changed, though not visibly changed, into the very body of our Lord. This belief the church, with the very obvious and strong approval of Dr. Temple, utterly condemns.

"Most assuredly," says his Grace, "if ever human inventions have been allowed to supersede the teaching of Scripture, this is among the number of such inventions. There is not a word in the New Testament which can be wrested into a support of the doctrine of the conversion of the bread into the body of our Lord or the wine into His blood. The Church of England has condemned this teaching as unscriptural; as inconsistent with the very nature of a sacrament, since a sacrament implies an external and visible sign with an

inward and spiritual grace; as tending and having already given rise to many superstitions."

"That the Archbishop is historically correct is certain, for otherwise the Reformation would have very little meaning, a fact of which extreme Ritualists are well aware when they try to explain that great movement away; but there must be a thousand clergymen to whom a statement so definite and unqualified will give more than a momentary pang. On the other hand the Church tolerates two opinions without finally deciding between them. There are those who hold a view which the Archbishop thus describes: 'There are those who hold that no special gift is bestowed by this sacrament, but that the value of it mainly, if not entirely, resides in the effect produced on the soul of the receiver by the commemoration of that wonderful act of love, our Lord's sacrifice of Himself on the Cross. Nothing more, they think, is needed, and nothing more is given. The spiritual effect, according to this view, is great, the memory of the Cross works on all the being; it softens, purifies, elevates, kindles; and this to such a degree that possibly no other influence can be compared with that exercised by this great sacrifice. But there is no special gift, no supernatural interposition, any more than in prayer.' And there are those who hold that there is something more, that the Lutheran doctrine is true, that in some mysterious way, though the elements are not changed, something supernatural has been added, that, in fact, they are natural things yet our Lord is actually present in them. The Church permits both views, the commemoration service and the actual presence in the Lutheran sense, that is, as it is technically called, 'consubstantiation'; but it will not permit the latter view to be pushed or exaggerated into the Romanist belief. That is clear, and justifies the assertion we have maintained for so many years, that on this point, which is cardinal, the Church is intentionally comprehensive. It rejects no shade of opinion on the Eucharist except that which is in the most distinctive way openly Romanist.'

The audacity of some of the statements quoted above takes away one's breath. In them Dr. Temple shows that official English Protestantism is as brutal in its antagonism to everything Catholic today as it was in the time of Queen Bess. Not one of even the most rabid of the so-called reformers ever uttered a more bare-faced misstatement than that contained in the words: "There is not a word in the New Testament which can be wrested into a support of the doctrine of conversion of the bread into the body of our Lord or the wine into His blood." All the wresting and quibbling and misinterpretation has been done by those who would set up figurative, metaphorical and fanciful interpretations of their own against the

literal and obvious meaning of the texts of the first three evangelists and of St. Paul, setting forth the institution of the Blessed Eucharist,

τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.

"THIS IS MY BODY,"<sup>1</sup> have proved too strong for their twisted hermeneutics. Even Luther had to confess that, notwithstanding his wishes and efforts to the contrary, he could not gainsay the clearness and cogency of the scriptural testimony establishing the Real Presence. It is rather late in the day now for the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury to put forth a rehash of heretical sayings about the Blessed Eucharist which have been refuted times without number for the past three hundred years. Nor do we intend to follow his example by offering a rehash of the refutations that are to be found in so many books and treatises. No man could now feel that he was advancing truth one title by so doing. There can be no seriousness in such allegations as those of Dr. Temple. If we are not to believe that Christ meant just what he said as recorded by four inspired writers, when He "took bread and blessed, and broke, and gave to His disciples, and said: Take ye and eat; *This is my Body* (by concomitance His Blood, Soul and Divinity are where His Body is)—if we are not to believe this, then all revelation goes for naught. There is no doctrine more directly and emphatically revealed than that known as *transubstantiation*, that is the miraculous change by our Lord of the substance of bread and of wine into the substance of His own Body and Blood, leaving the original accidents of the bread and wine to minister unto the Divine substance, but assigning by a fresh miracle to these accidents the attributes of substance, and the power of informing new substances.

The difficulties that this doctrine presents from the standpoint of reason are not greater than those presented by the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity or of the Incarnation. Three in One, the Infinite united to the Finite, virginity co-existing with motherhood are truths which the unaided reason of even an Aristotle could comprehend. It may even be said that it is easier for human reason to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation than any of the others mentioned. Granting the almighty power of God, there is no difficulty in believing that He, the First Cause, can change one substance into another independent of the subsidiary accidents. The apostles, who had witnessed the changing of water into wine, the feeding of thousands by five loaves, the transfiguration on the Mount, found no difficulty in believing that they were receiving under the sacramental species that which He had promised when He said: "The

<sup>1</sup> Math. xxvi, 26; Mark xiv, 22; Luke xxii, 19; I Cor. xi, 24.

bread that I will give is My flesh for the life of the world.”<sup>1</sup> Science has no absolutely conclusive grounds for rejecting such an exercise of Divine power. What does science know of the intrinsic nature of matter or substance? No scientist has yet fathomed the mysterious nature and laws of even inorganic matter. The simplest prismatic formation is beyond his ken. Still more so is the union of life and matter in the plant, the flower, the fruit tree; the higher unions of life and matter in animals, their instincts and senses; above all, the union of soul and body in man, not to speak of the union of grace and nature in the soul. In presence of such wonders the right minded scientist is prepared to accept the “memorial” of them all which, according to the Psalmist,<sup>2</sup> a merciful and gracious Lord hath made in giving Himself as food to those who fear Him. The change of substance that takes place in the Blessed Eucharist is somewhat similar to the change of wood into stone effected by some waters; the change of bread and wine into flesh and blood in the human body. Nor is it difficult to believe that the God who changed Lot’s wife into a pillar of salt, Moses’ rod into a serpent, who was requested by the demon who knew His power to make bread out of stones, who created everything out of nothing, should, by an exercise of His power, change the substance of bread and wine into the substance of His own Body and Blood. The wondrous existence of Christ’s Body in so small a space in the sacramental species is on a line with His entrance to and exit from His Virgin Mother’s womb, His resurrection from the sealed tomb, His appearance through closed doors. We see a similar independence of quantity as St. Augustine points out, in the soul itself, which is in the whole body, yet entire in each part of it, complete in the child as in the man.

But no one has ever claimed to explain by human reason the stupendous mysteries and miracles of the Eucharist. There is, for instance, no analogy in nature or in scripture for the fact that the body of Christ is really and truly at the right hand of the Father in heaven, and at the same time in every and each duly consecrated particle of bread.<sup>3</sup> In presence of these truths that surpass our understanding St. Thomas, adopting the words of St. John of Damascus, advises us to act as the Blessed Virgin did when she received what she considered an impossible mission. On being assured that the power of the Most High was to overshadow her, and that “no word shall be impossible with God” she humbly submitted her judgment to the word of the Almighty.

This is what we have to do in all matters of faith, but particularly

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<sup>1</sup> John vi, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cx.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. St. Thomas, *Opusculum VIII.*

in regard to that which is called in the Canon "the mystery of faith." To it St. Thomas applies the words adopted from *Isaías vi.* "*nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.*" "Unless you believe, you will not understand," and those other words from the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews: "He that cometh to God must believe that He is." Belief in God and in His word is the first requisite for understanding His ways.

What is most remarkable about the history of the Blessed Eucharist is that, notwithstanding the miracles it contains, it was readily embraced by the early church, and clung to throughout the ages with less heretical opposition than any other of the great dogmas. Belief in, and practice of, the Blessed Eucharist as a sacrament and a sacrifice is written on every page and phase of the church's history from the beginning. The writings of her doctors from St. Ignatius, St. John's disciple, down to St. Thomas,<sup>1</sup> from each of whom in the several centuries long quotations might be made proving their belief in transubstantiation; the monuments of her architecture and art, from the rude table on which St. Peter celebrated, to his altar in the world's cathedral which bears his name; from the persecutions in the catacombs to the penal laws in Ireland; the olden liturgies of the various rites—every phase of her history and life give evidence that the Church founded by Christ regarded always, as she regards to-day, the Real Presence as her greatest treasure, and the Holy Sacrifice as the central act of worship. For more than a thousand years there is not a discordant voice, until the unfortunate Berengarius, in the eleventh century, egged on for national political reasons, by the French king, resisted the authority of Rome, and denied transubstantiation. He was speedily condemned by a council held in Rome 1050, and he finally recanted, and died repentant. More than three centuries elapsed until the next heresy against the Blessed Eucharist appeared. It was in 1381, that Wycliffe, in a spirit of wounded pride and spite, propounded the doctrine of "consubstantiation"—the same doctrine which was afterwards adopted by Melancthon, and which is proclaimed by Dr. Temple to be the nearest approach to the Catholic doctrine which the modern Church of England will officially tolerate. The ancient Church of England and the University of Oxford condemned Wycliffe's teachings. Indeed, his theory of "consubstantiation" was not only opposed to the literal interpretation of scripture and the constant teaching of the church but it was and is manifestly absurd. It presents far more difficulties than "transubstantiation" and subverts all foundation for belief in the Real

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<sup>1</sup> See a long list of them in *De Lugo, De Sacr. Euch. Disput. xi, 4.*

Presence. For, as St. Thomas points out,<sup>1</sup> a presence can be realized where it did not previously exist only through a change of substance, or through a change of location. Now it is clear that the body of Christ cannot begin to be in the Eucharist by any local movement, for, firstly, It would thereby cease to be in heaven, which, in the hypothesis of local movement, it would have to leave, since whatever is locally moved cannot reach one place without abandoning the other; secondly, that which is subject to local movement or mutation could not be in several places at the same time as Christ's Body is in the Blessed Eucharist. Again, the form of the sacrament "This is my Body" is utterly at variance with the "consubstantiation" view which could mean at most: "Here is my Body" or "My Body is in this bread." Further, the divine adoration given to the Blessed Eucharist would be out of place if it contained bread also; and there would be no foundation for the unvarying practice of the Church which regards the priest who has consumed the sacred species only, as still fasting, and in fit condition to consume another Host, or to celebrate another mass, whereas the partaking of mere bread which would take place under the consubstantiation theory would break his fast. This particular view, then, is at the same time irrational, unscriptural, and untraditional. Yet it is, as we have said, on Dr. Temple's own showing, the only kind of Real Presence which official Protestantism will tolerate.

In this respect, the Church of England falls below the teaching of even Luther, for he did not formally adopt consubstantiation. The tenth article of the Augsburg Confession presented to Charles V in 1530, practically acknowledged transubstantiation: "They (the Protestants) teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are really present and are distributed to the communicants under the appearance of bread and wine, and they condemn those who teach otherwise." It was Melancthon who, afterwards, by changing the word "under" to "together with," and the words "are really present" to "are shown forth" formulated the doctrine of consubstantiation. Zwinglius developed the theory of a figurative presence, and Calvin adopted a middle course by maintaining that the Body of Christ present in Heaven communicated a certain virtue to the elements when received by the communicants. This Calvinistic view which Hallam calls "a jargon of bad metaphysical theology"<sup>2</sup> is the prevailing belief to-day among the majority of Protestants. "The English laity," says the writer of the article in the *Spectator* already quoted, "hold that the administration and reception of the Eucharist

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<sup>1</sup> III a Pars. Q. LXXV, Art. II.

Constitutional History, Vol. I, C II.

constitute a commemorative service which, having been specially instituted by Christ Himself, may, and, if the recipient is worthy, does, convey something of indefinite mystical grace. The grace is not in the bread and the wine, but in its reception in faith as an act of reverent obedience to a mandate which, coming from a divine being, must not only be wise, but beneficial. They do not attempt to define what it is that consecration effects in the case of the Eucharist, any more than they define it in a case of a cathedral, but they hold that, whatever it is, the presence and assent of the recipient is essential to its validity. The consecration of the elements in an empty church strikes them as a meaningless form, a superstitious act, a belief which at once and finally separates them from the Romanist, and would, if they were even logical, also separate them from the Lutheran. They do not, however, in most cases object to the clergyman being as to this matter a Lutheran. Their singular tolerance of almost all theological differences, due in part to ignorance, in part to their fixed, and, as we entirely admit, unphilosophical impression that the only test of truth is the conduct it produces, induces them to overlook in the clergy almost any departures from their own theories, and it is only when they hear the celebration openly called 'the mass' that they begin to grow hostile, and symptoms show themselves—the race being given to resort to force—of a latent tendency to brawl. They are, however, nearly immovable in their own view, and listen to arguments inconsistent with that view very much as if they were delivered in Latin. They do not want their own view embodied in an Act. They do not even censure their teachers for holding a different one. The capacity for feeling the *odium theologicum* has nearly died out among them, but they are, in the most placable and unpretentious way, beyond the reach of conversion. Not one of them denies a certain mystical character to the Eucharist. Not one of them questions that its reception with full reverence is a Christian obligation; but not one of them—we speak, of course, of the majority—believes in the presence during the service, of anything but a keenly felt spiritual grace. 'Means of grace' they say, and believe, but they go no farther, either towards Rome or towards Luther. Those of the clergy who hope they will, are wasting strength, as much as those lawyers who think that if they explain the real utility and function of a jury they may convince the electors that it ought to consist of less than twelve. They are singly met by the Englishman's silent but unalterable "No," which in controversies with the clergy never becomes audible unless the individual clergyman is either disliked or despised. The vices and oppressions of the clergy, rather than any change of theological opinion, produced the English Reformation."

No one will deny that this writer fairly represents the prevailing Protestant views of the Blessed Eucharist. His words give a sad picture of confusion and uncertainty, illogical, and unscriptural belief, the creature of the dogged prejudice excited and fermented by the leaders of the so-called reformation. It is heart-rending to think that such a state of belief, or rather unbelief, exists among a people who once possessed the faith, whose fathers built Salisbury and York, Westminster and Canterbury, as temples wherein to celebrate the Holy Mysteries and guard the Real Presence. And surely it would be worth considering what causes led to such a deplorable change, to the rejecting the beliefs and traditions of a thousand years and to the consequent rendering spiritually breadless and lifeless a once Christian people. We may only hint at some of these causes, the full treatment of which would entail a very long disquisition.

It is to be remarked at the outset that the originators of unbelief in the Real Presence represented no school of thought or largely spread opinion existing prior to their time. Berengarius' heretical views came as a shock to his age: so did those of Wycliffe to his. Both, of course, succeeded in gathering around them a certain number of disciples just as any able teacher, even the most extravagant, will succeed in doing. But they were not the exponents of an existing set of heretical doctrines in the same way as Dr. Temple is the exponent of actual Protestant Eucharistic ideas. The same may be said of the reformers of the sixteenth century. There is no evidence to show that the body of the people or any considerable portion of them whether in Germany or England had lost faith in the Blessed Eucharist, when Zwinglius and Calvin and Cranmer and the others hurled forth their denunciation of the belief of ages. The late Cardinal Manning used to say that the faith was stolen from the people of England. This is particularly true of their faith in the Blessed Eucharist. The history of the Reformation in England clearly shows that the changes affecting the sacrifice of the Mass and Holy Communion were introduced and carried out most cautiously at first. The change from the Latin Missal to the English rendering of it known as the Book of Common Prayer was nothing very striking in the eyes of a people who were but poorly instructed in liturgical matters. The distribution of Holy Communion was, to the eyes of the common people, kept up as before; and they had no occasion to doubt that they were receiving at the communion service the same Bread of Life that their fathers had received. Nor can it be a matter of surprise that the people were thus hoodwinked in this grave matter. There were certain predisposing causes of their ignorance and lukewarmness. Dr. Gasquet,

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in his learned work—*Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*—emphasises the fact that the clergy were decimated by the Black Death and the Wars of the Roses to such an extent that the Bishops were often forced to ordain mere boys to minister to the most pressing spiritual needs of the people. There was very little instruction given; services were discontinued in many churches. The benefices were mostly occupied by university men, who cared but little for the common folks, and who occupied themselves more with intellectual pursuits than with the cultivation of piety. Dean Colet, the illustrious founder of St. Paul's School, London, (1510) is a case in point. It is related of him<sup>1</sup> that he considered week-day masses superfluities, that he said Mass himself only on Sundays and festivals, as he considered his time better spent in preparing his sermons. The statutes that he drew up for his school enjoined that Mass should be said daily for the scholars in a chapel adjoining their study hall, but they were to pay attention to only a part of it—from the *sanctus* to the elevation—when they were supposed to kneel; during the rest of the Mass they were to go on with their studies. It is clear that such training was not calculated to develope knowledge of, or esteem for, the Holy Sacrifice. Dean Colet has had his reward. The school that he founded and endowed has been a stronghold of anti-Catholicism for well-nigh four hundred years.

But while these predisposing causes may be put forth in palliation of the breakdown of faith in the Blessed Eucharist, on the part of the common people, far different causes must be sought for to explain the bitter, the diabolical hostility of the leaders of the sixteenth century revolt against the time-honored doctrine and practice of the Holy Eucharist. One would think that they should have been satisfied with breaking away from Rome and nationalizing their churches. They might have done so and preserved, though in schism, like the Greeks and Russians, the Real Presence and the entire sacramental system. It was surely no love of truth or of beauty or of godliness that led them to hush the throb of ages, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts! that had resounded in harmonious unity for a thousand years in millions of sanctuaries ushering in the sacred Consecration and Elevation of the Lamb of God. It was no love of truth that led them to replace the direct teaching of scripture and tradition by their own discordant, illogical theories which are comprehensive only in negation. It was no love of godliness that led them to do away with the shriving and fasting of ages, and set up instead the immoral doctrine of "sin as you please, but believe." Yea, rather, it was the absence of all these,

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<sup>1</sup> See *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 685.

especially of the last, that led them to pull down the great institution of divine mercy and love. The demands made on self-denial and self-humiliation by the sacrament and sacrifice of the Eucharist as understood by the Church supply one of the chief causes of the intense hostility shown towards it by the leading so-called reformers. It is especially against the Holy Sacrifice—the “Popish Mass,” “the hellish superstition,” as they continually called it, that their bitterest darts were directed. And why? Chiefly, because the Real Presence and the Mass entailed three practices exceedingly inconvenient for the reformers’ ideas of godliness: auricular confession, fasting and celibacy. Belief in the Real Presence carries with it the practice of confession and penance. How believe that the Immaculate Lamb of God, infinitely holy, is made present by the words of consecration, is lifted up, is consumed, is distributed by the Priest, and not believe that a purging from sin, a proving of oneself through the sacrament of Penance is necessary for both the celebrant and the communicant? “Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord.”<sup>1</sup> It was logical for those who felt towards the Sacrament of Penance the same bitter hostility that Dr. Temple displays, in a part of this charge to which we have already referred, to do away with the Real Presence and the sacrifice whose existence implied the obligation of cleansing and purifying the soul, so as to discern the body of the Lord.

The fasting and celibacy enjoined on the ministers of the Holy Sacrifice especially struck in the unctuous nostrils of Luther and his associates. Yet, even more than confession, fasting and celibacy were so blended with the offering up of the “clean oblation” throughout the ages in the Latin Church that it would be a hopeless undertaking to accustom the people to postprandial and nuptial Masses. And so the Mass must go, and with it the fasting and celibacy. What a turning away from history and tradition! What a denial of the Holy Ghost was here! The best efforts of the Church founded by Christ had been spent during fifteen hundred years to guard and save the sacramental system instituted by her founder, and to provide a choice ministry for the sacrament of sacraments—the Eucharist. For this she had made repeated sacrifices; for this she had resisted tyrants; for this she had stemmed

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xi, 27, 28, 29.

the tide of corruption; for this she has proclaimed through Gregory VII—"Perish all rather than the celibacy of the clergy!"

She knew that she was making severe demands on flesh and blood, but she felt that the sublime ministry of the Eucharist required it; and she felt, too, that the Paraclete was with her to illuminate and strengthen those chosen to be other Christs—other mediators between God and man. And her divinely inspired legislation triumphed. Her celibate Priesthood has been, and is, and will be till the end of time, her most brilliant ornament in the eyes of angels and of men. And all this—penance, fasting, and celibacy—was to be done away with, to make way for a new god, or, rather, the old one against whom St. Paul warned his beloved Philippians—the god of sensuality and lust, the god—to use the apostle's own words—of the belly. No wonder that the Sacrament and the Sacrifice had to disappear; no wonder, too, that the official legatees of that overthrow and its hereditary beneficiaries such as Dr. Temple should still glory in that which has brought to them, to their wives, and to their progeny, wealth and comfort, whilst it has robbed God's little ones of the Bread of Life. This overthrow was not, as we have already intimated, the people's doing. It was the work of the conniving Luthers and Cranmers who had their own ends to serve, and stopped short of nothing neither of falsehood nor fraud to secure them. The people were robbed; the Real Presence, the Holy Sacrifice, the Priesthood were gone before they knew of it.

The marks of this loss by the people, of the great crime of the reform leaders have been on Protestantism since its origin. In it is fulfilled the saying of the Divine Master: "Unless you eat of the flesh and drink of the blood of the Son of Man you shall not have life in you." There is no supernatural life in Protestantism as a system. We say "as a system" for we are aware that "the Spirit breatheth where He wills," and that numerous individual souls that belong externally to Protestantism, belong really to the Spouse of Christ. It is consoling to find the *Spectator* admitting that at least one thousand of the clergy whom Dr. Temple addressed received his utterances with a pang. It is pathetic to stroll into some Ritualist Churches and see the vested priest, the lighted candles, the missal, the ceremonial of the Mass, the Benediction and Vespers, the incensing and the ringing of bells. But all in vain are these well meaning efforts made to put life into dead bones; to revive that which is irreparably lost. The authors of the loss, the perpetrators of the crime took good care to make such restoration impossible within their system. They took precautions to snap asunder the connecting link of Holy Orders, and thereby they sepa-

rated the branch from the trunk. And the apparent life which the cut off branch showed for a while in the beginning has long since died out. To-day the visitor to the olden Cathedrals of York, or Canterbury, or Dublin, finds indeed, the splendid architecture, the gothic arches and stained glass windows erected by our fathers in the faith as temples of the Blessed Eucharist. But they are mere monuments: the life is gone out of them with the sanctuary lamp. Bereft of the tabernacle and the Real Presence, they are as bodies without souls—sad memorials of the life and harmony, the warmth and worship that once filled their every aisle and transept with the incense of the great Sacrifice, and the heavenly joys of real, substantial communion with God.

But parallel with these sad, pathetic thoughts arise many consolations. Right under the shadow of the Cathedrals stolen from the Blessed Eucharist arise, as for instance in Canterbury and elsewhere, temples of the Real Presence and the Holy Sacrifice. In England and Ireland and Germany, and in almost all other heresy-afflicted countries the God of the tabernacle has found two homes for every one from which He was driven out. Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament has spread more and more each succeeding generation since the great catastrophe of the sixteenth century. There was probably never an age since the very earliest in which frequent Communion was more generally practised than at present. The devotion known as the "Forty Hours" is so universally established that there is Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament throughout the world. Add to this the numerous confraternities such as that of the "Perpetual Adoration and Work for poor Churches," the golden jubilee of which is being celebrated this year. It is certain that never in the history of Christianity did so many hearts beat and so many hands work in unison for the veneration of the Blessed Eucharist and the adornment of the Tabernacle and Sanctuary as at the present day. And never, too, were the ministers of the Sanctuary, the Priests of the new Sacrifice of such high, unblemished character, of such zeal and self-denial. They live now, for the most part, not of the state or of endowments, but of the Gospel, by the sweat of their brow, and the aching of their heart. They have to watch long vigils preparing souls to receive worthily; they have to fast long fasts to minister unto the multitude crying for Bread.

In new countries as in old there is the same upspringing of renewed devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, of outspoken faith in the Real Presence, of unshaken confidence in the efficaciousness of the Holy Sacrifice. The discovery of new lands, the spreading of the race have but enlarged the domain of the Blessed Eucharist. In

America and Australia, though state cannons do not boom nor official uniforms blaze at the Sacramental Processions, free hearts are not slow to open up in love, free minds are not ashamed to bow down in reverence. Still more, these new discoveries, and the spread of devotion to the Blessed Eucharist have rendered actual the prophesy of Malachy.<sup>1</sup> "From the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the Gentiles. And in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation, for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts."

It is in presence of the unbelief of the majority of those outside the Church, in presence of the wavering unscriptural, untraditional, illogical views of the vast body represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury; in presence of the yearnings after truth and life of so large a number known as Ritualists that our Catholic hearts should swell up to overflowing with gratitude to God for the gift of faith and of faith's great mystery, with gratitude to the Church that has preserved through weal and woe, mid peace and mid persecution the Sacrament and the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and with gratitude to all those who have been instruments in preserving for us or in breaking to us the "Living Bread that came down from heaven."

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## IMPERIALISM AS A POLICY FOR AMERICA.

"IN war it is the unexpected which always happens." This proverb has been verified in our late war with Spain. Beginning with the object of ending the colonial rule of Spain in Cuba on professedly humanitarian grounds, it has ended with a sudden desire among many Americans to put ourselves in Spain's place as a colonial ruler. Congress began the war with a solemn declaration that no territorial expansion was desired by this country; the President would end it by the seizure of territory five thousand miles from our shores and wholly unconnected with the American continent, as well as of Puerto Rico.

A section of the American and the whole of the English press

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<sup>1</sup> I, II.

have suddenly discovered that the United States needs colonies for the proper development of her energies, and that she should follow the example of European powers by seizure as much as possible of the territory of weaker nations anywhere and everywhere. To that theory we absolutely object, on the grounds of both morality and national policy, and even on the score of material interests, if the interests of the whole nation, and not those of a small class, are to be regarded. The corner-stone of our form of government, which every true American citizen regards as our greatest national blessing, is the right of the whole people to govern themselves, not as subjects either of monarchy or aristocracy, but as citizens sharing equally in a common country. Once let the principle of privileged classes among the population ruled by our institutions be recognized, and the idea of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people is virtually destroyed. We believe no material profit could compensate for such a loss to the people of these United States.

One of the clearest facts of history is the instability of free republican governments. The advantages of such institutions for the general advancement and prosperity of mankind have been universally recognized, since the days of Aristotle and Plato, throughout the European races. The enthusiasm for free governments of the people was as strong in Greece and Italy twenty-five hundred years ago as it is to-day in America; yet through eighty generations of civilization despotic, not republican, government has been the common system of rule. Republican Athens has been recognized for over twenty centuries as the highest example of intellectual and political development yet seen in the world. But Athens passed under despotism in a few generations. The Italian republics of the middle ages stood at the front of Europe, both in intellect and in prosperity; but they, too, had to exchange their freedom for a system which dwarfed their promise. The citizens of these states knew the value of their freedom as clearly as we do ours; but they failed to preserve it, mainly through faults in their own conduct. In the very time of the revival of learning and the discovery and colonization of America, absolute governments succeeded republican institutions through nearly all Europe.

This strange fact was deeply impressed on Washington and his fellow statesmen when they formed the constitution under which the United States has lived and thriven for a hundred and twenty years. The public opinion of Europe had almost unanimously decided that republican institutions could not long exist in any large community. The lawyers and thinkers of England especially regarded a mixed form of government in which a limited representa-

tion of the people shared power with a permanent hereditary executive monarch as the ideal of a free government. The States of Holland were a republic in name, but the House of Orange had furnished it with hereditary sovereigns under the name of Stateholders for over a hundred years. The statesmen of the newly-freed colonies knew by experience how little security for personal freedom was given by the Parliamentary Monarchy of England. For the sake of freedom they had risked life and property to shake off the connection with England, and they had given up all part in the growing British Empire and the material advantages to individual Americans that might be expected from that connection. In choosing republicanism as the form of government for the new American nation they were well aware of the causes which had overthrown so many other republics. They guarded America against them as best they could; and Washington has left as his best legacy to this country the policy of avoiding all foreign wars and military establishments. It was mainly through militarism that the republics of former days had lost their freedom. Florence had extended her dominions over Tuscany, only to lose her own freedom to the House of Medici. Venice became a close oligarchy after she had seized the spoils of Constantinople and filled the Egean Sea with her garrisons in conquered lands. Foreign wars had made the Princes of Orange sovereigns over free Holland. The framers of our constitution decided that freedom was more precious than empire, and that military force was incompatible with freedom. They therefore reduced the standing army to the limits of a frontier police force. While petty States like Hesse and Sardinia were keeping up large standing armies as a State necessity, the American Republic, with territory equal to France, Germany and Italy, was satisfied to trust its defence to three thousand soldiers and the loyalty of its citizens. When Aaron Burr, the jingo statesman of the day, projected the conquest of Mexico, his scheme was indignantly rejected and himself tried for treason. Freedom at home, peace abroad, was the policy laid down for the United States in its infancy.

Following out that policy, while the whole of Europe was convulsed with strife during the period of the Napoleonic wars, the young republic remained in peace alone among civilized nations. That its strength was ample for self defence was proved by the war of 1812, when England, flushed with her naval supremacy, attempted to avenge her defeat in the American Revolutionary War. In the main, those two principles have been since maintained by the American people, and their wisdom has been justified by the experience of over a century. The republican institutions established a hundred and twenty years ago have continued to work, and under

them the country has enjoyed a larger share of material prosperity than has fallen to the lot of any other nation. Republican governments have been tried by several European nations during that time, but the great majority of them have withered away, and their failure mainly came from the very causes foreseen by Washington and his fellow-statesmen. The conquests of the first French Republic, which for a time promised the overthrow of monarchy throughout Western Europe, resulted directly in the despotism of Napoleon. Both England and France, and latterly Germany, have sought aggrandizement during the century by the seizure of outlying lands, but neither England nor France has equalled the domestic prosperity of the United States. The lesson is not one to be forgotten by thinking men in the excitement of a moment.

It should be remembered also that there is no danger from outside interference to the continuance of this policy of freedom at home and peace abroad. Since the last war with England no foreign power has threatened the shores of the United States. Every other civilized nation has lived during those eighty years in more or less immediate peril of foreign war. For the last twenty years all Europe has been almost an armed camp, in daily dread of a deadly conflict. A reckless minister or a burst of popular excitement may at any moment precipitate France or Germany into war, to the death of either nation. A couple of sentences interpolated in a State paper by Bismarck and the imprudence of a French Ambassador brought on the Franco-Prussian War. Under such conditions it is impossible for individual States to secure themselves against the dangers of military despotism at home even in time of peace. The career of the late General Boulanger, in France, is a striking example. From such dangers the United States alone is free. How rare this privilege is, for any nation, history tells. Since the European nations had a history there is no other instance of a great nation so absolutely free from danger of outside war for nearly a whole century. Every other free government has had to give the greater part of its energies to defence against outside aggression, while America alone has been left free to develop its social form and material interests. This is not a privilege to be lightly thrown away.

The desire now so widely expressed to make Imperialism the policy of the United States, after experience of the advantages of the long-tried system of freedom at home, peace abroad, recalls the demand made by the Jews of old on Samuel: "Make us a King to judge us as all nations have." The policy of European States seems preferable to many Americans to the policy of Washington. The last twenty-five years have been marked by an exceptionally



active scramble for foreign possessions on the part of the European powers. The rights of the natives, even where well established governments have been long recognized, have been wholly disregarded. A German fleet seized the Samoan King without the shadow of a grievance, and carried him away prisoner to the Gilbert Islands, on the sole ground that Germany desired the territory of his people. Captain Lugart turned his Maxim guns on the Christians of Uganda, and Mr. Rhodes slaughtered the Matabeles for no better reason. Italy seized a territory on the Red Sea and proclaimed her sovereignty over Abyssinia for the simple reason that she desired some foreign territory. The English Government bombarded Alexandria when the Egyptian people attempted to reform the rule of the Khedive, and followed up the exploit by taking possession of Egypt itself, with no other justification than that such were English interests. Burmah was seized in the same way a few years later, and it was only the marksmanship of the Boers of the Transvaal that saved that little republic from the same fate. Republican France has been equally unscrupulous in Tunis and Madagascar.

The public conscience of the civilized world has undergone a marked deterioration in the point of respect for the rights of weak nations during the last twenty-five years. When Napoleon acquired Savoy from Victor Emmanuel in 1860 he felt it necessary to take a vote of its population before completing the annexation. It was demanded by the public sentiment of Europe then that men should not be transferred from one rule to another like slaves without their own consent. The statesmen of Bismarck's school who rule in Europe to-day are wholly indifferent to such considerations. Bismarck himself suggested to the late French Emperor that he should seize Belgium and incorporate it with France, while Prussia similarly made an end of Holland's independence. "We are both a pair of wolves, and should act like such," was the cynical comment of the future Chancellor of the German Empire. In Africa and Asia the rulers of Europe are unblushingly acting on Bismarck's theory. It rather aggravates than lessens the guilt of their conduct when it is excused by cant. When English statesmen impose a swindling debt on Egypt by brute force and wring its payment from the fellahen by a corps of English tax gatherers, they describe it as giving the land a civilized administration. The butchery of thousands of wounded natives on the field of Omdurman is "a triumph of civilization," and discharging a duty to humanity. The frank brutality of a Bismarck or a Mouravieff is less objectionable than the hypocrisy of their English rivals. That lawless aggression is so readily glorified and so seldom condemned is an

ominous sign of the decay of public conscience in the civilized world to-day.

It is not a pleasant reflection that a number of Americans should choose the piratical policy of Europe in preference to the peace policy of Washington; yet such is undoubtedly the case to-day. It is one of the motives which causes the cry for the new Imperialism. The lowering of the standard of public morality in national affairs has extended to America as well as Europe and, politically considered, it is far more dangerous here than there. A democratic government depends for its very existence on a spirit of respect for right among its citizens. Jailers may keep perfect external order among a crowd of criminals or lunatics, but a free community must be its own guardian. A Turkish Sultan or a Russian Czar like the first Peter may be himself indifferent to all morality and yet keep his subjects within strict bounds of conduct. A republic which is really such has no such power. If the public conscience of its citizens be demoralized, its rulers will be demoralized too. The pride of nationality and the routine of long established institutions are not enough to secure stability for governments which depend on the free will of their citizens. They are the common inheritance of every civilized and even of most uncivilized nations. The attachment of a Russian peasant or a Turkish soldier to his State and its ruler is as strong a feeling as that of the average American to his country and its institutions. Yet it alone is powerless to maintain order in the State without a strong government. The only substitute for a strong government that can preserve a republic is the common conscience of its people. Any course of public action which sets might above right aims directly at the existence of democratic government.

The French Revolution and subsequent events are a striking object lesson of the changeableness of national sentiment with regard to government. For two centuries France had been the most stable as well as one of the most powerful of European States. Louis XIV. was the model King for the other nations of Europe, and Frenchmen for half a dozen generations felt intense patriotic pride in the institutions which they regarded as the triumph of civilization. Three years of agitation changed the sentiment to hate and overthrew the whole organization of the State by the hands of its hitherto devoted subjects. The Lilies of France had been for two centuries identified as closely with French popular feelings as the Stars and Stripes are to-day with American patriotism, yet in three years they were regarded as a badge of slavery. The lesson is instructive for a good many in this country. It was not a period of foreign war or external defeat that brought this change in the public mind

of France. Louis XVI. had humiliated the English rivals of his country for the first time in a century just before the outbreak of the Revolution. The change came from within; it was in the public ideas, not in the national strength for war or the nation's material wealth.

It is in the possibility of similar changes of ideas that the chief danger to the free institutions of America lies to-day. The accumulation of wealth, the increase of population and the modern science which has substituted machinery so largely for human labor have changed the social character of the American people more rapidly in two generations than France changed in two centuries. In the cultivation of the land, once the common employment of nearly all the population, modern machine labor is displacing the small farmer as steadily as slave labor in the old world turned the gardens of the free Roman citizens into the estates of a few nobles. In trade the concentration of capital and the fierce competition for profit is acting similarly on the small independent traders. An ever-increasing number of citizens find that working for wages is the only means of obtaining a living, and that such work is growing harder to find year by year. The accumulated wealth of the country is growing faster than ever, but the amount of that wealth, which is concentrated in the hands of a few, is proportionately far greater than that which is distributed among the workers. The increase of pauperism is as marked as the increase of wealth in America at the end of the nineteenth century.

The new conditions of life have brought new difficulties into the task of popular government. The workers in the different fields of organized labor are banded together by similar occupations and similar needs into associations which tend to become more powerful than the common government, or at least to command more attachment from large bodies of citizens. The railroad employes, alone, count over a million of men; the hired mine workers are little fewer, and other industries, too numerous to reckon here, count their followers by hundreds of thousands, all depending for their daily bread on the action of a small number of capitalists. The latter on this side are banding together on a gigantic scale for their own material interests. The growth of "trusts" accompanies the growth of labor unions. The Oil Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Whiskey Trust, the Iron Trust and the Copper Trust are powers as great as any of the old feudal nobles of Europe in the political world. While the popular vote is taken but once in years, the influence of the trusts and organized capital on the course of legislation and law, as well as the administration of government, is unceasing, and it is steadily and intelligently applied to its own definite ends, while temporary ex-

citements are liable at any time to turn the course of a majority of voters at the polls. The feeling of resentment, stirred up by this increasing political power of capital, is even more dangerous than the actual harm done. When hard times accentuate the discontent of the working masses they show an increasing tendency to distrust the value of government in securing them justice against their employers. The struggle between labor and capital is one of the serious dangers of the future to free institutions.

The strikes of the last few years show how readily the latent feeling of discontent among the laboring class may be developed into hostility to the government itself. It showed itself as hostile to the whole system at Chicago, and on a less definite but still formidable basis it showed itself in the scenes of bloodshed at Pana and Virdin last year, and at Carnegie and Cripple Creek a few years ago. The railroad strike, directed by Mr. Debs, as a mark of sympathy with the employes of the late George Pullman, in Illinois, did not hesitate at stopping the mail service of the general government or taking the lives of United States soldiers. Deeply as such action is to be regretted, it is not force alone that can prevent its recurrence. The perpetuity of our government can only be secured if the unjust encroachment of capital are as steadily repressed as the violence of excited labor. It can only stand by even-handed justice to all citizens and the loyalty which believes that such will be attained best by freedom within law.

What would be the effect on the relations of labor and capital in our own land of the adoption by the United States of a colonial policy, at variance with its traditions, and involving the existence of subjects as well as citizens under its flag? It would increase the relative power of capital in our government and lessen respect for equal rights to all among our citizens at large. The value of cheap labor in controlling the trade of the world is well known to the employers of America. Could they secure the labor prices of Asia for the working of American machinery and ideas it would be easy to undersell any other nation. Unfortunately this underselling would benefit the wealthy alone among Americans. The experience of other nations has shown that while tropical possessions may bring in revenue, it is for the benefit of the few, not the many at home. It was so with French Hayti, with Dutch Java, and with British India. Should the Philippines be treated by this country as Holland now treats her subject islands in the Eastern Seas, some favored ones might draw large fortunes from plantations or mines, but the great bulk of our population would only share increased taxation. The islands lately ruled by Spain offer no field for the American laboring man's industry. Cuba is to-day as densely peo-

pled as Michigan; Puerto Rico more densely peopled than Massachusetts. The Philippines, with a smaller area than California, have six times its population. The tropics afford no field of employment for white labor, even if the native element did not already exist there. In none of the tropical possessions of England or France, even such as were uninhabited when first occupied, has any large European population been able to establish itself. Jamaica has been an English possession since the days of Cromwell, yet to-day not five per cent. of its population belong to the white race. A similar tale may be told of all the English and French West Indies. In Cuba and Puerto Rico alone is a white population found in the majority. In Asia and Africa a similar result has followed colonization. Mauritius has scarcely twenty thousand whites among its four hundred thousand inhabitants; Java and the Dutch East Indies have still less; and in India itself, after a hundred and thirty years of English dominion, the whole British population was, barely one hundred thousand by the last census. It is evident that none of the new possessions will furnish any outlet for the working population of this country.

The possible gain to be looked for, then, in a policy of foreign conquest is simply the creation of more large fortunes among American citizens, and this coupled with an enlarged foreign trade. The latter is at best doubtful; the former is distinctly undesirable, in a broad American view. The national wealth, which has been accumulated during the century, is sufficient for all national wants. Its distribution, more generally, is the urgent problem. We have no more need for more millionaires than Europe has for more nobles. On the other hand, a colonial empire would greatly increase the burthens of the citizens at home. Armies and navies are expensive luxuries. They have cost Europe during the present century an average of over a thousand million dollars a year. Our own small force cost last year no less than eighty-three millions. An army of twenty-five thousand men involved a cost of forty-eight millions, the support of a navy, manned by sixteen thousand, required thirty-four millions. The forces that would be called for by a foreign empire would add a hundred millions annually to the national burthens. Increased taxation at home, increased competition in the labor market, and opportunities for accumulating a certain amount of large fortunes for individuals are the material results to be looked for from a policy of foreign empire by the American people.

The increased patronage which such a policy would place at the disposal of the President and administration must not be forgotten among its inevitable results. The experience drawn from the workings of the Indian Bureau does not warrant any hope that such an

increase would work for political purity at home, even if the cost of our colonial administrators were defrayed by the subject races.

The eagerness with which British politicians and writers are urging on Americans the propriety of joining in the general game of landgrabbing is not calculated to make that policy more attractive to thinking men. We know by experience what the feelings of Great Britain are towards us as a people. It was shown when Admiral Cockburn burned the Capitol and the Congressional Library at Washington, when that city was entered by the British troops. It showed itself during the civil war, when Confederate cruisers, fitted out in English ports, drove our commerce from the ocean. The effusive friendship of a politician like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in proclaiming an Anglo-Saxon brotherhood as the heart's longing of British rulers is amusing in its hypocrisy. The calls on America to seize land wherever she can, as England has done, and the calm assumption that aggression is justifiable wherever there is money in it, will hardly win much sympathy here. Mr. Dicey, in the *Nineteenth Century*, frankly says: "In the Imperialist movement, which has led the United States to embark on a career of annexation, I see the prospect of gain rather than loss to my own country." The same writer sums up the justification of the war by the remark that "Then, too, to the Anglo-Saxon mind the spectacle of a wealthy and fertile country being in the hands of owners who are unable to utilize its advantages, infallibly suggests the reflection, how much better it would be for all parties concerned if the country were taken away from its actual occupants and transferred to hands better suited to develop its resources." On precisely the same principle a pirate "reflects how much better it is" that the crew of a captured ship should walk the plank and the utilization of its cargo be transferred to his own stronger hands. We do not believe that the people of the United States are prepared to take the code of the buccaneer for their guide in preference to the policy of a Washington.

The vision of England and America uniting in a career of conquest "in the interests of humanity" seems too grotesque for serious discussion, yet it is now held up to the American people, not only by the rulers of England but by a section of the American press. The new aristocracy of wealth, as it likes to style itself, which has grown up in America, has for years shown a strong desire to amalgamate with the old aristocracy of Great Britain. The new *York Review of Reviews* speaks of the prospective marriages of four American heiresses to British peers as "charming links" in the "Anglo-Saxon Union," which is to reduce the world to bondage. Mr. Astor and Mr. Bartlett have found the position of British subjects preferable to plain American citizenship. During Grant's first

administration a number of wealthy men in New York started a paper, *The Imperialist*, to advocate the change of our government to the model of the then French Empire. The same spirit now finds expression in the call for an "Imperialist" policy in conjunction with Great Britain. American democracy is too "vulgar" for the tastes of the "Four Hundred" and their fellows throughout the country. Fortunately for our institutions, it is not likely to be shared by the great body of the American people, even though it find advocates in a hired press.

The material gains promised by an English alliance offer scarcely more substance than the moral ones. The advantages to be reaped from Asiatic trade in conjunction with England may be fairly estimated from what our trade now is with the East Indies and China. In 1897 the whole volume of our exports to India was under four million dollars, and our imports about twenty. To China we sent about eighteen millions of American products and received over twenty millions in return. Before the last insurrection in Cuba our trade with that island reached a total of a hundred and ten millions—nearly five times our commerce with the two hundred million people of British India. It is not easy to reconcile this fact with the glib assertions of the English and pro-English press of the incapacity of the Spanish race to develop its foreign settlements; but a reference to our treasury statements will show its perfect accuracy. It is not of a kind to warrant even on the most selfish grounds any effort on our part to extend English dominions in Asia or guarantee their continuance.

Indeed it is impossible for any one to see what gain this country can reap from entering on a career of foreign aggression for the help of England. Should the latter power become involved in war with Russia, Germany or France the effect on the carrying trade of America would be the same as our own civil war had on the commerce of England. There is no fear that any of the other powers would seek to interfere in our concerns. France, last century, helped us to our independence, and she extended our territory freely a few years later by the cession of Louisiana. Russia has never wavered in her friendly attitude towards our government, its "Anglo-Saxonism" has not kept England from burning Washington in 1812 and destroying our commerce by so-called Confederate cruisers during our Civil War. When the admirers of England recall the victories of Waterloo and Trafalgar as the "common inheritance of the 'Anglo-Saxon race,'" we cannot forget that Yorktown and New Orleans are glorious memories of the American people. For us to enter on a career of foreign aggression in behalf of England would be to imitate those who in the strong language

of Grattan "went for their policy to Bedlam and for their morality to Satan."

The policy of avoiding foreign conquests has not only given us a greater prosperity at home than has fallen to any other nation, but it has put us politically in the front of all. For England to engage in war with us would mean the starvation of her people, and in all likelihood the loss of her empire throughout the world, at the hands of her rivals. For either Germany or France to do so would inevitably make the other our active ally; and with Russia there is no possibility of a conflict. All this has been attained without an effort, by simply as a nation attending to our own affairs. Would the lordship of Asia make ourselves either more free or more prosperous, or would it develop new virtues in our people? If not, why should we attempt it at the sacrifice of our best traditions?

B. J. CLINCH.

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## THE FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE.

One of a large number of ancient hagiographical questions to which recent researches have imparted interest in certain circles, is that of the celebrated group of martyrs known as the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, who are commemorated in the Roman calendar on the tenth day of May. The Greek text of their Acts was published a short while ago, and, almost simultaneously, there was exhuméd, from ponderous folios wherein it had peacefully slept, a document entitled *The Testament of the Forty Martyrs*, which, as we shall see, is deserving of more consideration than it has heretofore received.

Apart from the Testament, which we shall discuss later on, the documents by the light of which the history of these heroes is wont to be studied may be divided into two groups: The Acts of their martyrdom in their divers forms, and the homilies of the Fathers on the Forty Martyrs. These sources are of very unequal value; and it is important to weigh their mutual relations. We shall begin with a word or two on the Acts.

Bollandus published three narratives of the martyrdom of our saints. The first of these were the ancient *Acta*, translated into Latin from the Greek; the second, also translated from the Greek,

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was the work of John, a deacon of Naples; the third was an abridged *Passio*, translated from the Armenian. An ancient Slav text has been made public by Miklosich.<sup>1</sup> Finally M. R. Abicht has brought to light the Greek text, concerning which much has been said, but which no one had ventured to publish.<sup>2</sup>

Without entering into details, which would be here out of place, we shall merely state that this *Passio* may be regarded as the prototype or source of the preceding narratives, and that our remarks concerning it are applicable to all the documents previously enumerated.

The *Acta* of the Forty Martyrs in their actual shape are not an historical document. Though it is not quite improbable that more ancient *Acta* may have served as their foundation, nevertheless the original source has been completely disfigured by the fabulous embellishments and developments with which it has been overladen. Hence Ruinart has excluded the narrative from his collection of *Acta Sincera*, and the critics are unanimous in approving his decision. We shall content ourselves for the present with drawing attention to certain questionable features of the document. The author of the *Passio* professes to know and gives the names of the Forty Martyrs. According to him, the scene is placed in Sebaste during the persecution of Licinius, under the governor Agricolaos, who condemns the martyrs to be exposed naked on a frozen pool. Their bodies are burned, and the ashes cast into the river. But, instead of being swallowed by the waters, they again coalesce; and Bishop Peter, enlightened by a revelation, devoutly recovers them at the end of three days.

If the general aspect of this anonymous narrative of the death of the Forty Martyrs is of a nature to arouse the distrust of criticism, we have a compensation in a series of documents which, although not contemporaneous, derive a high value from the characters and positions of their authors. The Forty Martyrs have enjoyed the privilege of being extolled by several of the most illustrious Fathers of the fourth century. St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ephraim, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Gaudentius of Brescia have pronounced homilies in their honor; and since they do not confine themselves to the vague generalities of a panegyric, they enable us by piecing together the details scattered through their sermons, to reconstruct the story of the martyrs, as it was current in their several countries.

True, we must except St. John Chrysostom, whose discourse is

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<sup>1</sup> *Vitae Sanctorum*, Viennae, 1847, p. 1 et seqq. <sup>2</sup> *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, t. XVIII, p. 144 et seqq.

known to us only by the fragments cited by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*,<sup>1</sup> and these fragments contain no historical details.

There remain, therefore, the four homilies, those of the two brothers, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, and those of St. Ephraim and of St. Gaudentius. The first two are the most important. These two saintly bishops, from the circumstance of their origin, from the vicinity of their home, from the particular interest which this group of martyrs had for their family, were in better position than the others to ascertain the facts. St. Basil's discourse comes first in order of time. St. Gregory of Nyssa acknowledges that he drew his inspiration from it; and both St. Ephraim and St. Gaudentius tell us expressly that they merely echo the words of the great orator. Our first occupation, then, is with the homily of St. Basil. Although it is not free from amplifications, and through the speeches put into the mouths of the martyrs are clearly nothing more than oratorical developments, it is none the less true that the sermon contains a large number of very precise facts.

According to St. Basil the forty heroes were soldiers, born in different parts of the world, all young and brave. Upon the promulgation of the edict of persecution, they went before the governor and proclaimed themselves Christians. The governor was lavish of promises and threats in his efforts to win them over. He was unsuccessful. They answered with spirit that they held in equal contempt the transient joys and ills of this mortal life, and were ready to die for their God. The furious governor invented a novel torture for these courageous Christians. The climate of that country is extremely severe, the north wind blowing with great violence. He ordered the forty confessors of the Faith to be exposed naked to the chilly blasts, in the middle of the city. The cruel sentence was heard with exultation. With mutual exhortations to constancy, the martyrs divested themselves of their garments, and calmly awaited the approach of death. They sent up this common prayer to God: "Lord, to the number of forty have we entered the arena, grant to all forty the crown. May no unit be lacking to a number which Thou hast chosen for a special purpose." A warm bath had been prepared near by for those who should wish to save themselves by renouncing Christ. One of the soldiers, losing heart, sought relief in the proffered bath; but no sooner had the hapless man touched the warm water than he expired. One of the guards, however, was favored with a vision. Angels descended from heaven distributing crowns to all, except the renegade. Moved by the sight, he declared himself a Christian, and succeeded to the place and crown of the apostate. At daybreak, they came to commit the bodies to the

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<sup>1</sup> Cod. 274.

flames. One of the martyrs, younger and more vigorous than the others, was still breathing. He was left behind by the executioners, in the hope that he might be induced to change his views. But the mother of the youth, who was present at the scene, placed him with her own hands upon the cart with the others, exhorting him to persevere unto the end. He was burnt with his companions, and their remains were cast into the river.

Such is the history of the Forty Martyrs according to St. Basil. Many details which we should wish to know for certain are passed over by him in silence. Thus, he fails to mention the name of the persecutor. St. Ephraim names Licinius, which would be in agreement not only with the tenor of the Acta, but also with Sozomen.<sup>1</sup> St. Basil, moreover, does not inform us in what country the tragedy is enacted. St. Gregory of Nyssa indicates Armenia. St. Gauden-  
tius likewise says: *militēs erant isti in partibus minoris Armeniæ constituti*. It has been objected that St. Gregory of Nyssa seems to imply that the martyrs suffered in his own episcopal town in Cappadocia; but Tillemont and others have met this difficulty satisfactorily.

One question which has given the critics much concern is whether the martyrs were exposed on a frozen pool, as the *Passio* asserts, or whether it were not in a town. St. Ephraim affirms that it was on a lake. The attempt has been made to obviate the difficulty by insisting that his text has come down to us only in a Greek translation, which in the present passage is by no means clear. But now that we possess, in the original text, the hymns which he composed in honor of the Forty Martyrs,<sup>2</sup> there is no longer any doubt that St. Ephraim believed that the martyrs were exposed on a frozen pool.

In this the holy deacon contradicts St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa. St. Basil places the scene of the martyrdom in the middle of a town. St. Gregory of Nyssa seems to say that it took place in the courtyard of the public baths, which would explain quite naturally the circumstance of the warm bath prepared to shake the constancy of the martyrs. As Tillemont remarks, the two Cappadocian saints are far more credible on this point than any other witnesses. It is not, however, difficult to explain how the frozen pool found an entry into some of the narratives. They all drew their information more or less directly from St. Basil. Now, in order to give his hearers an idea of the fierceness of the cold, St. Basil says that the lake around which the town was built had become as solid as the dry land. St. Gregory of Nyssa, developing this idea, adds that men

<sup>1</sup> Hist. eccl. IX, 2. <sup>2</sup> Lamy, *S. Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, t. III, p. 937 et seqq.

and beasts went over it with perfect safety. Though neither of the two orators places the martyrdom on this lake, and expressly indicate another site, as St. Gaudentius well perceived, yet by a gradual and, no doubt unconscious process, the very contrary began to prevail. It is thus that the negligence of compilers often introduces into the lives of the saints details absolutely contrary to the truth. Let us remark in passing that Fr. S. Sollerius, apropos of the Life of St. Severianus<sup>1</sup> has devoted a special dissertation to this question of the place of martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs. He attempts to uphold, against the authority of St. Basil, the correctness of the *Passio*, but his arguments are not convincing.

We are indebted to St. Gregory of Nyssa for another interesting particular concerning our martyrs. They belonged to a legion which had already become famous in the Christian annals by saving the Roman army at a crucial moment, through the impetration of a miraculous rain. This was the Twelfth or Thundering Legion. St. Gregory's text is one of the most important witnesses in our possession regarding this celebrated event.<sup>2</sup> The saint echoes a local tradition of the miracle of the Thundering Legion, a tradition all the more precious because originating in the country where the miracle is said to have taken place.

This saint also supplies us with information regarding the relics of our martyrs. But before speaking of them, let us say a word about the document which bears the title, *Testament of the Forty Martyrs*.

This document was published in Greek in the year 1671, in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the imperial library of Vienna. It passed almost unperceived by the learned public, and it is curious enough to notice that the Emperor Leopold was perhaps the only man who took any interest in it. As he was unfamiliar with Greek, he asked his librarian to make him a Latin translation. This appeared, together with the Greek text, in 1778, in the new edition of Lambecius by Kollar. From that time forward no one occupied himself further with it, until M. N. Bonwetsch, at present professor in the university of Gottingen, having come upon a Slav version of it, was led to study it at closer range. Recognizing the importance of his find, he first republished the text from the Viennese manuscript, accompanying it with a German translation of the Slav and an excellent commentary.<sup>3</sup> M. Haussleiter next turned his attention to it, confirmed the previous editor's estimate of its value, and pointed out several details which had escaped his vigilance.<sup>4</sup> Lastly,

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Septembri, t. III, p. 357 et seqq. <sup>2</sup> Harnack, *Die Quelle der Berichte über das Regenwunder*, *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Akademie*, Berlin, 1894, p. 835 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Neue Kirchlche Zeitschrift*, to. III, 1892, heft 9. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, heft 12.

M. Bonwetsch reverted to the document and, with the aid of new manuscripts, has given us an emended text, illustrated with an improved commentary.<sup>1</sup> We give in brief the purport of the *Testament*.

Meletios, Aetios and Eutychios, prisoners of Christ, salute the bishops, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and other "ecclesiastics" of the entire Christian world, and make known their wishes regarding the disposal of their mortal remains after the consummation of their martyrdom. They desire that all their relics be placed in the care of the priest Proïdos and certain other persons, in order that they may repose together in Sareim near Zela. Meletios writes this exordium in the name of all.

At this point Aetios and Eutychios, speaking for their companions, conjure the families of the martyrs not to give way to excessive grief, and carefully to fulfill their last wishes as to the disposition of their remains. When their ashes shall be gathered together, let no one retain any particle for himself, but deliver everything to the persons designated. Should any one disobey this injunction, they add, may he fail of obtaining the favors which he looks for from the possession of the relics.

The martyrs then express their solicitude for one of their number, a young man named Eunoïcus, whose tender age might probably move the persecutors to clemency. If, say they, he shall win the palm of martyrdom with us, let him repose with us. In case he should be spared, let him remain faithful to the law of Christ, in order that, on the day of the resurrection, he may enjoy the blessed lot of those whose sufferings he has shared.

Here, it seems, Meletios again takes the pen. He addresses himself to his brothers, Krispinos and Gordios, exhorting them to be on their guard against the deceitful pleasures of this world, and to hold themselves in constant readiness, by a strict adherence to the precepts of the Lord. He wishes these exhortations to be taken to heart by all the followers of Christ.

Then begins a list of salutations: "We salute the lord priest Philip, and Proelianos, and Diogenes, and at the same time the holy Church. We salute the lord Proclianos of Phydela with the holy Church and with all who are his. We salute Maximos with the Church, Magnos with the Church. We salute Domnos with his, and Iles our father; Valens with the Church." Again Meletios takes hold: "And I, Meletios, salute my relations, Lutanios, Krispos and Gordios, etc." There follow other salutations, general and particular; and finally: "We salute you, we the forty brethren united in captivity;" with the forty names. "We the forty prisoners of

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<sup>1</sup>*Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*, 1897, I, 1.

Christ have signed by the hand of Meletios, one of us; we have confirmed all that has been written; for it was pleasing to us."

This is an abstract of this extraordinary document, the authenticity of which might seem, at a first glance, to be very doubtful. The principal clause, relative to the relics of the authors of the testament, betrays so strange a preoccupation, that one is prone to ask oneself if an interested motive has not impelled some unscrupulous forger to palm off the document on the holy martyrs. But this suspicion falls to the ground at the most casual study of the text. If the impostor had attempted to forge a title to the possession of a relic, his course would not have been an isolated one. But here we meet the very opposite. The Christians, and, as we shall see, they were numerous, who possessed relics of the Forty Martyrs, must have been extremely embarrassed when they read this solemn protest against a custom, which was already universal, of dividing the remains of the martyrs. Moreover, the whole conception of the document excludes the hypothesis of a mere invention. Too many of the details are drawn from the life. The touching paragraph relating to Eunoïcus, whose youth might excite the pity of the executioners; the special recommendations of Meletios to his brothers; the concluding salutations and the personal allusions running through the Testament, are all redolent of truth and nature, and would never have entered the mind of a man who was in search of a determinate aim, or who was striving after effect.

We have, then, before us an authentic writing, drawn up by martyrs who, as they attest, have already suffered for the Faith, and are in momentary expectation of the final combat. They have filled it with the saintly joy that animates them on the eve of their triumph, with the contempt of the things of a world they are about to leave, and with an ardor of truly Christian charity, which makes them solicitous for their relations and friends.

Documents like the present, with its glimpses of real life in the remote past, are exceptionally precious, and the vistas they open up are numerous. It would be difficult, without giving a sort of running commentary of the Testament of the Forty Martyrs, to treat all the questions it suggests. We shall content ourselves with noting some conclusions of peculiar interest to hagiographers.

One of the suspicious features of the *Acta* was that the Forty were mentioned by name. "We see no reason," said Tillemont, "why any importance should attach to these names. St. Basil and the other Fathers did not deem it necessary to note them down, and the writings in which they are found are not very authoritative. Popular tradition is apt to mutilate proper names, but is not in the habit of inventing them, at least in such wholesale quantities."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, t. v, p. 519.

The animadversion of the illustrious critic has been amply justified. The forty names of the *Acta* are precisely those of the *Testament*. Did the composer of the *Passio* have this document in his hands, and draw his information from it? We doubt it. He scarcely would have forgotten to make some mention of it, and, at the very least, he would not have failed to insert in his recital some of the incidents which it contains. Be that as it may, this list of names is derived, at least indirectly, from the *Testament*; it comes from a good source and must be judged authentic.

There is a minor problem annexed to the list of names of the martyrs. We have noticed the special solicitude which the prisoners manifested, on the eve of their death, for one of their number, the young Eunoicos, in the apprehension that he might not be permitted to receive the palm of martyrdom with his companions. Did the event justify their fears? One might be tempted, in support of the negative, to invoke the text of the *Passio*, where Eunoicos is expressly mentioned with the martyrs who suffered death. It is to be remarked, however, that the writer of the *Passio* possessed, apparently, no special information about this episode; for he contents himself with transcribing the list of names, that of Eunoicos among the others. The only proof we have that the young man really shared the torments of his companions is this, that all the traditions agree in placing the number of the martyrs at forty, and we have no warrant for supposing that Eunoicos was the unfortunate who forfeited his crown.

As we have seen, our principal sources are silent as to the precise epoch of this martyrdom. The *Passio*, indeed, indicates the persecution of Licinius; but documents of this sort are not sufficiently reliable to be trusted without corroboration. Neither does the *Testament* name the persecutor. But there is no doubt as to the time when the *Testament* itself was written; this could only be at the epoch of the latest persecutions. Its chief passage presupposes that the worship of relics had reached a stage of development in the Eastern Church which tallies with no earlier period. There is nothing to hinder us, therefore, from accepting the date given by the anonymous recital, namely, 320.

The *Testament* furnishes no precise clew as to the place of the martyrdom: In fact, it suggests some difficulties. Meletios, in the name of all, demands that their remains shall be gathered at Sereim near the city of Zela. Now, if, as the text of the *Passio* asserts, the scene of the drama was Sebaste in Armenia, it is natural to inquire why the martyrs selected so remote a place. Zela was a town in Pontus. Why then should it be chosen for the place of the common sepulchre? It has been questioned whether the text of the *Testa-*

ment be correct in this passage, and whether we should look for the hamlet of Sereim in the neighborhood of the well known town of Zela. This point has remained obscure till the present hour.

We might further inquire whether the Testament of the martyrs reached those who were charged with its execution in time to be of use. This seems quite doubtful, in view of the future history of their venerated relics. If the document, with its energetic prohibition of the dispersion of their ashes, was actually made public, we must conclude that the desire of possessing the relics, so intense among the Christians of that age, caused them to disregard the last wishes of the martyrs.

According to St. Basil's report, the bodies of the martyrs were burnt, and the parts unconsumed by the flames were cast into the river. The compiler of the *Passio*, seeing their relics wherever he turned his eyes, essayed to solve the difficulty by devising a miracle unknown to St. Basil and his contemporaries. The remains were thrown into the river; but, instead of sinking, they floated on the waves, and gathered to one spot, where they were easily collected. St. Gaudentius of Brescia explains the occurrence in a more natural manner. He says that notwithstanding the order to throw the ashes of the martyrs into the water, the faithful were successful in obtaining portions of them or in purchasing them with money. Probably, the bones, being unconsumed in the burning, were cast into the stream, whilst the ashes became the property of the faithful. This interpretation would agree perfectly with St. Basil's account.

In effect, we cannot say that these ashes were transported to Sereim, in conformity to the intentions of the martyrs. St. Gregory of Nyssa says explicitly that the Christian world had divided their relics and that the whole earth was blessed in the possession of them. St. Basil assures us that those who held in their keeping any part of the remains of these martyrs were persuaded that they possessed them all, with the fulness of graces and favors to be expected from so great a treasure. He reverts repeatedly to this thought that they are all together, alluding most probably to the mingling which took place at the collection. "I too," says St. Gregory of Nyssa in his Third Oration on the Forty Martyrs "possess a portion of this treasure; and I have deposited the bodies of my parents by the side of the relics of these soldiers, in order that, on the great judgment day, they may rise in the company of these powerful protectors." The village wherein these relics reposed belonged to St. Gregory, and he recounts a favor obtained on the spot, through their intercession, by a soldier who had himself informed him of the occurrence; he also narrates a vision which he had seen, whilst still a layman, on the night when the first festival of the martyrs was celebrated.



In St. Basil's episcopal city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, a grand basilica stood erected in their honor *In ipsa enim maxima Cappadociae civitate quae appellatur Caesarea, ubi habent iidem beatissimi insigne martyrium*.<sup>1</sup> It was at Caesarea that St. Gaudentius of Brescia met the nieces of St. Basil, who had received from their uncle relics of the Forty Martyrs. This precious heirloom they had long wished to deliver to some one who should also inherit their devotion. Wherefore they were well pleased to surrender them to St. Gaudentius, who carried them back to his own country. At Brescia he built a church which he entitled, "The Assembly of the Saints," "Concilium Sanctorum" and in which he placed the relics of the Forty Martyrs and of ten other saints. The sermon which he pronounced on the day of dedication of this basilica is extant, and from it we have gleaned the preceding details.

At an early period the Forty Martyrs were celebrated in Constantinople; and Sozomen relates at considerable length the story of a lady, named Eusebia, belonging to the sect of the Macedonians, who during life kept their relics, and on the approach of death bequeathed them to some monks of her sect, with the direction to place them secretly in her coffin, above her head. Later, when a church dedicated to St. Thyrsus was constructed over the spot, the sepulchre of Eusebia was opened, revealing a casket containing the relics, enveloped in perfumes. The Empress Pulcheria caused them to be deposited in a splendid vase, and a solemn festival, at which Sozomen was present in person, was celebrated by Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople.

In the middle of the Fifth Century, St. Melania the Younger in Palestine deposited the relics of the Forty Martyrs in the church of the monastery which she had built: *Posuit vero ibi reliquias . . . . sanctorum Quadraginta qui sunt Sebastiae*.<sup>2</sup>

Still later, in the time of Justinian, when that Emperor re-built the Church of St. Irene, a box was discovered bearing the inscription, that it contained the relics of the Forty Martyrs. Procopius relates that the Emperor was healed of a painful malady by their application.

The Eastern Churches were at all times fervent in the veneration of their martyrs, and it were easy to multiply instances of the cult of the Forty in those regions.<sup>4</sup> St. Gaudentius introduced their cult into the West together with their relics. Many writers attribute to his pilgrimage the introduction of their veneration in Rome; but this is mere conjecture. It would be difficult to trace with precision

<sup>1</sup> Gaudentius Brixiensis, sermo XVII.

<sup>2</sup> *Analecta Boliandiana* t. VIII, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *De aldif.* I, 9. <sup>4</sup> Consult Smith-Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, t. II, p. 557.

the origin of the majority of the sanctuaries erected in honor of the martyrs of Sebaste in the capital of the Christian world. In the Fourteenth Century there was one in the neighborhood of the Coliseum, between the Church of St. James and that of St. Clement. Another existed until the end of the Sixteenth Century on the site now occupied by the Church *delle Stimate*. In the Thirteenth Century there was a small church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs within the precincts of the Pretorian Camp.<sup>1</sup> The most celebrated is that of Trastevere, built by Calixtus II, and reconstructed in the last century by the Reformed Minors of St. Peter Alcantara, who added to the original title of the Forty Martyrs that of St. Paschal Baylon, by which it is popularly known.<sup>2</sup>

We do not wish to conclude this study without making mention of a legend of much later date, formed upon the subject of the Forty Martyrs, and propagated by Necephoros Callisti. The Greeks commemorate, on the first of September, a group of forty female martyrs, who suffered with the deacon Ammon.<sup>3</sup> Their martyrdom is placed at Heraclea in Thrace. Very little is known about these martyrs, nor is this the place to discuss the meagre accounts preserved to us regarding them. But the number forty and the name of Licinius which appears in some abstracts of their *Acta*, have furnished food to many imaginations. These forty virgins have been converted into spouses of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. It is hardly necessary to say that there is absolutely no foundation in any of our sources for this invention, which is quite beyond the limits of credibility.

HIPPOLYTUS DALEHAYE, S. J.

Belgium.

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<sup>1</sup> Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, 2d ed. p. 824. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 663. <sup>3</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. t. I, p. 156. <sup>4</sup> Neceph. Callist. VII, 44.

## CHARLES CARROLL, OF CARROLLTON.

We are indebted to Kate Mason Rowland, who had already given to the world the biography of George Mason, for the most satisfactory presentation of the great Catholic Marylander, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, yet attempted. The work, which comes from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, covers two bulky volumes. It is a limited issue, only seven hundred and fifty volumes having been printed, the type being broken up when that number was completed. The cost of the two volumes is six dollars. After a few years they will, no doubt, be extremely valuable, owing to the small number printed. Copies of some choice portraits, and some other appropriate plates are inserted in this work.

We believe that the chief value of this biography lies in the quantity of original correspondence and extracts from publications of the period with which it deals gathered by the author. It has no pretensions to being a masterpiece of literature. Its style is plain, yet not destitute of sympathy; but it is evident that the author depended more on the fancy of her readers to construct the spiritual and intellectual side of the man she depicts, from the revelations contained in written documents, than on her own assimilation of the subject. The two great facts in Charles Carroll's long life were his love of religion and love of country. He furnished, in truth, a very remarkable example in the former respect. From his youth he was a singularly devout and scrupulously practical son of the church, in striking contrast in this respect to many of his co-religionists. His love of country and its independence was no less ardent. We believe that to do full justice to so rare a combination of private and public virtues, the most profoundly sympathetic Catholic mind and most responsive pen should be called into requisition. The dryness of some portions of this narrative dealing with the more solemn and pathetic scenes of a great life's close would be painfully apparent were it not for the relief afforded by the presentation of the thoughts and impressions of others, who, as eye-witnesses and actors in the scenes they described, were naturally more deeply imbued with the pathos of their subject and impressed with a great living personality.

We believe the effect of a good biography depends largely on the attention paid to its background, just as that of a good portrait of the Romney and Reynolds schools. There was ample scope, in the history of religious persecutions and perfidies in the Catholic settlement of Maryland, when the Protestant immigrants became numerically the stronger, for the display of the narrator's art in

furnishing apt surroundings to a picture, but it cannot fairly be said that the author bestowed too much attention on this not altogether unnecessary setting. There is no more than is barely necessary to indicate that such conditions existed, yet the careful reader will be able to gather from some of the correspondence reproduced under what conditions of injustice and irrational hatred the survivors of the early planters of the Catholic colony, the first in tolerance and generosity itself in all the country, dragged out their existence among a population inspired, as a rule, by the very antitheses of these principles and feelings.

But it would be ungenerous not to confess the impression of great diligence, fidelity and industry which no one can avoid feeling as he goes through the details which fill those bulky volumes. No labor has been spared in collecting letters and data, and every book, magazine and newspaper bearing on the Revolutionary period in connection with the career of the subject of the memoir has been carefully consulted. From the mass of correspondence gathered here we are enabled to form the picture of an American gentleman of the old school—very different, it must be confessed, from the modern one—and to note for ourselves the rigid principles of honor, the Spartan severity of heroism, the profound constitutional knowledge and the patient mastery of details in administration which distinguished some of the early fathers of the Republic—and notably Charles Carroll. And how different in accomplishments and training from even the most eminent men of the political world of to-day! Educated in Europe, fluent in several languages, versed in the highest classic literature, deeply read in English constitutional history, polished in style and charming in manner, proud to observe the public prescriptions of his religion when it was not at all popular to be a Catholic, we think when we are contemplating the portrait of the great Marylander that we are rather gazing at the counterfeit presentment of some Christian chevalier, some American "Admirable Crichton," than that of a simple Maryland gentleman. And still further, when we behold him coming to the front of the public arena when the danger which menaced public liberty through the tyranny of arbitrary rule called for a defender, and crossing swords with one of the most subtle and learned Crown lawyers of his age, in the famous controversy between "Antillon" and the "First Citizen," we are struck with the fact that constitutional polemical skill was not confined to Great Britain and Ireland. Swift's "Drapier Letters" and those of "Junius" seem to have been in Charles Carroll's mind when penning those wonderful epistles, and it must be owned that in many instances they attain a level not unworthy of those great exemplars. All through his

long life, indeed, this eminent man is found displaying this same great gift of good letter writing. His style would, no doubt, be regarded as very antiquated now, but it will not be by men of taste and erudition that it will be so esteemed. Wisdom and piety, clothed in classic elegance of construction, breathe all through his domestic letters, while those on public subjects disclose the head of the statesman able to look far ahead, as well as the heart of the impulsive patriot. But the dominant note all through that long noble life was the devout Catholic one. Charles Carroll was great in many things, but he was pre-eminently a great Catholic.

We are not left altogether to the device of "reading between the lines" when we endeavor to appraise the mental and religious fitness of the biographer for the task of measuring and depicting a great Catholic patriot. We have to note, besides a slurring over of the inexcusable persecuting intolerance of the Maryland Legislature which had ousted Lord Baltimore, a positive misstatement of fact of a very stupid character, inasmuch as it had been disproved by preceding events. In her brief reference to this overflow of the New England unfairness into the erstwhile Catholic colony, the author remarks: "The principle of religious toleration had not been accepted then, in Europe or America." The existence of the Maryland settlement was a living proof that this principle had been so accepted by the Catholic founder, the King who granted the charter, and the Catholic population who followed the fortunes of Lord Baltimore. It was no less recognized in the brief governorship of the Catholic Dougan in New York, during the period of James I., a couple of decades afterward; but these were the only instances, down to the period of the Revolution, where it obtained formal recognition outside of Pennsylvania. We are asked by the author, in extenuation of the flagrant tyranny of the Maryland interlopers, to remember, "that Spain and France were the relentless enemies of Great Britain, and members of the Roman Catholic Church in Maryland, as in the Mother country, suffered from being identified with the religious faith of the foreign foe." We may remember this, and may admit that the plea is in every particular good and valid in so far as it relates to a matter of fact. But could any confession of brutal injustice be more unqualified? In Maryland it could not be said as in England that there was any political reason for the persecution and torture of Catholic clergy and people, for Maryland and the Colonies generally were entirely out of the radius of European troubles, and only their echoes ever penetrated those almost inaccessible off-shoots of the Old World. The base ingratitude of the interlopers stands out in alto rilievo on the entablature of history, as a fact almost without parallel. We can only find an exam-

ple for it in the realm of fable. The myth of the farmer who found the frozen adder and tried to warm it into life, only to be stung by the reptile when his humane effort was successful, affords the only just parallel for the action of the immigrants who, attracted by the liberty guaranteed in Calvert's Catholic colony, swarmed into it only to subvert that noble ideal and become the persecutors and plunderers of the original settlers.

We do not know any darker or more shameful chapter in the annals of blind bigotry than those which are sought to be glossed over by the biographer of Charles Carroll. We find from the correspondence which she adduces in the course of the work how intolerable it must have been in its acute stages when Charles Carroll's father speaks several times about his intention to sell out his property and quit the American continent because of the reign of plunder and injustice, under the guise of sectarian animosity, that made the existence of every Catholic miserable. He was, like every one of his co-religionists, compelled by law to pay double the amount of taxes to which members of other denominations were liable, because it had been resolved by the Puritan House of Assembly that "Papists were bad members of the community." Plunder under this pretext was not the only reason why the elder Carroll thought of quitting the country. It had been seriously debated by the precious pack of canthers who forged the penal fetters for Maryland "Papists," that children of Catholic parents should be taken from them so as to be removed from dangerous influences. Hence we cannot wonder that Catholics who had the means to quit this subverted Eden readily did so. Those whose circumstances enabled them sent their sons and daughters to Europe for their education since no facilities were available at home, and thus the adherents of the old religion failed to diminish in number in the proportion which their persecutors fondly imagined.

In 1692 the Anglican Church was formally established by law in Maryland, and a Protestant governor was sent out by William the Third to inaugurate a penal code and a reign of terror against Catholics. Enactment after enactment was introduced and passed through the local legislature, all calculated to crush Catholicism and its adherents out of the settlement founded and reclaimed from savage wildness by Catholic intellects and muscles. The crowning piece of legislation was enacted in the year 1704, under the title, "A new law to prevent the increase of Popery." This instrument codified all previous legislation, as well as capped it by some more subtle and seemingly more efficacious devices of restrictive law. The chief provisions were these: (1) No Catholic bishop or priest allowed to celebrate Mass, or exercise the ministry in any way.

(2) Unless Catholics renounced their religion they were deprived of the elective franchise. (3) Catholics were prohibited from teaching. (4) To the support of the Anglican Church Catholics were compelled to contribute. (5) Taxes were doubled on Catholic property-holders. (6) It was strongly recommended, wherever possible, that children were to be withdrawn from "the pernicious influence of Popish parents." (7) A Catholic child, by turning Protestant, could exact his share of property from his parents "as though they were dead." (8) Catholic emigrants were forbidden from entering Maryland. (9) Catholics were at last restricted to "certain parts of the towns."

Such was the atmosphere into which Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, was born, and it was because of its odious and intolerable character that his father sent him abroad for his education. He went, along with his hardly less famous cousin, John Carroll, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, to St. Omer's college in France, for entrance into which the distinguished pair had been prepared secretly by some devoted refugee Jesuits in their own country. Why is this dark chapter of State history skimmed over, minimized, and finally apologized for by Charles Carroll's biographer? It is not out of the generous desire to let "by-gones be by-gones," we fear, for the very same sentiment of ingratitude that found expression in our late war against Spain is found in the plea that "France and Spain were of the same religion" as the victims of persecution. Both these powers had shown how little they were animated by religious bigotry when the infant republic was grappling for life with the python of English tyranny. Were it not for the splendid help, in men, and ships, and money they gave, the colonists must have been annihilated, and yet, after the lapse of more than a hundred years we find the identity of their religion with that of American Catholics pleaded by an enlightened writer as an excuse for downright infamy and abuse of hospitality. The failure to develop this feature of the picture is not only morally weak, but clumsy in an artistic sense, since to the reader imperfectly acquainted with the omitted facts, or altogether ignorant of them, many passages in the correspondence adduced in the biography must appear unwarranted by past events, the creations of a distorted fancy, or puerile exaggerations.

The nobility of Charles Carroll's character was strikingly exemplified when at length the march of events made it necessary that the Catholics should be conciliated rather than persecuted. In his remarkable epistolary controversy with Daniel Dulany (the "Antillon" of the series), that artful official endeavored to rouse animosity against an antagonist whom he recognized as too able even for a

Crown lawyer by fanning the expiring embers of religious bigotry (for the identity of the two men had become an open secret by this time). To this ignoble challenge the First Citizen returned the magnanimous reply "*Meminimus et ignoscimus*," and so parried the sinister lunge. The axiom is justified. Catholics are always willing to forgive their persecutors, though they may not be able to forget the persecution. This is the spirit of their religion, because it is the spirit of its divine Founder.

It was this correspondence with "Antillon" which awakened Marylanders to the fact that so far from "Papists" being dangerous persons, they furnished the only champions able and daring enough to cross swords with the official agents of monarchical tyranny. So signal was the service they rendered, in putting a stop to government by governors' *sic jubeo* merely, that when the troubles of the Stamp Act arose the community spontaneously turned to Charles Carroll for guidance and defence. All thoughts of religious disqualification were ignored, and he was at once placed beside Samuel Chase, Benjamin Franklin, and other distinguished patriots to lead the popular forces in the Legislature, the field, and the council chamber. It was precisely because of his religion and because of his familiarity with the French tongue, that he was selected as one of the three commissioners sent by Congress to negotiate with the Canadian leaders for the co-operation of that country with the American revolutionists. From the correspondence reproduced telling of the journey and its events we can gather that its result might have been favorable to the revolutionists were it not for the lawlessness and want of discipline which pervaded the American troops acting on the Canadian border, and the antipathy such behavior aroused among the French Canadians.

A difficulty seemingly insuperable seems to have been presented to the author of this biography by the style and title of its subject. We meet the full description so frequently throughout each chapter that the iteration becomes tiresome. It ought to have been easy to obviate this defect. The repetition of a man's full name and address so frequently throughout any other sort of literary work would not fail to create an impression of satire. Of course such a thing is not dreamed of in this case. But no reader can fail to be struck by the awkwardness of the course adopted. By referring to the subject of the memoir simply as Carroll, after the introductory portion of the work, the reader's nerves would have been spared the jarring effect of an oft-repeated combination which even singly is by no means euphuistic. The fact that Charles Carroll himself chose to add his address to his signature had no binding force on anybody undertaking to present his biography. He adopted the course for



a very good reason. Many Carrolls besides his immediate circle were settled in Maryland, some near neighbors, and some bearing his identical name. For legal and business purposes, and other reasons, it was necessary to add this means of identification. The author treats the legend of the address being added to the signature on the Declaration of Independence simply because he was twitted by the others on attaching his name merely as an invention. The evidence of his thoroughness, his determination to go through with the work to which he in common with the other patriots of the Revolution had put his hand, as furnished in the voluminous correspondence adduced in this work, dispels any doubt of the character of the man. He signed his name and his address, not in any spirit of bravado or pique, but simply as he had been in the habit of signing it for several years that he might not be mistaken for anyone else of the same name.

Mr. Gladstone, in defending his Irish Home Rule Bill, declared that the problem connected with the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament was "beyond the wit of man." We are entitled to believe that to Charles Carroll it would not have presented so insoluble a riddle. To him fell the task of drafting the plan for the composition of the Maryland Senate and the mode of electing its members. The problem was quite as bewildering a one, under the circumstances. His plan elicited the warm admiration of James Madison, Dugald Stewart, and several other eminent authorities on Constitutional law. There is no doubt that to the same keen and bold intellect was attributable the framework, if not the very language, of a large portion of the Declaration of Rights. While he was serving his country thus signally in the chair of the lawmaker, he was no less active in the arrangement of its military enterprises and the provision for its defense on sea and land. As a member of the War Board he was always at his post when work was to be done, and his foresight and strategic knowledge, as displayed in the correspondence and the recorded results of the military operations appear surprising for a man who had only a literary and a legal training. We can easily understand how a mind stored with historical and constitutional literature, the result of years of systematic study, might find congenial employment in the devising of a system of orderly government adaptable to new conditions, political and social; but it is hard to explain how one trained in such a way could as readily betake himself to the solution of problems connected with campaigns and the supplying of men and military stores and the general *impedimenta* of armies on the march and performing garrison duty in far-distant portions of the territory. But there is no doubt that to all these responsible and dissimilar duties Charles

Carroll applied himself as he was called upon by his countrymen at the different phases of the revolutionary struggle to do. We are a versatile and many-sided people in these present days, but in the period under review the system of a multiplicity of employment was not in vogue; as a general rule the shoemaker stuck to his last. Charles Carroll had no difficulty in serving his country in the legislative chamber and the field, and at the same time presided over the business of his own large estate, looking after its orderly management, its material prosperity, and its moral welfare, with as much method and assiduity as one of the old Roman nobles of the Caesarian period. This excellent business habit he inherited from his father, to whom he was indebted also for the wise counsels of morality and systematic study which helped to make the task of his zealous teachers at St. Omer a comparatively easy one. Those were times when parents recognized their responsibilities before God in regard to their children, and when children growing up to manhood and womanhood were not accustomed to think or speak of parents as old fogies or "back numbers," but observed the injunction contained in the Fourth Commandment. And no matter what the cares of State or business that demanded his attention this fine old-fashioned Catholic recognized that his first duty always and before everything was his homage to God through the medium of his religion.

The intimate connection between literature and religion, and the importance of system in reading, were to Charles Carroll truths brought home personally in the course of a long and practical experience. These truths he wished not to be lost, but to be handed down. Thus we find him writing to his son, even in the midst of political distractions arising from the Federalist controversy, and the parting of the ways between the Washington and Adams school and that of Jefferson, such sage sentiments as the following:

"You must exercise not only your body, but mind, both will become torpid and diseased, if exercise and study be neglected and disused. Accustom yourself to think, and when you read, read with attention, and for improvement, not to kill time, which always hangs heavily on idlers. Pursue this method; after you have been reading till your attention begins to flag, reflect on what you have read, examine the justness of the author's thoughts, and compare them with your own on the same subject; if it be scientific and argumentative, examine whether the inferences are logically drawn from the premises; if merely literary, endeavor to treat the same topic, and try whether you can express your sentiments as justly, as neatly and concisely as the author. The most beautiful thoughts are always expressed in the plainest language which ought to resemble

the dress of an elegant woman, and be *simplex munditiis*. The most sublime and affecting passages in Virgil, and even in Shakespeare, who is too often turgid, are clothed in such language. It is this charm which endears the poetry of Pope to every classic reader.

"In improving your mind, remember your God. The fear of the Lord, says the wise man, is the beginning of wisdom; without virtue there can be no happiness; and without religion, no virtue; consider yourself as always in the presence of the Almighty, if this sentiment be strong and vivid, you will never sin or commit any action you would be ashamed to commit before man. *Vitæ bene anteald*, says Tully, *jucundissima est recordation*; and Pope sings: 'and peace, oh virtue, peace is all thy own'. God bless you."

Charles Carroll was opposed to the war of 1812 with Great Britain, and one of his reasons—perhaps the strongest—was his conviction that Napoleon was a sort of monster, threatening the ruin of everything in Church and State in Europe. He seemed to fail in appreciating the intense indignation and resentment which the preposterous claim of Great Britain to a right to search American vessels in pursuit of British-born seamen was regarded by his fellow-countrymen. Yet his letters on this subject deserve attention, not merely at the present conjuncture, but at all times, because of the fact that his observations on the evils of war and the false and misleading pretenses under which it is often sprung on nations are applicable to almost every instance in the recollection of contemporary or historian.

Writing to General Harper, after the war was over, he says:

"I have read with pleasure your speech on the late resolutions moved by you in the Senate. It seems Mr. King spoke with asperity against the practice of impressing American seamen; no doubt it was and ever will be abused, but how can it be prevented but by a law excluding foreign seamen from our public and private vessels? Even a law will not be effectual without proper provisions to be executed under the inspection of consuls of foreign powers in our principal seaports. Unless a prohibition sanctioned by an act of Parliament and of Congress perfectly reciprocal takes place, and is executed on both sides with good faith, to exclude from British vessels of war and merchantmen American seamen, and *vice versa* British seamen from our vessels, public and private, the practice of impressment so injurious and justly complained of will most certainly lead to war in the course of years, between the two countries. War I consider as a great calamity, and having a stronger influence in corrupting the morals of a nation even than a long peace, and therefore most weighty and just should be the cause to justify engaging in it; I think with Cicero, *nullum bellum justum*,

*nisi necessarium.* . . . Again, a few thoughts on war and its causes; they are frequently concealed from the public, springing more from low intrigues, antipathies, ambition of individuals, and plausible pretences of violated national honor, than from the ostensible and alleged reasons and topics set forth in declarations. Collisions of interest and real grounds of quarrel, will, no doubt, sometimes arise, especially between maritime and commercial nations envious and jealous of each other. But if rulers were wise they would, at least ought, to resort before the sword is drawn, to pacific negotiations, carried on with good faith, free from irritation and in the spirit of peace, avoiding hatred and mutual reproaches. "Such are my sentiments: *si quid novisti rectius istis candidus impesti, si non, his utere mecum.*"

The closing scene of his life is thus described by Dr. Richard Stewart:

"It was toward sundown in the month of November, and very cold weather. In a large room—his bedroom—a semicircle was formed before a large, open fire-place. The venerable old man was in a large easy-chair; in the centre, before him, a table with blessed candles, an antique silver bowl of holy water and a crucifix; by his side the priest, Rev. John E. Chaunce, President of St. Mary's College, and afterwards Bishop of Natchez, in his rich robes, about to offer him the last rites of the Holy Catholic Church. On each side of his chair knelt a daughter and grandchildren, with some friends, making a complete semicircle; and just in the rear, three or four old negro servants, all of the same faith, knelt in the most venerating manner. The whole assemblage made up a picture never to be forgotten. The ceremony proceeded. The old gentleman had been for a long time suffering from weak eyes, and could not endure the proximity of the lights immediately before him. His eyes were, therefore, kept closed, but he was so familiar with the forms of this solemn ceremony that he responded and acted as if he saw everything passing around. At the moment of offering the Host he leaned forward without opening his eyes, yet responsive to the word of the administration of the holy offering. It was done with so much intelligence and grace that no one could doubt for a moment how fully his soul was alive to the act."

The last recorded words of this great and gracious patriarch are impressive and memorable beyond any ever spoken on the same subject. They are given on the authority of those who attended him:

"I have lived to my ninety-sixth year; I have enjoyed continued health, I have been blessed with great wealth, prosperity and most of the good things which the world can bestow—public approbation, esteem, applause; but what I now look back on with the greatest satisfaction to myself is, that I have practiced the duties of my religion."

J. O. .

## Scientific Chronicle.

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### "BLOOD AND IRON" IN A PHYSIOLOGICAL SENSE.

It is by no means a new discovery that iron plays an important part in the maintenance of the human system, but it is a distinct advance in the curriculum of science to find an attempt at explanation why this is so. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a French scientist, M. Dastré, last year essayed that delicate task. Iron, he said, exists in plants and animals simply because it abounds in nature; it is nature's great colorist; it gives colors to plants, to the plumage of birds and the furs of animals. This may be extremely satisfactory to the author of the treatise, but it seems to an outsider to answer the question *how* the iron is there, rather than *why* the fact is so, the professed object of the inquiry. This is the common weakness of all scientific demonstration which endeavors to do too much. The function of science is, by an inscrutable natural law, restricted to analysis; when it attempts the higher synthesis it collapses like the waxen flying apparatus of Icarus in the pitiless sunlight. It seems to us that M. Dastré's line of argument is at right angles with the theory of evolution which his general propositions seem to accept as a thing understood. For instance, he postulates:

It is probable that at the first appearance of the earlier living forms, these beings had a simpler chemical constitution than present organisms. The extremest degree of simplicity that we can imagine still requires four elements: carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen, which are necessary to form the fundamental organic molecule. The other elements, iron one of the last among them, were doubtless added successively by a sort of chemical adaptation of the living creature to the environment that constantly offered them. To speak in the language of the chemists, this faculty of accommodation or adaptation depends on the aptitude of the fundamental organic molecule to join to itself successively the atomic groups that are of widest occurrence around it and that correspond best to its functions. In simpler terms, the circulation of matter between living and inanimate nature and the necessary accommodation of these two, one to another, require that animals and plants should be formed of the same clay as the earth on which they live.

Here the proposition is that the chemical elements that entered into the natural composition of animals were not transmitted from one species of fauna to another, but added at successive epochs. Does not this fact infer special creation of different species instead of evolution? It is quite easy to say that it is probable that early living forms had a simpler chemical composition than present organisms; it is just as probable that they had not. Matter in its

present constituents has existed, so far as our knowledge goes, from the very beginning of creation, and as science demands proofs for everything, science must not ask us to take anything for granted without proof. An "it is probable" is a poor substitute for demonstrable fact. It is by no means a new discovery that iron is an essential constituent in the human system; we believe a good many doctors of the old school knew that the absence of iron was a chief cause of anæmia. If M. Dastré has failed in answering the questions which his reasoning raises, it seems to us that the *Literary Digest*, which published a translation of the chief portions of it, has come to his assistance. It is evident, it observes, that without iron we should die, and it is, therefore, providential that the metal should occur almost everywhere in the plant world.

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#### SERUM TREATMENT OF PNEUMONIA.

We doubt if the recent experiments in the adaptation of serum to pneumonia cases has attracted that attention in this country which their importance demands, because of the frequency of that deadly malady here. The great Italian clinics have been deeply interested in them. The serum is prepared at the Institute Siero-Terapico in Naples, and has been in large demand since the results of the earlier experiments became known. Professors De Renzi and Pane, of the Neapolitan Medical School, had reported favorably of its results in numerous cases. From Dr. Ughetti, ordinary professor of pathology in the University of Catania, and from Dr. Cantieri, director of the Clinica Medica at Siena, highly favorable opinions as to its efficacy have come, while Professor Massolongo, head of the Civil Hospital at Verona, concludes a careful and minutely detailed report as follows: "My impression as to the 'siero anti-pneumónico' is this, that it is more efficacious than any other agent."

The foregoing facts were set out in a more elaborate way in the *Lancet* last summer, but, so far as we have been enabled to judge, the matter has not been followed with that interest which its great importance should excite, owing, no doubt, to the outbreak of war, the spread of the bubonic plague and other distracting causes. Pneumonia we have always with us, while those other calamities are temporary and transient; hence it is probable that the subject of its successful treatment will soon awaken wide attention in medical circles.

## STRANGE USES FOR LIMESTONE.

Dean Swift's extravagant fancy of sunbeams extracted from cucumbers is hardly further removed from the seemingly improbable than some of the transmutations now being constantly realized in the scientific world. We behold trees converted into paper, and paper in its turn converted into artillery, and artillery—well, when the era of universal and inviolable peace has come, we shall find artillery, no doubt, converted into something better than the last word of an international polemic. Now we hear of something more astonishing still—dress fabrics from the hard rocks. An Indiana chemist has applied for patents on a process for making wool from limestone. After some sort of chemical treatment the rock is subjected to a drawing-out process, by which, it is said, it is converted into the finest and most pliable wool, of beautiful white color and soft as down. Many industrial applications of this product are apparent, but a most notable probability is that it may be woven into fabrics for clothing, etc. Experiments are now in progress to determine its capabilities and limitations in this respect. If it be found that it can be woven into a satisfactory fabric and that it can be suitably dyed, it would certainly be a most important product. As it is both waterproof and fireproof, and quite approaches indestructibility, one would have to patronize one's tailor very infrequently. This discovery may be regarded as a faint clue to the connection between animate and inanimate matter, if we take into account the well-known fact that it is sheep which are fed on a limestone soil which furnish the finest fleeces.

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 PROGRESS THROUGH EVOLUTION—WITH A DRAW-BACK.

The eminent Italian criminologist, Professor Lombroso, will accept the theory of the evolutionists regarding progressive development—but with a rider of his own appended. His theory of evolution is a novel one. Natural progress, in his view, is the progress of the pendulum—for every forward step there is a corresponding backward one. Improvement in one direction means retrogression in another. And, indeed, if we accept the distinguished physiologist's propositions as tenable we shall find that he establishes the theories of the Darwinian evolutionists so completely as to double them over on themselves, like a folding table. The task of Sisyphus rolling his stone up the infernal slope might be taken as the example of the sort of evolution which we find remaining after Professor Lombroso has passed it through his intellectual

mill. Some of his propositions on the subject are as startling as novel. For instance these.

The vertebrates gain their greater individual power of defense at the expense of a diminution of their progeny. The superior animals and plants lose in adaptability what they gain in evolution, so that while inferior species may await indefinitely in lethargy the conditions favorable to their development without suffering from it, and withstand even for thousands of years a deficiency of air and water, or may even change their form and needs with a change in their environment (the *Mucor mucedo*, for example, which in the absence of oxygen transforms itself into a *saccharomyces* tube), the superior animals die on account of a few degrees of heat, dryness, or pressure more or less than the normal. The metazoans gain their increased differentiation at the expense of the almost eternal life which belongs to the protozoans, the only forms of life which possess the property of rejuvenation.

But more suggestive and more fatal to the hypothesis that evolution means passing from a lower to a higher condition are the professor's postulations regarding the human race. In the following passages will be found the kernel of his argument:

The white race, in comparison with savages and many beasts, has lost the sense of direction which even the smallest birds possess. And there are many facts which might be offered to show that with the invention of the alphabet and the development of speech it has lost important faculties with which some peculiar public functionaries among the ancients, like prophets and magi, were endowed. And it is certainly true that the greater nervous intensity of the life of civilized man, and the greater conveniences of his life, are accompanied by a lesser acuteness of the senses, a weakened power of resisting external agents, a lesser invulnerability. And we of the nineteenth century pay for our greater analytic perfection acquired through the division of labor by the loss of our faculty of synthesis. We boast of surpassing our ancestors in morals, but we have lost their sense of hospitality, and their patriotic and religious altruism; and if we are not more cruel than barbarians, we are able to contemplate their cruelty with indifference, as for example, the massacre of the Armenians. And from that time to time the infamies of Panama or the Roman Bank nians. And from time to time the infamies of Panama or the Roman Bank reveal to us even among our highest officials a corruption worthy of the Roman Empire.

Here is food for the moralist no less than the scientist. It is rare to find men of a highly scientific turn admitting the influence of religion as a softener of man's barbarian tendencies; and in raising the point in this way Professor Lombroso will have done good service in stirring up the sequent inquiry *why* we have lost our religious and our patriotic altruism—whence emanated that modern spirit of selfishness and indifference to any sort of patriotism save that implied in a community of selfish commercial aims which seems to be the ruling spirit of the age.

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#### ARE MALARIA AND MOSQUITOES CORRELATED.

It is the theory of Surgeon-Major Ross, of the British army, that to the virtue of hospitality among our gentle friends, the mosquitoes, we owe the superabundance of malaria. He sees reason to suppose that the mosquito is the "extra-corporal or alternative



host" of the malaria parasite. The British Government is so far interested in his theory that he has been sent out to India, with instructions to the authorities there to afford him every facility to investigate the question on the ground. It is strange, though, that he should have gone so far in this scientific quest, when he could have done so in a locality so much nearer—to wit, New Jersey, whose malaria and whose mosquitoes are, it is generally conceded, first of the first.

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### THE X-RAYS IN THERAPEUTICS.

Rapid progress is being made in the control of the powers of the X-rays so as to make them serviceable without corresponding drawback. Their value is being demonstrated in the European schools of medicine in a very striking way. A couple of examples are quoted in the *London Times* from its Vienna correspondent. He gives some interesting particulars communicated by Dr. Edward Schiff, lecturer at the Vienna University, at the last sitting of the Imperial and Royal Medical Society. A series of experiments conducted by Dr. Schiff and his assistant proved that these rays could be used for the cure of disease in a manner capable of perfect control by means of a more or less intense application for a longer or shorter period, producing reaction in the exact degree required. In this way it has been possible for the lecturer, on the one hand, to remove hair from parts of the body where it constituted a disfigurement, without causing the slightest inflammation, while, on the other hand, he has been able to treat lupus with uniform success by means of an artificial inflammation, the intensity of which he was in a position to increase or reduce at will. The results secured by the new method, both in the removal of superfluous hair and the treatment of lupus, were demonstrated in the persons of some of Dr. Schiff's patients.

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### UTILIZATION OF WASTE PRODUCTS.

Science has not yet solved the great problem of the proper utilization of waste matter. The quantity of such refuse which is being continuously projected into the air and cast upon the ground to poison life and breed disease is appalling in amount. Let any inquirer pass over the Spring Garden Bridge and viaduct at Philadelphia, and observe the enormous volumes of sable smoke flung out by the omnipresent locomotives, and just think of the effects which these clouds of sooty particles must have upon the health of the residents along that portion of the line where the freight traffic

is chiefly "handled." As we contemplate this appalling nuisance, we cannot but feel that the science of smoke consumption is in a very backward state, when it can do nothing to prevent those fuliginous streams from being projected into the air from half a hundred *vomitores*, in one small but pestiferous area, every second of the twenty-four hours. Bad as the state of affairs is in the vicinity of large railway works, it is infinitely worse in the environment of the great ore-smelting centres. Waste products in these places are often fraught with deadly metallic poisons, and the curious feature about such criminal empoisoning of the atmosphere is that it frequently means sheer absolute waste of chemical materials that might be profitably employed in other industrial processes, if saved or diverted into other channels. There are thousands of dollars' worth of sulphur, for instance, sent up into the air every week in the copper-mine regions. This is not only a positive practical loss of money, but a positive loss to human and vegetable health and life. The extent of the loss is not to be easily estimated, but a vague notion of what it may represent may be formed from what the *Pharmaceutical Era* some time ago said on the subject:

"It is estimated that in the burning of ores in the furnaces of one Western town only some 350 tons of volatilized sulphur are poured into the atmosphere daily. The effect of this great quantity of poisonous vapor is the almost total destruction of all vegetation in and around the city. Taking the amount named as a basis of computation, we are told that the annual waste of sulphur reaches the great total of 128,000 tons, which, at the ruling price of sulphur, amounts to a most respectable sum. We are not in a position to verify these assertions, nor to estimate even approximately the total waste of sulphur in all the mining operations of the country, nor, what is a far greater task, of computing the waste in all other sorts of industrial operations. We do know, however, that manufacturers are continually striving by all means to prevent such waste of by-products, and to save them as a material source of profit. The question always to be considered is whether this can be done at a profit. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that managers of the reduction works of the West are investigating with a view to saving this enormous amount of sulphur through some financially profitable operation."

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#### SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS OF DOUBTFUL UTILITY.

We do not concur in the wholesale charges of indifference to physical suffering often levelled against scientific men, but we find evidence now and again that suffering is inflicted upon the lower

animals in pursuit of doubtful ends, or, mayhap, in the hope, if no definite end be presently in view, that something useful in unexpected directions may be the outcome. The grafting together of different parts of insects seems to belong to this category. The idea seems to be to ascertain, if possible, how nature produces her "freaks." One of the favorite amusements of German experiment-  
alists, it appears, is the manufacture of what are called "tandem moths." The way in which this species of monstrosity is produced was recently described in *Popular Science* by Mr. Henry Webster. He says that German scientists have long been in the habit of grafting parts of tadpoles and other low forms upon different species. "The method is to take two pupæ, cut off parts, join, and close the junction by pressing paraffin on, warmed slightly so as to be plastic. In this way the pupæ of two moths or butterflies can be united tandem-wise, or back to back, breast to breast, or otherwise. Some of them emerge alive, but how far they may come forth with healthy expansion and development does not appear in the many alcoholic specimens in the biological laboratory of Columbia University, where Dr. Crampton has been experimenting on various species and combinations. The results have a crumpled look, and one would not expect that many, if any, of the grafted insects could lead an active life. The two-headed might possibly, but certainly not the tandem or the Siamese-twin combinations. The scientific interest in the subject is various, *e. g.*, the coloring where different species are united with each other." From this we gather that it is sufficient motive for the dismemberment of living creatures to seek to discover the coloring which nature produces in the subject of the experiment at the point of junction. The schoolboy who pulls the heads and wings and legs off flies generally appears to have nearly as high a reason as this.

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#### PHANTOM CORNS.

The force of imagination, when combined with habit and long familiarity with different conditions, often produces some results that tickle our risibility. Persons who have lost limbs or fingers or toes afford numerous examples of illusions begotten by force of habit in relation to the departed piece of anatomy. Some of the illusions may produce serious and painful results, as well as laughable ones. In the *Medico-Psychologic Annals* (Paris) M. Pitres recently gave some curious examples of such illusions from cases that came under his own observation. With regard to those persons who had recently lost limbs, he says: "In the majority of cases the illu-

sion is so perfect and vivacious that it constantly deceives the intelligence of the individual, so imperiously does it force itself upon him. Some of those who had lost a limb, questioned by M. Pitres, declared that they felt the amputated limb frequently more really and substantially than they did the one still attached to the body. Sometimes they get to believing more firmly upon the existence of the phantom limb than upon those members that remain, as in the case of a patient of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, who declared: 'I state only the truth when I say that I am more conscious of the existence *in place* of the limb that I lost than of the one that I saved.' Dr. Mitchell tells of a horseman who had lost an arm, and, thinking to take the reins in the amputated hand, dropped them on the neck of the horse, which was high spirited, and, leaping to one side, threw the rider, badly injuring him. Another man, who had lost his right hand, always tried to pick up his work with that hand, which invariably caused him a fit of exasperation."

But one does not feel much astonishment at temporary hallucinations. These are the result of a sort of mental automatic faculty, for the moment beyond the control of the will. Similar phenomena might be recalled by people who change their residence after living for a long period in one house. Instinctively these are often found, in moments of abstraction, wandering back to the old abode—and this, perhaps, a week or ten days after the change has been made. But the hallucination of the continuance of customary pain in amputated members leads us into deeper strata of psychology, and opens up problems of the relations between thought and matter which may not be easily solved, but must be always stimulative of healthy investigation. Ludicrous though it be to hear of a sane individual attributing sensitiveness to phantom corns, such cases must have a high scientific value. Dr. Pitres tells of some such cases. He says:

We remember an old soldier who had lost half of both feet, and the injury had been partially repaired by a maker of artificial limbs. This man would sit for a half hour at a time rubbing the ends of his shoes, where his corns formerly were, and swearing at the pain the phantom corns were giving him. He would frequently declare: "There's going to be a change of the weather—my corns are hurting me." On being reminded that he had no corns, he would say: "Never mind! I feel 'em all the same."

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## RELATION OF DIET AND SOCIOLOGY TO INSANITY.

Governmental reports for a few years back note a very grave increase in insanity in Ireland. This fact has not attracted the attention which it demands, because insanity, if not contagious, is hereditary, and the causes which originate fresh forms are always operative. Two reasons are offered for the growth of this affliction

among the Irish people of the poorer class—the increase of consumption of tea by the peasantry, and the outbreak of a passion for methylated spirits and ether. It may be in the recollection of some yet living when the modern luxury of tea was almost unknown to the simple peasantry in Ireland. But the “free-trade” shibboleth of a “free breakfast table” has changed all that. In place of the pastoral diet of milk and meal and wholesome vegetables, the Irish peasantry are now driven back upon doctored “tea” and other vile products of spurious civilization, alcoholic compounds included; and the medical officers report a grave increase in the number of insane as a consequence. In the South and West of Ireland the doctors have no hesitation in attributing the growth of insanity among women of the class which claim the hospitality of the poor-houses and the insane asylums to the depraved appetite for “tea” which has developed itself among the peasantry. In some isolated districts of the Northwest a very extraordinary taste has arisen for another and more deadly kind of stimulant—ether, or methylated spirits. It is not unreasonable to surmise that such a morbid taste is the outgrowth of the suppression of the illicit stills in the districts where it has cropped up. For generations some wild and almost inaccessible tracts and islands in those portions of the country had been the source of trouble to the revenue officers, and the peasantry within the influence of the still had been the victims of an unnatural taste. Of recent years, however, the police have been active; the “stills” have become rarer and rarer, and the people who came within the radius of their poison, especially the older race, have been driven to the desperate straits known only to the wild poets to whom strong alcoholic drinks are indispensible, or their congeners, the hereditary drunkards. Hence the police in the Northwestern districts of Ireland report that the people in certain localities, where it is to be presumed the “potheen” distiller formerly held sway, have taken to the consumption of ether, and the ratio of insanity has had a proportionate increase. Still, this deduction is only a matter of surmise. The medical men in the South have no such difficulty in finding a cause for the large number of mentally affected among the peasantry which now come under their purview, as compared with previous years. They unhesitatingly attribute it to the increased consumption of tea, and it is a legitimate surmise that the compound held to blame is largely “doctored” by the importers or the retailers, else it would not have so deadly an effect upon the ill-fed population.

Under the peculiar circumstances which surround the case of Ireland the deductions of the medical men may be somewhat at fault. When we remember that the young and healthy portion

of the population are steadily leaving the country, we ought not to be at a loss for the reason why so large a proportion of those left behind lose their wits. Sorrow and old age are great feeders to the "written troubles of the brain;" and of these factors the residuum of the peasantry left in Ireland have had their full share for the past fifty years especially.

There is a negative side to this question, which seems to have escaped the attention of the doctors in Ireland. The country where marriages are the most frequent and the more early prospers best in the avoidance of lunacy. Marriage is a luxury in Ireland among the peasantry nowadays, and the falling off leaves its effects in the greater number of the insane and those thrown as burdens on the poor rates. Strange to say, in England, where the conditions of life are not so hard, there is also a marked decrease in the marriage rate. In the manufacturing districts early marriages are the rule, in the rural the exception, notably. The Commissioners of Lunacy for Great Britain, in their last report, had to note an alarming increase in dementia of various forms. But it is remarkable that the proportion of increase was much greater among the unmarried than the married. The *London Mail*, commenting on this fact, and analyzing the report, observes: "At every age, from twenty to sixty-five and upward, the chance of a single man going mad is much greater than the chance of a married man going mad. At ages twenty to twenty-four the 'odds' against the single man, as compared with the married man, are 55 to 10—that is,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 1—and these odds against the single man, although they become smaller as his age increases, are so much in favor of the married man that, in sober earnest, the facts now dug out and shown ought to be carefully thought over by all unmarried men. As regards women, the married women show a marked superiority over unmarried women in non-liability to insanity, but their superiority over single women is not so great as that of married men over single men." Here are some things for statesmen no less than Benedicks to ponder over.

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#### TO EAT OR NOT TO EAT BEFORE SLEEPING.

Much has been said and written on the subject of late suppers and eating generally before retiring to rest, and the balance of opinion seems to be on the side of those who pronounce the habit to be injurious. The truth is probably that, were it a habit, and a regular one, it would be not merely harmless, but positively beneficial. Again, those who take sides in the controversy lose sight of the fact, very often, that all human beings are not alike, and

that what one may do with impunity, another may not venture on without experiencing disastrous results. Take, for instance, the case of pork as food. A supper in which this article is the chief ingredient entails, to most people, the most miserable consequences. Yet we have known pleasure seekers who often faced a supper of roast pork or pork chops with the greatest pleasure and escaped scatheless. We believe the elegant Adelina Patti was very fond of this sort of supper, and mayhap is to this day, though we have not had for some years any precise knowledge on the subject. The eminent Irish singer, Catharine Hayes, had, it is recorded, an inordinate appetite for oysters. It is said that she would eat as much as half a hundred of these bivalves, washed down with bottled stout, after her night's singing, with great gusto. Many other opera singers indulge habitually in late suppers, and it is not known that they have, as a rule, suffered in health therefrom. An eminent Italian medical authority, quoted by the *National Druggist*, maintains that the reason why many people remain weak and thin is that they refrain from food before going to bed at night. He says physiology teaches us that, in sleeping as in waking, there is a perpetual waste going on in the tissues of the body, and it seems but logical that nourishment should be continuous as well. The digestion of the food taken on at dinner time, or in the early evening, is finished, as a usual thing, before or by bedtime, yet the activity of the processes of assimilation, etc., progress for hours afterward, and, when one retires with an empty stomach, the result of this activity is sleeplessness, and an undue wasting of the system. All other creatures (says the writer), outside of man, are governed by a natural instinct, which leads those having a stomach to eat before lying down for the night. The digestive organs have no need for repose, providing, always, that the quantity of nourishment taken within the twenty-four hours does not go beyond the normal limit. The fact that the intervals between meals is short works no inconvenience, but, on the contrary, tends to the avoidance of feebleness which is the natural result of an interval extended to too great a length. Feeble persons, lean and emaciated people, and, above all, those suffering from insomnia, owe it to themselves not to retire without taking some nourishment into the stomach—bread and butter, a glass of rich milk, a few biscuits, or even a bit of juicy cold meat, for instance.

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#### COPPER-SHEATHED RAILROAD CARS.

A passenger coach, finished with copper on the outside, instead of the usual paint and varnish, is in service on the New York,

New Haven and Hartford Railroad. The advantage claimed is that the cars are more readily kept in condition of cleanliness and brightness, and when it is necessary to send a car to the shops for an exterior overhauling it is ready for the service again in half the time required to paint and varnish it. Wood paneling and sheathing is made in precisely the same manner as at present, except a shade thinner, and a light coating of copper is formed around the wood, fitting closely into all curves and corners. All joints are water-tight. Only one car has thus far been finished in this way, and the copper on this car was oxidized, giving it a dark, glossy finish. No paint or varnish is used on the outside of the car, excepting on the roof, platform, hoods and window sash. The numbers and letters are made of cast aluminum, and are attached by screws.

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#### FICTITIOUS VALUE OF QUARANTINE.

Medical opinions are at variance about the efficacy of quarantine as a barrier against contagious diseases. This, of course, is not altogether without precedent, and the great problem for governments, charged with the safety of the people, is to find the court of appeal from high medical authorities who recommend different principles for the warding off or destruction of plague germs when they threaten the frontiers. Quarantine is now scoffed at as an antiquated and effete precaution against any form of pestilence. The *Hospital*, which is regarded as the organ of the best scientific opinion in England, denounces the system of trying to keep out disease by such methods as worthy of the days of the Barber Surgeons. It appears that the idea of quarantine originated in the city of Milan, as a precaution against the black death. The example thus set was followed in Venice, where the first *lazaretto* was established in 1423, the disease then to be kept at bay being bubonic plague. Two centuries later the system was almost universal and had reached its full development, insomuch that very elaborate regulations were formed and enforced in this country with reference to the plague which appeared so early as in 1636, and which committed such terrible ravages in London and in some country districts, as at Eyam, between 1663 and 1666. These endeavors to exclude plague were as effectual, in the words of Sir John Simon, "as if their intention had been to bar out the east wind or the new moon;" but, notwithstanding this, the epidemic of cholera which prevailed in Europe in 1831 found not only the populace, but even the sanitary authorities of this country, prepared to trust in quarantine as their supreme hope. Notwithstand-

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ing the precaution, the disease was not only introduced, but it spread with terrible rapidity, and produced a mortality of many thousands. Taught by experience, the General Board of Health, in 1849 and 1852, strenuously pointed out that quarantine could not give any but a false security for the purpose it pretended to accomplish; and, adducing illustrations of its futility and oppressiveness as commonly administered, boldly proposed, as a practical conclusion, that this country should entirely set aside its existing quarantine establishments, and should rely exclusively upon the protection it could derive from a system of local sanitary improvements. The present method is to admit disease freely, but to be on the watch for it when it comes. If plague or yellow fever were brought to any British port, the actual sick would be landed and placed in a proper hospital for the reception of infectious cases; the sound would be permitted to proceed to their several destinations, the sanitary authorities of which would be instructed to keep them under observation until all danger was past, and to send them to hospital if the disease should show itself in them, and the ship and its cargo would be subjected to disinfection.

During the last cholera epidemic many vessels brought cases of stricken to English and Irish ports, but these were dealt with effectually, as a rule, by the medical men sent out to the ships by the Board of Health, or in the port hospitals, if they were serious. This plan proved perfectly efficacious.

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#### LION TAMERS FIND USE FOR ELECTRICITY.

The many homely uses to which electricity can be put are not less marvellous than the many great ones, but the idea of utilizing it in the menagerie appears to be the most novel and amusing of all its minor adaptations. It was a French lion tamer, named Pezon, who died a short time ago, who first hit upon the ingenious idea of turning it to this function. All the family are in the business of beast taming, and they endeavor to minimize risks by all sorts of contrivances and educational terrorism in regard to the beasts. Electricity has served them in good stead at the taming rehearsals. Live wires were placed between them and their lions and tigers. When the tamer turned his or her back the wild creature advanced to make its spring, and received a shock that was a lesson for the rest of its life. Before electricity was much in use Pezon was nearly always obliged to keep his eye fixed on that of his lion. There was something in it, they found, that subdued the animal, no matter how ferocious.

## Book Notices.

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**AVE ROMA IMMORTALIS.** Studies from the chronicles of Rome. By *Francis Marion Crawford*. Illustrated; 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 676. New York: The Mac Millan Co.

Probably no book of the year will attract so much attention, both here and in Europe, as Mr. Crawford's Rome. The subject is one of such lasting and absorbing interest, that it will always attract the attention of the reading world. It is a subject that has neither time nor space limit, for as long as time shall continue and the world shall last, immortal Rome shall stand out prominently with its thousands of years of deeds of daring, valor, heroism and bloodshed. Its foundation away back in the age of fable, centuries before the coming of Christ; its growth amidst strife and conflict; its worldly magnificence under Paganism, with all the ruins of art and architecture which Paganism has bequeathed to Christianity; its transition from the kingdom of the gods to the home of the God; all this will make it always a new subject. It is more interesting at this time, because it follows so closely on Mr. Zola's nightmare. His coming and going always reminds one of the approach and departure of a big poisonous black spider, or of some repulsive slimy thing. He went to Rome, and everything the spider touched was left swollen and inflamed; every place the snake crawled he left his slimy tracks behind him. Mr. Crawford's book is a blessed antidote for this poison. Those who have not come in contact with the noxious thing should shun it, but those who have been tainted by it should apply the remedy.

Mr. Crawford approaches his subject splendidly equipped for the work. He was born in Italy; he spent his childhood and youth in Rome, living in one of its historical palaces, and he returned to the Eternal City to spend there the best years of his mature manhood. For a long time he has been a close student of the old Latin and Italian chronicles. They are filled with true stories which are much more wonderful than the inventions of the most fanciful romancers. He has drawn freely from these chronicles to construct the story of the wonderful city.

"He begins with a brief historical study of the rise of Rome, with sketches of some of the men who made her greatness, and afterwards takes in turn the fourteen different regions or wards into which the city is divided, describing the characteristic buildings of

each as they have been in different ages, and as we see them now, and giving the histories of the people who lived and fought and loved and died in them, leaving their names and their memories to haunt the stones forever."

His series of Italian novels written about the lives of some of Rome's oldest and most distinguished families, that trace their ancestry back to the Middle Ages and beyond them, trained the novelist and prepared him for this more serious and pretentious work. Rumor says that Mr. Hall Caine, who recently paid a protracted visit to the ancient city, is about to write a book on it. The fascination of Immortal Rome is potent, and Mr. Caine's strong pen should place before the reading world a great picture. But it is only a possibility, while Mr. Crawford's is a reality, and a very pleasing, intensely interesting reality it is. It is not a mere guide book, although it possesses all the qualities of the best guide book; it is not a mere chronicle of events, although it is admirable from that point of view; it is not a history in the strict sense of the word, although it appears in historical form; but it is a combination of guide book, chronicle and history, put together with the skill of the novelist. As one reviewer has said: "This book represents the ripest thought and the most finished literary art of the author."

It must not be accepted, however, as a history of men. The author is entirely too brief to deal rightly with important historical facts. His tone of moderation and fairness throughout shows that he wishes to tell the truth, and yet his brief reference to important events, either without giving any authority, or quoting only one—perhaps the least reliable—without mentioning the others at all, is misleading. For example, speaking of the death of Alexander the Sixth, he says that he died of poison on August 18, 1503; that it had been prepared by Caesar Borgia for the Cardinal of Corneto, with whom they both dined on the evening of the 17th, and that the Pope drank it in wine by mistake. He does not give his authority for this statement, although he seems to follow Guicciardini, because he quotes him for the assertion that Alexander did not know of Caesar's intention to poison the Cardinal.

Now Mr. Crawford should have known that the best authorities all agree that the Pope was not poisoned at all, and that those who hold the poison theory contradict one another. The author whom Mr. Crawford quotes poisons Alexander with wine; Sanuto, on whom Mr. Ranke relies, ends his life with confectionery. One makes the Pope attempt the murder of his enemy; the other attributes the plot to Caesar Borgia, and says that the Pope had no knowledge of it. One removes the head of the church on the day after the feast; another lets him live for a week or more. A refer-

ence to Pastor's History of the Popes would have decided the question fairly. He speaks of Ranke's "singular obstinacy" in holding the poison theory, and calls it an "untenable proposition." He goes into details, showing that the Pope dined with the Cardinal of Corneto in the open air on the evening of August 4, the pestilential season in Rome; that many other persons were present; that all were taken sick, including the cardinal host; that Alexander recovered sufficiently to be able to attend to his business for several days, and that his sickness throughout had all the marks of Roman tertian fever. Eye witnesses are brought forward to testify to these facts, including the Pope's physician Scipio. Sanuto, whom Ranke quotes, also vouches for the story that the devil appeared to the Pope in the form of an ape. Contrast this with the story of Alexander's death, as it is told in the diary of Burchard, who certainly cannot be accused of being partial to him:

"On Saturday, August 12, 1503, the Pope fell ill, and in the evening, about the twenty-first or twenty-second hour, there came a fever which continually remained. On Tuesday, August 15, thirteen ounces of blood were drawn from him, and then supervened a tertian fever. On Thursday, August 17, at the twelfth hour, he took some medicine, and on Friday, August 18, he confessed to the Lord Peter, Bishop of Culm, who then celebrated mass in his presence, and after his own communion gave the Holy Eucharist to the Pope, who sat up in bed. There were present five cardinals. At the vesper hour, having received Extreme Unction from the Bishop of Culm, he expired."

This is very clear and straightforward, and ought to be convincing. It was to many good authorities.

Voltaire denies the poison story; Roscoe rejects it; Muratori has produced many authorities to disprove it.

Creighton, in his History of the Papacy, says: "But it (the story of the poisoning of Alexander VI.) rests on no authoritative basis. There is nothing to confirm it in the description of the Pope's illness as given by eye witnesses. \* \* \* There is no good reason for attributing the death of Alexander VI. to other than natural causes." We have dwelt on this question because it is a good test of historical reliability.

There are other examples in the book, notably the death of Boniface VIII. On page 165 of the first volume Mr. Crawford says, speaking of Boniface VIII.: "They (his enemies) went away and left him, carrying off his treasures with them, and he returned to Rome, half mad with anger, and fell into the hands of the Orsini cardinals, who judged him not sane and kept him a prisoner at

the Vatican, where he died soon afterwards, consumed by his wrath."

Very likely this story is taken from Sismondi, who took it from Ferrettus with some modifications. But Sismondi forgot to mention, and perhaps Mr. Crawford did not know, that at the foot of the page in Ferrettus, from which the story is taken, Muratori's point blank statement is printed that the whole story is an unworthy lie. His "process" shows that he died peacefully in bed, after making a profession of faith and receiving the sacraments devoutly. No doubt his last illness was brought on or aggravated by his imprisonment at the hands of his enemies, for he was eighty-seven years old at the time, but to consume him with wrath afterwards was neither charitable nor truthful.

Three hundred years after his death his tomb was opened, and the body was found almost entirely incorrupt. The face presented a placid expression, the hands were beautifully preserved and there were no marks of violence any where, although his enemies had pictured him tearing himself and dashing his head against the walls of his prison. We are sorry that Mr. Crawford touched these questions at all, since he had not time to investigate them rightly nor space to present them fully. He could have gotten along very well without them. We call attention to them, in order to warn our readers that the book is not a reliable history of men.

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**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SAINTS.** By *Henri Joly*, with Preface and Notes by G. Tyrrell, S. J. 12mo, pp. 184. London: Duckworth & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is the first of a series of new lives of the saints under the general editorship of M. Henri Joly, formerly professor at the Sorbonne and at the Collège de France, and author of several works on psychology, including inferior animals, great men and criminals. The authorized English translations of these books are revised by Rev. Father Tyrrell, S. J., who contributes to each volume a preface, and in some cases notes. In a letter addressed by the general editor to his collaborators he quotes Mgr. Dupanloup's saying that "there are very few lives of the saints written as they should be." He then demands for this work, "above and beyond all else a love of the saint; then a profound study of his life and spirit from original sources and contemporary documents; then the portraiture of this soul and its struggles, and of what nature and grace were within it; all this traced with simplicity, truthfulness, dignity, deep penetration and impressive detail, in such a way that the saint and his times may be faithfully represented." Care should be taken to make the saint tell his own story, for otherwise every-

thing living and individual is apt to disappear, and all saints will resemble one another too closely.

As the English editor has well said: "The old time-honored saint's life, with its emphasis on the miraculous and startling features of the portrait, its suppression of what was natural, ordinary, and, therefore, presumably uninteresting, and consequently its abandonment of all attempt to weave the human and divine into one truthful and harmonious whole, showing the gradual evolution of the perfect from the imperfect, to many minds makes no appeal whatever. \* \* \* All this points to the need of what we might call a more subjective treatment of saints' lives than we have been accustomed to, and it is to this that the 'Psychology of the Saints' addresses itself."

We must not conclude from this that the author is going to destroy our old impressions of the holy servants of God, or to call into question anything good that has been said about them. He only desires to place them before us as they really were, and then we shall see, he claims, that "we are all formed of the same clay, and the same spirit is breathed into each one of us. We stand, as it were, on different steps of the same ladder, which springs from one and the same nature and reaches up to one and the same God. We may aggravate the original weakness of our nature by yielding to it, or we may use the help offered to us and so develop all the potential strength and beauty it possesses, but whichever course we take, we can never completely destroy a single one of the features of our complex humanity. No matter how degenerate on the one hand, or perfect on the other, they may become, our fellow-men never fail to be objects of warning or encouragement to us." One might say that this is no new doctrine. It is not brought forward as something new, but the application of it to the lives of the saints is new, or at least rare.

At different stages of the world's history the lives of the saints have been looked upon in various ways. In the ages of faith everything that was said about them was believed, and many marvelous things were said. In the succeeding age of unbelief there was a reaction—a rushing to the other extreme, and a general denial. If there had been a more careful sifting of facts and alleged facts, we should have gotten nearer to the truth, and should have retained it.

This is the end proposed in this new series of Lives, and the first volume on the Psychology of the Saints serves as an introduction.

Already three other volumes have followed, dealing with St. Au-

gustine, St. Vincent de Paul and St. Clotilda. More are promised. They are very attractive, well written, clear and brief.

Father Tyrrell's introduction to each volume is a very valuable contribution. Altogether, this series is worthy of the attention of all who are interested in Hagiography.

**EPOCHS OF LITERATURE.** By *Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D.* 1898; pp. x. 301; pr. 75. St. Louis, Mo.: Herder.

To measure the scope and to appreciate the value of this work the reader must take the view-point set by the author in his preceding book on the Philosophy of Literature. Literature Dr. Pallen conceives to be the "written expression of man's various relations to the universe and its Creator." The statement is not to be measured, of course, by the Aristotelian requirements of a technical definition. It suggests, however, the principle on which is based and the norm by which are to be estimated any and all literature. For "the first principle of truth is the first principle of literature. The philosophy, therefore, of literature is to be found in the light of that first principle by which and through which all things are. \* \* \* It is in the philosophy of the Incarnation that we must look for the philosophy of literature. By the light of the Eternal Word made manifest to men in the flesh is human life solved and harmonized. As literature is but a reflex of life, it is only in that same Eternal Word that its meaning may be read aright and its final significance interpreted." If the reader would follow the unfolding of this principle and see how in its light the deepest thought of all literature and the true inwardness of literary expression are revealed he should recur to the book in question, an account whereof besides will be found in the last April number of this REVIEW. The fuller illustration, however, and concrete application of the principle are furnished by Dr. Pallen's latest work on the Epochs of Literature. The Epochs here surveyed are the Homeric, the Roman, the Transition to the Middle Ages and Dante, the latter period, and lastly the post-Dantean to our own time. Over these epochs, in which the masterpieces of the world's literature have been produced, the reader is given a comprehensive view, and at the same time an insight such as he could obtain, if anywhere at all, only from many a book not to be found in our English speech. He will not meet with a vast area littered with the dry bones of facts and dates, but he will move over the richest fields of unifying principles and co-ordinated truths in which alone the intellect is at ease, whilst for his imagination he will find is an ever moving panorama of illustration and allusion, whose vanity

gives to the philosophic unity the charm of a genuine beauty. By way of example of this twofold characteristic of the artless thought and expression, the fixing of the deeply intellectual into a vividly imaginative setting, may be quoted the concluding paragraph of his work. He has just described the havoc wrought in the unity, the Divine element of literature, by the religious and philosophical dissensions and scepticism of the past three centuries, and he now turns to the signs of the present and the hopes of the future: "The literature of the day overflows with the manifestation of a passionate desire for it knows not what. It is an uncultured faith, vague, formless. In Carlyle it groaned and roared with volcanic energy, but its object was no better defined in his thunder than in the soft fluting of Amiel. Its froth and its fume bubble in multitudinous fiction, and it rustles in the indefinite pages of innumerable magazines. It pipes everywhere in verse and rhapsodies in prose; it is at one moment a soft æstheticism, and the next a burning humanitarianism. It ranges earth and sky, sea and land, searches everywhere for a fixed object of its passion, looks everywhere—save at the cross on Calvary. No false light flashes on the horizon, but it rushes to it in eager expectation, yet never sees the great Light on the mountain which has been burning there with a Divine splendor for two thousand years. But, though it be blind, it has at least profited over the preceding century by awaking to the realization of the desire of faith in the heart of humanity. The eighteenth century lived on the bagatelles of a scoffing scepticism; the nineteenth has realized the need of belief, though it has not known how to formulate it. It hungers and thirsts, not indeed after justice, for he alone possesses justice who knows truth, but after something which was lost in the wilderness of doubt, through which it wandered for a hundred years, something to fill the void which the age of Voltaire left in the famished soul. It cries aloud for that something; it cannot articulate it in speech; for it has forgotten the power of the Divine Word, which alone bestows the gift of spiritual language. Tennyson fitly describes the century's need when he compared the man of the nineteenth century to

'An infant crying in the night,  
An infant crying for the light,  
And with no language but a cry.'

"It is in truth an age of darkness sending forth its wail for light. But when and how will the Light come? When the heart of humanity is made pure, for the pure in heart shall see God. And the Light will be made manifest from the mountain heights, where it has burned undimmed even amidst generations of the blind. Faith is the hunger of the human heart, faith in God its only ap-



peasement; faith in the Incarnate Word its only salvation. The illumination of that Divine Word in the human intellect will alone bring light. Faith in Christ and in Him crucified is the great need of the human heart; the philosophy of the Incarnation, the great need of the human intellect. That heart and that intellect slept in the eighteenth century; it has awakened in the nineteenth and is still bewildered by the fantasies of its dreams. But in the fact of its awakening there is hope, and when the mist and the vapor which still steam upward from that valley of death in the century gone by shall have rolled their dim clouds away and the vision cleared, the generations to come will see the undimmed splendor of the light on the mountain, and man once again abide in the unity of truth under its Divine Illumination."

The canvas here unfolded is a large one. The main subject, the color, the light and shade, require no keen discernment and no highly cultured artistic sense to be appreciated. But he who wishes to understand the fuller meaning of the artist's thought must study the other historical and idealistic pictures arrayed in these "Epochs of Literature." The deeper realization, however, of them all can be had only from the "Philosophy of Literature." The two works together constitute the true science of literary art—the one the analysis, the other the synthesis; the one the matter, the other the form; the one the body, the other the soul of the complete structure.

F. P. S.

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**MEDITATIONS ON CHRISTIAN DOGMA.** By *Rev. James Bellord*. Introduction by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Vol. I, pp. xxv. 369. Vol. II., pp. 363: London and New York (120 W. 60th St.): Catholic Truth Society, 1898.

It used to be rumored about among the friends of a certain theologian, who was prominently in our midst some years ago, that he was wont to take as the matter of his morning meditation an article from the *Summa* of St. Thomas. The telling of this simple fact was generally accompanied by and was expected to elicit a certain amount of admiration. But surely there is nothing remarkable in any one at all familiar with the *Summa*—much less a profound theologian—adopting it as a meditation book. There are comparatively few articles in that immense store house of religious truth that do not contain abundant food for the reflecting mind, as well as for the willing heart. It was the consciousness of this ready adaptability of the *Summa* to meditational use that led the Doctor of the Sorbonne, Louis Bail, to construct from it his *Theologie Affective ou St. Thomas en Meditation*. The value of this adaptation of St. Thomas may be estimated from the many editions into which its folio volumes ran during the middle years of the

seventeenth century. The work is long since out of print and out of the book mart. So, too, is its revised and amended version by the Abbé Chévércau in five goodly octavos, which passed through several editions about the middle of the present century. Even, however, were the voluminous works of Bail and Chévércau still to be had, they would hardly be available for meditational use at the present time. Besides the objection of bulk, the matter and style are in no small degree antiquated and over diffuse. It has been a happy idea on the part of Fr. Bellord to recast the *Theologie Affective* and adapt it to present needs and tastes. In his revision he has retained the framework, but has not thought it desirable to adhere closely to the matter of the original. Some of the meditations are condensed from Bail, but many more have been drawn from other sources—from whatever, indeed, the author has found available for his purpose—so that such writers as even Max Nordau, Benjamin Kidd and Herbert Spencer have been laid under contribution. The result is an eminently solid, well illustrated and clearly written exposition of Christian dogma. The author's aim everywhere is to make the affective elements of meditation spring naturally from the speculative. Accordingly he unfolds in each point some dogmatic truth in the light of revelation as well as of nature, and so directs the exposition that it may pass from the intellect to the affections and thus stimulate the will to practical results in conduct. The work is intended not only for the use of the clergy, to whom, of course, it will be specially welcome, both as an aid to daily meditation and in the preparation of sermons, but for the educated laity as well, who will find in it an instructive, practical, edifying and at the same time, from a literary point of view, most attractive exposition of the entire context of dogmatic religion.

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CLERICAL STUDIES. By *Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S. S., D. D.* President of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass. 8vo, pp. 499. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co.

"The present volume is a re-issue, with slight alterations, of a series of articles originally printed in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*."

They were so well received when they first appeared, and so many persons asked for them in book form, that the author wisely consented to republish them.

He speaks of his essays as "observations on ecclesiastical studies," and in writing them he had in mind two classes of persons: "Young men in training for the priesthood, and young priests who have gone forth, as all must do, imperfectly equipped for their

work, but having it in their power, during the early years of their ministry, to make up for what is still wanting." He does not exclude other readers of maturer years, but hopes to reach all who continue to cultivate their minds, and who try to keep pace with the general intellectual advancement of the age. The author has taken up his pen to write on this subject in response to pressing exhortations from Pius IX. and Leo XIII. to the bishops of the world to watch carefully over the mental and moral training of young clerics. With these exhortations before it, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore formulated its decree, *De Clericorum Educatione et Instructione*. The present work is meant to show how the various studies referred to in that decree may be pursued with greatest advantage. The author confines himself to the higher studies taught in the seminaries, beginning with the Natural Sciences, and treating in turn of Philosophy, Apologetics, Theology—all classes, Canon Law, Liturgy, Homiletics, Church History, the Bible and the Fathers.

We shall not say a word about the excellence of the work. The author's piety, learning and experience stamp everything that comes from his pen with the seal of excellence. The book is a guide to study for priests and seminarians, and it ought to do a great deal of good.

In one respect we think that it can be improved—by adding to each essay a bibliography. It has been done in some instances, and partially done in others. One of the hardest questions asked by the student is, what is the best book on a subject. Some years ago we had educated reading booksellers, who could point the way, but they have nearly all died, and now most booksellers handle books as they would handle any other article of merchandise. This is not said disparagingly, but it is a statement of fact, made in order to induce the learned author of *Clerical Studies*, to make the next edition of his excellent book, and we hope that it will be called for soon, still more excellent.

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TRAVELS IN TARTARY, THIBET AND CHINA. By M. Huc. Translated from the French by W. Hazlitt. Reprint edition; illustrated with fifty engravings on wood; 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 667. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

Here is an old friend in a new dress. An old friend, because it first came from the press many years ago; and in a new dress, because the Open Court Publishing Company has brought out a new edition with new type and illustrations, making it a very attractive book. No one surely could have foreseen that the two humble French Lazarist missionaries, M. Huc and M. Gabet, who at

the request of the Pope spent the years 1844-5-6 in Tartary, Thibet and China, would give to the world a book of travels which should be the standard work on the subject for more than fifty years. And yet that is exactly what has happened. When the book appeared first it created a sensation, and it was soon translated into English and German. The public saw at once that it was a storehouse of information for the ethnologist, the geographer, the student of religious customs and the traveller. It had a large sale, soon went out of print, and in recent years it has been known only to scholars and historians.

But it has never been equalled. It is the standard work to-day on those countries, as it was fifty years ago. The world has not gained much knowledge about that far-off region, and, therefore, a new edition of this curious and useful book is most welcome.

In its latest form it is very attractive. The type and paper are excellent, and the covers are inviting. It ought to have a good reception, especially in view of the strong interest which the East has recently excited in America and Europe. It is a pity that the writer of the publisher's preface did not read the preface to the book, for then he would not have spoken of the Lazarist missionaries as Jesuits.

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**NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES.** By *Right Rev. Mgr. Conaty, D. D.*, rector of the Catholic University, Washington. 12 mo, pp. 256. New York: Benziger Brothers.

When Monsignor Conaty was rector of the Church of the Sacred Heart, at Worcester, Mass., he began the work which has recently come from the press in complete form. He was moved to undertake it by the encyclical of Leo XIII. on the study of the Holy Scriptures, and by the desire to interest the children of his school in the life of Christ as told in the New Testament. The lessons were afterwards printed in the form of leaflets, and at the request of many pastors and teachers, they have now been put into a book.

In some preliminary chapters the author treats of the history of the Bible, and the rest of the book is taken up with the life of our Divine Lord as it is found in the gospels. Indeed, the work might have been called more accurately the gospel life of Christ. It does not take the student into the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles, or the Apocalypse.

As the author says, this manual does not pretend to be a treatise on all the Sacred Scriptures, or on all the New Testament, or even a complete study of the life of Christ. It is rather a collection of lessons on some of the important events in His life from the Annunciation to the Ascension.

"The system of instruction followed in this manual is catechetical, consisting of memory texts, moral thoughts, questions and answers."

The best recommendation that the book can have is the demand for it even before its publication. It is nicely made and fully illustrated. It should do all that the author expects from it, even leading, as he hopes it will, to other and better text books.

**STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY.** By *Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D.* Vol. V. Century XIX (part I); large 8vo, pp. 639. New York: Pustet & Co.

Doctor Parson's great work is drawing to a close. The original intention was to complete it in five volumes, but Catholic Church History has been made very rapidly in the nineteenth century, and the historian who understands the importance of events finds it impossible to crowd them into even one of these large volumes. To treat exhaustively, and nearly exclusively, of the controverted points of church history was the original intention of the author. He has not departed from it, and, therefore, he finds himself confronted with abundance of material in the present century. He handles it in his usual scholarly, skilful maner, and under his hand such subjects as Pius VII., Gregory XVI., Lacordaire, Ozanam, the Oxford Movement and the Vatican Council become very attractive.

This volume adds very much to the value of the work as a whole, and the student of church history will await with interest its completion.

**THE WORLD'S UNREST, AND ITS REMEDY.** By *James Field Spalding.* 12mo, pp. 240. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Most of the essays which make up this volume were published originally in the Sacred Heart Review, and they are reproduced now in book form, because so many of the old readers asked for them. They deal with the unrest of the religious world of to-day, and the author, who has experienced this unrest and found a remedy for it, here sets it before his readers. He sums up everything in the declaration that the genuine authority of the Catholic Church set forth by such thinkers as St. Augustine among the ancients, and Cardinal Newman among moderns, first brought him face to face with his obligation to truth, and led him to that true haven of rest, the Roman Catholic Church. He has succeeded admirably in showing the remedy for the great religious unrest of modern times by explaining clearly and attractively the doctrines of the church. It is an excellent book for earnest, intelligent non-Catholics.

**MARIAN COROLLA, A WREATH FOR OUR LADY.** By *Father Edmund, C. P.* Author of *Passion Flowers*, etc. 12mo, pp. 201. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is the second volume of Father Hill's poems. The first appeared about a year ago, under the title, "Passion Flowers." A third volume is promised. *Passion Flowers* was reviewed at length in the last number of the *Quarterly*.

The present volume is made up principally of poems in honor of the Blessed Virgin. Hence the title, which means. "A Crown for Mary." The author's purpose is to honor the Mother of God, to teach Catholics how to honor her, and to show to non-Catholics that such honor is in every way reasonable.

All that was said on a former occasion of the excellence of Father Edmund's work may be here repeated. The book is beautifully made, and is uniform with *Passion Flowers*.

**MEDITATIONS ON THE LOVE OF GOD.** Translated from the Spanish of *Fay Diego de Estella*, by *H. W. Pereira, M. A.* 12mo, pp. 151. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author was a Franciscan, who lived during the middle half of the sixteenth century. He wrote several works, including one on the "Vanity of the World," and a "Life of St. John the Evangelist." The present work is made up of twenty-six meditations on the love of God considered in himself, in his relations to us, and in his Divine Son.

The book has been highly recommended by masters of the spiritual life.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE VENERATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN; Her Feasts, Prayers, Religious Orders and Sodalities.** By *Rev. B. Rohmer, O. S. B.* Adapted by *Rev. Richard Brennan, LL. D.* 12mo, pp. 336. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**LAYS OF THE KNIGHTS.** By *Clement William Barrand, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 164. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

**A VICTIM OF THE SEAL OF THE CONFESSION; a true story.** By *Rev. Joseph Spillman, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 324. St. Louis: B. Herder.

**ENCHIRIDION GRADUALIS ROMANI SIVE CANTIONES MISSAE PRO DIVERSITATE TEMPORIS ET FESTORUM.** New York: Pustet & Co.

**TRUTH AND ERROR; or, the Science of Intellection.** By *J. W. Powell.* 8vo, pp. 428. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

**CARDINAL LAVIGERIE.** By *Rev. J. G. Beane.* 12mo, pp. 145. Baltimore, St. Joseph's Seminary.

**ST. JOSEPH OF JESUS AND MARY.** By *Rev. Matthew Russell, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 159. Dublin: Gill & Son. Received from Benziger Brothers.

**THE RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THE VOWS.** By *Monseigneur Charles Gay.* Translated from the French. 12mo, pp. 276. London: Burns & Oakes. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**STRIVING AFTER PERFECTION; a treatise addressed especially to Religious.** By *Rev. Joseph Banna, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 264. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**ILLUSTRATED EXPLANATION of the Holy Sacraments and Sacramentals.** Adapted from the original of *Rev. H. Rolfus, D. D.*, by *Very Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C.S. S.R.* 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Benziger Brothers.

- GUIDE TO TRUE RELIGION.** By *Rev. P. Woods*. 12mo, pp. 301. Baltimore: Murphy & Co.
- RHETORIC AND ORATORY.** By *Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 338: Boston: Heath & Co.
- MEDITATION LEAFLETS.** By a *Father* of the Society of Jesus. 12mo, pp. 115. London: Burns & Oaks. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- JEROME SAVONAROLA; a Sketch.** By *Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O. P.* 8vo, pp. 232. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co.
- FANTASIES FROM DREAMLAND.** By *Ernest Gilliat Smith*. Illustrated; quarto, parchment; pp. 40. London: Elkin Matthews.

# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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## THE STORY OF THE PHILIPPINES.

A NEW YORK paper, of the date March 4th, embodied its ideas of the Philippines and their people in a cartoon. A naked negro savage was being pinned to a rock by an American bayonet, from which fluttered a scrap of paper marked "liberty and civilization." The legend below explained this novel performance by the words "he won't take it any other way." Apart from its brutality, this cartoon of "Judge" shows the strange ignorance of a very large part of the American public in regard to the islands lately seized by our Administration. It is but one example of many. The race, the religion, the degree of civilization, and the form of government of the Philippines are misrepresented daily in the Press of this country in a way that would be grotesque if it did not threaten the destruction of thousands of human beings against whom the people of the United States have not the shadow of a grievance. A sketch of the circumstances under which the group originally became a part of the Spanish dominions and its history since that time seem necessary to make us comprehend what place its population now occupies among the nations of the civilized world.

The establishment of the Spaniards in these islands of the Chinese Sea was part of that great movement of colonial expansion which, in the Sixteenth Century, spread European settlement and civilization over the larger part of this American Continent. Magellan raised the Spanish flag in Cebu in 1521, the same year that Cortez captured Mexico from the Aztecs. Forty years later, when



Legaspi made the first Spanish settlement in the same island, it was from Mexico not from Europe that his expedition started. All through the duration of the Spanish Colonial Empire, the relations of the Philippines were much closer with Mexico than with Spain itself. Nevertheless the colonization of Spanish America was not reproduced in the Asiatic islands. In Mexico, in Peru, the West Indies, and La Plata, men of European race formed an important part of the colonial population. The whites, whether born in Europe or on American soil, constituted a landed aristocracy in most of the American vice royalties, and in some they formed a large part of the working population also. It was never so in the Philippines. There was no conquest, no division of lands, no grants of vassals, as in Mexico or Peru, no slavery, and no considerable immigration of Spaniards, still less of negroes or American Indians. The mines of Mexico and Peru furnished, for many years, the chief revenues of the Spanish Government but the latter never drew any financial profit from the Philippines. The policy of the Spanish sovereigns there only aimed at making the natives loyal subjects of Spain, and as like Spaniards in civilization as it was possible to make them without change of country. The result has been a wide difference between the Filipinos and the races of Spanish America whether native or mixed.

The date of the settlement of the Philippines accounts for this difference of policy on the part of the Spanish Government. When Columbus opened America to European colonization, the consequences of a meeting between civilized and uncivilized races were not realised by any one. Columbus himself and the rulers of Spain were full of good will towards the native Americans. As sincere Catholics, they believed that the Christian Faith was the greatest possible good for men of any race, and they felt it a solemn duty to bring that faith to the Indians. At the same time, they, and especially Isabella, fully recognized the natural rights of the heathen Indians to their lives, liberty and property. The letters of Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus and other officials are convincing on this point. In the rush of adventurers to the new lands these rights were disregarded by a large number of the colonists, as in our own century they have been disregarded by American and English settlers among weaker races. The difference was that in the course of Spanish colonization the spirit of Catholic morality raised a body of defenders of the rights of the weak natives, unknown in the history of Protestant colonization, be it English, Dutch, or American. For over a century the history of Spanish America and Spanish colonial legislation is mainly that of a struggle between the armed conquerors who sought to reduce the

natives to slavery and the conscientious men, priests and laymen, who maintained the right of the Indians to liberty and equal justice before the law. The military conquerors were willing that the natives should be made Christians, as the public conscience of the nation demanded, but they wanted to keep them slaves. The Franciscans and Dominicans and their allies, many of them soldiers or officials, insisted on the right of personal freedom for the natives. Las Casas, Montesinos, Zumarraga and Betanzos stand out as conspicuously in Spanish colonial history as Cortez or Alvarado.

The policy of the Home Government was evolved from these contending forces during the seventy years that elapsed between the occupation of Santo Domingo by Columbus and that of the Philippines by Legaspi. Ferdinand, Ximenes, and Charles V, in succession passed laws for the abolition of Indian slavery and the protection of the native races. The suppression of vassalage in Peru, by the "New Laws" brought on the revolt of the Pizarros and nearly separated that country from Spain in 1540. The next Governor, Gasca, had to admit a modified peonage of the Indians, accompanied by numerous legal securities against oppression. The Spanish monarchs, however, to their credit be it said, never abandoned the policy of ultimate freedom for the Indians, and it was finally secured in the last century.

The more zealous members of the religious orders did not confine themselves to appeals to the Government on behalf of the Indians. They undertook, in many districts, to convert the wild tribes and form them into civilized communities, by persuasion alone, on condition that their converts should be guaranteed against oppression by the Spanish colonists or officials. The earliest enterprise of this kind was undertaken by the famous Las Casas in Guatemala in 1535. A certain province was inhabited by independent tribes, who had driven back two or three bands of Spanish soldiers. Las Casas made a formal agreement with the Government to convert these warriors and make them live in peace with the Spaniards, on condition that if he succeeded, they should be left free to govern themselves in their own lands. He even required that no Europeans should be allowed to enter the Indian district without special permit except of course the priests engaged in their instruction. The principles laid down by Las Casas for intercourse between a Christian people of higher civilization and power and heathens in a savage state, were embodied in a Latin treatise, "*De Unico Modo Conversionis*," which appeared in 1535. In it he lays down as the true Catholic teaching, that men can only be made Christians with their own consent, and that it is a crime to 'make war on, or injure in any way, non Christians, on the plea

of converting or civilizing them. With regard to civilization he gave his opinion that personal liberty and social organization were its essentials. He, therefore, urged the necessity of gathering wandering savages, when converted, into villages where they might receive constant instruction both in Christian morality and such material civilization as would increase their comfort, develop their minds and give them habits of settled industry. For a Catholic missionary, persuasion was the only means to attain this end that could be lawfully used, and accordingly familiar acquaintance with the language and customs of the natives was laid down as an indispensable requisite for such a missionary's work. Las Casas himself, when over sixty, studied the Guatemalan language thoroughly before beginning his mission. It was entirely successful and for three hundred years the province of Vera Pas has continued to be the most prosperous Indian population in Central America.

The teaching and practical success of the great Dominican made a deep impression in Spain. Missions on his plan were multiplied in Mexico, in Florida, and other parts of America in subsequent years. Charles V absolutely abolished personal slavery among his Indian subjects for any cause, including war or cannibalism, in 1538, and his laws were confirmed repeatedly by Philip II and his successors. The principles which ruled Spanish settlement and missionary work were then very different in the middle of the Sixteenth Century from those prevalent at its beginning.

Though discovered by Magellan in 1521 the Spaniards made no attempt at settlement in the Philippines for many years. Several expeditions were sent across the Pacific both from Spain and Mexico, but their object was not the Philippines but the Moluccas, whose spices formed a valuable object of trade, and where the Portuguese had already several factories. None of these Spanish expeditions succeeded in establishing posts in the coveted spice islands, though a good deal was learned of the islands of the Pacific. For many years after Magellan's voyage it was considered impossible to cross the Pacific in an eastwardly direction owing to the direction of the prevalent trade winds. An expedition sent out by Cortez from Acapulco made its way to Spain finally, being unable to return to Mexico for that reason. Mendana, in 1540, discovered the Solomon Islands and other groups, but he too made no permanent settlement there, and for some years there was a lull in discoveries.

It was mainly the desire of converting the natives that suggested the settlement of the Philippines. They had neither spices nor gold to any amount, the population was barbarian, and there was

ample field in America for all the colonists that Spain could furnish without seeking distant tropical lands. The missionary spirit, however, then so vigorous in Catholic Spain turned the thoughts of some of the most zealous of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Mexico towards these islands. St. Francis Xavier's career of conversion and miracles from Africa to Japan excited lively emulation among some of the most notable men of the Mexican clergy. Father Betanzos, the head of the Dominicans in that city, and Zumarraga, its first Bishop, both petitioned for leave to pass to the Philippines in 1547, as a step towards the conversion of China. Though their request was refused, it excited fresh interest in the archipelago in Mexico and in Spain. Father Urdaneta, a distinguished geographer, who had passed many years in naval service on the Pacific, before becoming an Augustinian friar, also urged the importance of occupying the Philippines on the Spanish Government. As he had been in Spain with the expedition sent out by Cortez, and had afterwards declined the command of the fleet sent by Mendoza in 1542, on account of his intention to become a priest, his advice had much weight with Philip II. The chief political object to be gained by a Spanish occupation of the islands, was to secure the Pacific Ocean against incursions from European buccaneers, who, it was said, might settle there to prey on the defenceless Spanish settlements of Mexico and Peru. There was little prospect of revenue and the expense would be considerable so politicians looked unfavorably on the project. The desire of extending the Faith among heathens, strange as such a motive must appear for governmental action in our day, was however a paramount motive with the much reviled Philip. He declared with emphasis that to save one soul he was ready to spend the wealth of the Indies, and to prove his sincerity he ordered the Viceroy of Mexico, in 1560, to fit out a fleet and found a post in the Philippines.

The expedition sailed in 1564 from Acapulco after the death of the Viceroy, Velasco, who had prepared it. It consisted of two ships of four hundred tons each with two smaller vessels, pataches. The whole force was two hundred soldiers and fifty civilians besides the crews, who numbered a hundred and fifty. As, up to that time, it had been found impossible for vessels to cross the Pacific from Asia to America, it was expected that at least three years must pass before any news could return of the fate of the expedition. Instructions however were given that an attempt should be made, by ascending to more northern latitudes to discover a practical sailing course eastward. Father Urdaneta, at the special order of Philip, was to accompany the fleet and superintend the navi-

gation and exploration, in consideration of his former experience in the Pacific. Four other Augustinians went with him as chaplains for the Spaniards and missionaries for the heathen Malays. The commander, Legaspi, was a veteran soldier of the type of the Canadian Jacques Cartier, and was himself a member of the Third Order of San Francis. Very strict orders were given against aggression or ill treatment of the Indians such as had too often occurred in the early discoveries of America. Other vessels were to follow in two years for the reinforcement of the settlement which would naturally need them.

The fleet arrived at the Island of Cebu, where Magellan had been killed forty years earlier. The natives were not disposed to receive them, whether through fear of reprisals for the death of their former visitor or other causes. As provisions were necessary for the Spaniards an armed party went to the native village after fruitless negotiations, and took what supplies they could find, leaving however compensation. The natives attacked them but were scared off by the artillery from the ships, which Legaspi humanely ordered to be fired high so that no loss of life should occur. The savage warriors burned the village, but after a few days came to terms and made no opposition to the erection of a stockade, the first Spanish settlement in these lands. Legaspi made a formal proclamation that the death of Magellan was absolutely forgiven, and that nothing was asked of the natives by their visitors beyond provisions, for which they were ready to pay, and that they should not molest either the Spanish soldiers or priests. A comparison between this first settlement in the Philippines and the mowing down of the Filipinos by modern gunnery in the present year does not suggest any improvement in the spirit of humanity between the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

The great object of introducing Christianity was not neglected. The friars commenced a study of the Malay languages immediately, and through an interpreter they began explaining their mission to the Chiefs from the moment that friendly relations were established. It was a long time, however, before they deemed it right to admit any one to baptism. On Magellan's voyage his chaplain had baptized several hundred with ill instructed zeal, but the requirements of genuine missionary work were far more clearly comprehended by the Augustinians. It was by slow degrees that the wild natives were admitted to baptism and when it was given to some, every effort was made to gather them into settlements to receive further instruction in religion and training in Christian ways. The original chiefs were not interfered with in the government of their people, but the old superstitions and barbarities were

gradually abolished. The same system was continued in Luzon, when Legaspi founded Manila in 1571. By the end of the century the native converts settled in villages amounted to between two and three hundred thousand according to the Augustinian chronicler Medina.

Having founded his settlement Legaspi sent one of his two large vessels to find a course for reaching Mexico. His nephew was the commander, but as he was only a boy Father Urdaneta was sent with him as guardian, with practically supreme authority. Urdaneta's experience now stood him in good stead. He ascended northward to the latitude of forty degrees, recorded the direction of the prevalent winds and finally solved the problem of reaching America from Asia. He reached Acapulco in 1566, after a voyage of four months. From Mexico he was sent to Spain, where his sailing directions were embodied in valuable charts which for over a century continued to be the guide of navigation in the Pacific. He was not to see the Philippines himself again, as he died in Mexico in 1568 at the age of seventy. From his work as explorer and missionary Andres Urdaneta may be called the Marquette of the Pacific Ocean.

Legaspi, in his isolated post, had a full share of the difficulties that beset most of the early settlements. The Portuguese traders of the Moluccas sent vessels to harass the Spaniards and claim that they were intruding on Portuguese territory. The pirates who abounded on both the Chinese coasts and the Malay islands came to plunder, and even the Spanish vessels which followed from Mexico were nearly captured by mutineers among their own crews. Legaspi held his post bravely and made explorations among the other islands for some years. Cebu, where the first settlement was made, was not suitable for a capital, and in 1571, the Spaniards established themselves in Luzon, on the site of the present city of Manila. There was a rather large native population there under a chief of some power whose name is given as Rajah Matanda. This Hindoo title is curious, though it does not appear to have implied any communication with the natives of India. Matanda received the Spaniards peacefully and became a Christian after a couple of years. Explorations were pushed through Panay, Negros and Mindanao. The Mahometans of the Sulu islands were the only enemies that gave any serious trouble, and they were defeated and obliged to make peace. Within twenty-five years the Spanish dominion was recognized through the whole archipelago and it was not subsequently extended to any material extent.

The social, religious, and intellectual condition of the natives, when the Spaniards settled among them, has been very fully de-

scribed in the various chronicles of the religious orders. The keeping of records was practised by the missionaries and the accuracy of their description of the natives receives remarkable confirmation from the accounts of other Pacific Islanders since given by Cook and other explorers, French, English and Dutch. In the Philippines, in the Sixteenth Century, the coasts were occupied by tribes of the Malay race, in much the same stage of civilization as the Hawaiians or Taheetans of Cook's voyages. There was no central government. Chiefs ruled limited districts with more or less absolute power. Some were hereditary and the people were divided into nobles, common freemen and slaves, the last mostly prisoners taken in war or enslaved for debts or crimes. The law was traditional and variable. Wars were as common as they are to-day in Samoa, but there was little of wars of conquest. A tribe fought another for some grievance, or on a point of honor, and after some battles peace was made again. They cultivated the land and raised rice, bananas and other fruits and roots; they fished and hunted; and they also traded among one another. Their boats and canoes were much the same as in the South seas two centuries later and piracy at sea and head hunting on land were common practices for making the reputation of aspiring warriors. Their religion was chiefly confined to certain practices of witchcraft and dances and feasts in honor of numerous spirits recognized as either benevolent or dangerous. There were neither temples nor public worship. The sorcerers, styled Babylanes, were the only priests. The natives did not work metals, though acquainted with them through trade with the Chinese and Japanese. All belonged to the Malay races of which three principal branches, based chiefly on language, were recognized by the Spaniards. These were the Tagals, the Visayas, who inhabit the Southern islands and the Pampangas, who occupy a part of Luzon to the north of Manila. The Pampangas, according to the Spanish records, were always held the most intelligent, and also the most loyal Indians of the group. It was from them that the workmen of the Royal dockyards and arsenals and also the bulk of the native soldiers were drawn during later years, and many high officials, Judges, Auditors and others, as well as many priests and ecclesiastical dignitaries were of pure Pampanga blood.

The interior of the larger islands, then as now, was peopled by black tribes of a low stage of development who were regarded by the Malays as the original inhabitants and who were usually at war with them. There were also mixed races, such as the Igorrotes and Aetas, whose condition was like that of our own Sioux fifty years ago. It was only afterwards that the Spaniards, whether

soldiers or missionaries, had intercourse with the latter and if the larger part of them remained in their barbarism there was no attempt made to exterminate or enslave them, during the three centuries of Spanish dominion.

The Malay race, to which Tagals, Visayas and Pampangas belong, is spread through most of the Australasian islands as well as the peninsula of Malacca. It is a well marked division of the human race and quite distinct from the Chinese, Indians or other Asiatics. Mahometanism had extended among the Southern Malays when first they came into contact with Europeans, and various strong despotic governments had been formed among them, but the Mahometan propaganda had hardly touched the Philippines. There were powerful Malay Sultans in Borneo, Sumatra and Java, and the Mahometan subjects of these princes, like the Turks in Europe, were acquainted with firearms and warlike organization. Their vessels were larger than the canoes of the Philippines, and when Legaspi settled in Manila, corsairs from Borneo were already making raids into the islands of the Visayas. The Sultans of Sulu, a group of small islands between Borneo and Mindanao, were the chief enemies the Spaniards had to contend with during the whole history of the Philippines. It shows how small the military strength of the colony was that it should never have effectually subjugated this piratical state till the present century.

Aggressiveness on neighbors was certainly not a fault which could be laid to the Spanish Government in the Philippines. The establishment of posts in Ternate was the only attempt made to extend its dominion in the Eastern seas. The wars waged from Manila were almost wholly defensive. A Chinese pirate, Li Ma Hong, attacked that city in 1574 shortly after the death of the first Governor, and was driven off after a long siege, but the Spaniards made no attempt at retaliation on China. Dutch corsairs afterwards tried to establish themselves in the islands and repeatedly burned and plundered the smaller settlements, but they were driven off finally. Manila grew rapidly, owing to the trade with China and Mexico. The Chinese traders settled there and married native women in large numbers so that in the course of three centuries they have become a large element of the population. The capture of Manila by the English during the last century was the only occasion on which it was attacked by a foreign invader since the time of Li Ma Hung. Three centuries of peace is more than falls to the lot of most lands but practically it has to the Philippines. There is little reason then to look for the existence of a military spirit among the people of the archipelago in consequence, be that an evil or a good.



It has been said that a people is happy that has no history. Politically the Philippines have had almost none. The colony of Legaspi was organized on the model of the American viceroyalties of Spain. The Governor-General represented the executive power with little limit on its exercise. The law was that of Spain's colonies made with more or less wisdom by the Home Government and administered by a judiciary independent of the Governor. There was never any large immigration of Europeans. Such Spaniards as came to the islands were either merchants or officials or soldiers in limited numbers. The public works in Manila and other points, such as fortifications, dockyards, arsenals, and cannon foundries, were on a fairly extensive scale, but they were mainly carried out by natives. The whites never formed a fiftieth of the population. It is in the growth of a fairly civilized and Christian population out of a few tribes of savages that the chief interest of the story of the Philippines lies.

The work of converting strange races has generally fallen to the religious orders rather than to the regular parochial clergy of the Catholic Church. It was especially so in the Spanish colonies and more than any in the Philippines. The smallness of the European population made the work of the Church, there, mainly missionary, and as such, from the beginning it was entrusted to a religious order by the special desire of Philip II. When Manila had grown to some importance, a bishopric was established there in 1585 with the ordinary ecclesiastical powers, but the members of the Orders continued to furnish the bulk of the clergy. The zeal of the Spaniards for conversion was remarkable during the Sixteenth Century and long afterwards, and it found an outlet in the number of missionaries furnished by the religious orders. Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Recollects came in succession to share in the work commenced by the Augustinians. By a special decree of the Sovereign Pontiff, it was provided that the friars, as the members of these orders are commonly called in Spain, should furnish the parochial clergy to the natives under the jurisdiction of the Bishops. The ordinary parochial clergy served the Europeans and a few of the more settled districts, but the work of converting and civilizing was to continue in the hands of the friars.

The circumstances under which the first Franciscan missionaries came to the islands is a remarkable illustration of the spirit then prevalent. A lay brother, Fray Antonio, in a Franciscan convent in Peru, felt himself called to the conversion of the savages of the islands of the Pacific lately discovered by the Admiral Mendana. Before entering the Order he had been a soldier and a merchant, but had little schooling, and so his duties were ordinary

servants' work in the kitchen and garden of the convent. Still he proposed the project of a mission to those islands to the Guardian of his convent, and asked permission to go to Spain and recruit priests for it there. His application was for some time laughed at, but after three repetitions, the Guardian became impressed and Fray Antonio received the required permission. As the Franciscans lived on alms the expenses of the voyage were literally nothing. He travelled on foot to Panama and got passage to Spain. The vessel was captured by a privateer manned by French Huguenots, who were bitterly hostile to the friars. Fray Antonio was beaten and thrown overboard but he kept afloat for a couple of hours and the sailors relented, and took him aboard at last. It was only, however, to land him half-naked on a remote part of the Spanish coast without any means of identifying himself. The starving exile made his way to a Franciscan convent and with much difficulty got received there as a brother. Some of his fellow passengers finally got to Spain, and relieved him from the suspicion of imposture. He laid his plans before the Franciscan Commissary for the American Missions but was regarded as half crazy. The Commissary sent him to a convent near Madrid where a sister of the Superior of the Franciscans in Spain got interested in his plans. He finally got a favorable hearing from the latter, who gave him permission to go to Rome and lay his project before the General of the Order and the Sovereign Pontiff. Both were struck with the eloquence and mishaps of Fray Antonio, and not only did they approve of the projected mission, but commissioned the lay brother to visit the Spanish convents and obtain as many volunteers for it as possible. He secured seventeen Franciscan priests and brothers for the mission of the South seas but while waiting for a passage to America their destination was changed for the newly settled Manila. The company sailed for Mexico in 1576. Four died on the voyage and another at Vera Cruz. The survivors travelled on foot from Vera Cruz to Mexico, where five other priests joined them. They again walked through the mountains to Acapulco and finally reached Manila in 1577. Fray Antonio was sent back to Europe to collect more missionaries and made the same journey again, reaching Manila for the second time in 1581. Though but an unlettered lay brother Fray Antonio is held by the Franciscan chronicler to be the founder of their Mission in the Philippines. There is no aristocracy among the children of Francis of Assisi except that of self-sacrifice.

The Franciscans were received by their Augustinian predecessors with hospitality and lodged in their convent until one was built for their own abode. The building of the latter was no long task.

It was only a large thatched cabin and the church was little more, but the friars at once set to work. The first care was to prepare a grammar and dictionary of the Tagal language and a catechism of the Christian doctrine in the same. The latter was published in 1581 by Father Juan de Plascencia, and for over a hundred years it continued to serve as the ordinary text-book of instruction. It was then revised to suit the changes in the language itself which were noted carefully by the old missionaries. Father Pedro de Alfaro, the head of the Franciscans, afterwards went to China to examine the chances for further missions. He was some time in Macao, and thence had to sail to Goa to allay the suspicions of the Portuguese authorities who disliked the presence of Spaniards in their settlements. He perished at sea on his return to Manila. Another of the heads of the first Franciscan colony, Father Pedro Bautista, subsequently went to Japan, where he at first was well received but afterwards was executed by order of the Emperor Taicosama in 1598, with twenty-five other missionaries, Franciscans and Jesuits. They are the Japanese martyrs canonized in our own days by the late Pius IX.

The Jesuits had already been established in Japan some years when Manila was founded, but their arrival in the Philippines was in 1581, subsequent to the Augustinians and Franciscans. The Dominicans came six years later and the Recollects in 1606. While the Governors of Manila were building up their city, negotiating with Chinese Viceroys and the Japanese Emperor, and warring with the Sulu pirates, the work of converting the Tagals and Visayas went quietly on among the friars. The task they had undertaken was on the lines already laid down by Las Casas. It included both the conversion and the civilization of the natives. The old Spanish missionaries made no vague professions when they set about the task of bringing men from savage to civilized life.<sup>1</sup> A civilized community, in their eyes, as told by the contemporary records and letters, meant one ruled by law and living according to the rules of Christian morals and faith. It should be free, it should be settled, and it should be instructed in religion and the common ways of civilized life as known in Europe. Schools for the children, and a knowledge of reading and writing for the new Christians, were recognized as matters of the first importance by all the Friars in the Philippines from the first settlement. The right of the natives to their own lands, property and personal freedom, was a cardinal principle with all the religious orders. That the Indians might be admitted to Holy Orders, was one of the points laid down emphatically in the first synod of the Philippines. To facilitate their admission, a University was founded by the third

Archbishop of Manila to which Europeans and natives were equally admitted. The University of San Tomas was on the general plan of similar institutions in Europe. The classical languages and literature, mathematics, history, law, medicine and theology were included in its course and numerous colleges were founded by the Jesuits and Dominicans to prepare the natives for entrance to its classes.

The material civilization of the Indians was not the leading object that led men like Father Urdaneta and Brother Antonio to give up wealth and high command and travel over land and sea. Their conversion, that is to say, to bring them to a knowledge of the true law of human life and the means of securing eternal happiness beyond the grave was the great motive. Civilization, with the Catholic missionaries, was only a means to make a Christian life easier of carrying out. Among civilized men, even, the motives which lead to the Catholic faith are most diversified. Among savages, generally speaking, as with children, a certain amount of mental training is necessary for any real belief. To this work the friars set themselves in the Philippines on definite lines. The native tribes recognized the supremacy of the Spaniards much as the Indians of the plains did that of the United States without much difficulty. The missionaries settled among them, preached to the grown up men and women, and gathered the children into schools. The chiefs continued to direct the public life, but in each settlement a church and school formed a center round which the huts of the natives were got together. Some of the wilder tribes of the interior declined to receive the priests, but they were not molested on that account. In fact the force of a couple of thousand men at the disposal of the Governors was inadequate to such a policy even had it been desired. The Christian settlements were formed without bloodshed and grew by the improved conditions of their inhabitants. The interference of the Spanish officials was very small. A tribute of ten reals for every Indian couple was the chief tax and it was generally paid in rice, cotton or other products at a fixed rate. The police administration was left with the native chiefs, subject, in capital cases, to the laws administered by the Spanish Judges of provinces. The chiefs gathered a force if needed to repel incursions of robbers or the savage tribes, and it was only in case of foreign invasions that the Spanish troops were called on. The Christian population grew in numbers. In the chronicle of the Augustinian Father Medina the number of Christian natives was given at somewhat over two hundred thousand at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. Father Delgado's history, published in 1750, gave the number then at con-

siderably over a million. The official returns of 1896 report a population of six millions eight hundred thousand exclusive of the savage tribes of Luzon or the Mahometans of Mindanao.

The system adopted by the different Orders, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans, for the administration of the converted Philippine natives deserves special mention. The islands were formed into a diocese in 1581, a Dominican, Salazar, being the first Bishop. Manila was made an Archbishopric in 1594 with three suffragan sees, one in Cebu for the Visaya Islands, and two in Luzon. Each diocese had the chapter and usual organization of the Church in Spain, but in the greater part of the islands the right of naming priests for the parishes was vested in the Superiors of the different Orders. The Superior of the Augustinians or Dominicans presented to the Bishop a list of three priests in case of vacancy in a parish and the Bishop selected one and gave him the usual faculties for parochial administration. About three-quarters of the parishes were thus served by members of the Orders, the other quarter being supplied by the ordinary secular clergy. The missionaries have always been drawn from Europe and on their arrival in the Philippines receive a special course of one or two years in the native languages. They are then sent as assistants, for a limited time, to older pastors, and afterwards, in the majority of cases, their life is one of solitude in native parishes. The number of priests compared to the Catholic population in the Philippines is less than in almost any Catholic country and most parishes have only one priest. In 1896 there were about thirteen hundred priests of all the Orders, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits, and besides their colleges and seminaries these furnished parish priests for about five and a half millions of Catholics. The secular clergy numbered about eight hundred and had charge of a million and a quarter of souls.

The missionary work of the Orders settled in the Philippines has not been limited to those islands. From Manila the Franciscans and Dominicans sent out missionaries all through the last three centuries to the countries of Eastern Asia. Annam, Siam, Cambodia, China and Japan have received missionaries from the Philippines. There has been no lack of martyrs in those lands. Within the last sixty years at least three Dominican Bishops have given their lives for the Faith in Tonquin as Fisher and More gave theirs in the days of the English Henry. The Franciscans who furnished Japan with its first martyrs are the beginning of a glorious list of brave believers who sealed their faith with their blood among the Friars of the Philippines.

The spirit which actuates Catholics to give their lives for the

conversion of souls is almost incomprehensible to the non-Catholic mind to-day. Las Casas, in an argument for the rights of the Indians before the Spanish Court, in the middle of the Sixteenth Century, expressed it in terms which may well abash the social reformers of our time. A dear friend and colleague of his own, in former years, had been slain by the Florida Indians while on a mission of charity to them and an eminent Doctor, Sepulveda, used the fact as a justification for war on them and subsequent slavery. "It is a divine and most right law," said the old Bishop, "that some of the servants of the Gospel should die for the Gospel, since by their precious deaths they may help more in conversion than they could by toil here on earth. And so we trust in God that Fray Luis Cancer does help in the conversion of those who slew him. For as they do not know what they do, and as they think are slaying enemies not true servants of God, so God will look on them with eyes of pity for the merits of that most blessed Fray Luis. And this is the true divine way of preaching the Gospel and converting souls."

It was this spirit which inspired the first friars to devote themselves to the conversion of the Philippines.

It may be asked what tangible result has been attained by three centuries of their work, and the answer is the formation of a Christian people from a race of savages. It is a task which has been often spoken of but nowhere else accomplished on such a scale. The passage of a people from barbarian to civilized life is a very slow process in the usual course of history. The Germans of the days of Augustus Caesar, in their present land, if we may trust the accounts of Tacitus, scarcely differed from the original Indians of our own New York. From Hermann to Charlemagne was a long eight centuries of development; from Charlemagne to Barbarossa, five more, yet how much of what many would call the essentials of civilization were lacking to the Germans of the Holy Roman Empire in the Thirteenth Century. National literature was scarcely known. Representative government was in its infancy, the majority of the population never moved from the bounds of its separate provinces, and knew almost nothing of the world beyond. Railroads, the press, foreign products and most of what are now thought the necessities of life were unknown and yet no reasonable man will deny the Germans of the Middle Ages the title of a civilized people. No American would assert that the men of the Revolution were not a civilized people though they knew not railroads or telephones, though modern physical science was unknown to their colleges and English literature practically a blank as far as American writers were concerned. The ideals of civilization for the Spanish missionary priests in the Philippines

were substantially the same as those of Bacon and Raleigh, of the founders of New England and the founders of New York. In the mind of all, a civilized people was one which lived under settled laws by steady labor, which was more or less acquainted with the material progress made amongst the races of Europe, and, as all would say, which was Christian. The Spanish friars undertook the task of giving such a civilization to the Malays of the Philippines and no other body of men of any race or any faith have accomplished what they have done.

A task of somewhat similar kind has been attempted by others in our own day in the name of Christian civilization but not the Catholic Church. Hawaii has been under control of missionaries from New England for seventy-five years more completely than the Philippines were ever under that of the Spanish friars. The native kings adopted the new creed and enforced its adoption on their subjects by vigorous corporal punishments. The missionaries were abundantly supplied with such resources of civilization as money could buy and they have grown wealthy on their mission, but what has been the fate of the natives? They have dwindled in numbers to a fourth of what they were when Messrs. Bingham and Thurston entered their islands, their lands have been taken by strangers, their government overthrown by brute force, and the scanty remnant has dropped the religion imposed on them. In the Philippines in a hundred and forty years a million of Catholic natives has grown seven fold. In Hawaii under missioners of the world's manufacture a hundred and forty thousand of the same race has shrunk to thirty-eight thousand. Have the promises of the Spanish friars or those of the American ministers been the most truthfully kept?

The actual condition of the Catholic population formed by the work of the religious orders should not be judged by the excesses which have marked the present revolution. Many old Christian nations have gone through similar experiences. It would be as unreasonable to judge the Christianity of France by the Reign of Terror as to condemn the Filipino population for the atrocities sanctioned by Aguinaldo. The mass of the country population has taken no part in these deeds of blood which are the work of a small number of political adventurers and aspirants for office by any means. Until lately revolutionary disturbance was unknown in the Philippines. During three centuries there was only one serious Indian rebellion, that of Silan, in the province of Illocos, at the time of the English invasion. The Spanish military force was always too small to hold the islands had there been any real disaffection to the Government. The whole force at Manila in the present war, as given by General Otis, was only fifty-six hun-

dred and about as many more represented the entire Spanish force among a population of seven millions. The disposition of the Catholic Filipinos is essentially law abiding. One of the friars lately driven from the islands by the revolution assured the writer that in Panay, an island with a population of half a million, a murder did not occur more often than once or twice in a year. In our own country last year the proportion was more than fifty times as great. There is no forced labor as in the Dutch Indian colonies to compel the native Philippines to work yet they support themselves in content without any of the famines so common in India under the boasted rule of civilized England. A sure evidence of material prosperity is the growth of the population, and of its religion a fair test is the proportion of Catholic marriages, baptisms and religious interments to the whole number. The proportion of marriages in 1896 to the population among the natives administered by the friars was one to every hundred and twenty, which is higher than England, Germany or any European country. The number of baptisms exceeded the deaths by more than two and a half per cent, a greater proportion than in our own land. Compare this with Hawaii and one feels what a farce is the promise of increased prosperity held out by the American Press as the result of the expulsion of the Spanish friars.

It is not easy to compare accurately the intellectual development of the Catholic Filipinos with American or European standards. The ideals of civilization of the Catholic missionaries were different from those popular with English statesmen and their American admirers. The friars did not believe that the accumulation of wealth was the end of civilization, but the support of a large population in fair comfort. There are no trusts and few millionaires in the islands but their population is six times greater than that of California after fifty years of American Government. The test so often applied of reading and writing among the population finds the Filipinos fairly up to the standard of Europe at least. Of highly educated men the proportion is not so large as in Europe, but it is not inconsiderable, and neither in science nor in literature are the descendants of the Malay pirates unrepresented in their remote islands. The native languages have developed no important literature of their own but they have a fair supply of translations from Spanish works in history, poetry and philosophy. In that they are superior to the Hindoo of British India though spoken by nearly a hundred millions. These are facts that throw a strange light on the real meaning of civilization as planted by the Spanish friars among a barbarian race. Compare them with the fate of the Indian races on our own territory and say what benefit the Filipinos may expect from the advent of "Anglo-Saxon" civilization.

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## PEDAGOGICS: THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION.

THE central law of nature is the law of equilibrium. It is the law of rest, not only, but of motion, and of repose in motion; it is the indispensable law of progress. It is not merely co-extensive with the law of gravity in the balancing of atoms and in the cycles of the stars. It is as inexorable in the spiritual and moral orders, in the affairs of the human mind and will, in the preservation and advancement of social and civil life. Its violation, if persevered in, always means catastrophe. In human things, where man has the physical power to disregard it, it has always been its own avenger whenever it has been antagonized or set aside or supplanted by arbitrary human provisions. It is not destroyed by being ignored, but with gathered momentum eventually crushes its way through human interference; and then puts equipoise into the ruins, for men to begin again, if they will, as followers and not as founders of nature's laws.

Erroneous theories in philosophical systems and in plans of society and in economics and education, however plausible they may appear as outlines on paper and fortified by the prophecies of enthusiasts and backed by the hopes and support of the anxious and unthinking multitude, when put upon practical trial, must prove themselves unadapted to the end, in the inevitable retribution which follows rash experiment. Great, practical questions which have come up in the histories of peoples have never received a satisfactory solution where they have not been approached in a spirit of submission to nature's central law. Unfortunately, grave, practical questions are not always thus approached, to be determined by the standard of unassailable principle, certified fact and the logical consequences. To-day, the shifting restlessness of opinions that rules in social matters seems to bid defiance to the law. In matters of supreme social import we are constantly meeting with some new error rushing in upon a hundred others half applied; and the catastrophe is delayed. Men pass away and their schemes lose the impetus that is born of personal interest; successors are rarely heirs to great enterprise in carrying out the theories of the deposed or the departed. Yet, a certain following often remains; and so it is that now we have a hundred errors jousting for possession of the field. Superadded to disorder we have internal conflict which gives prom-

ise that the central law is preparing to manifest itself in a destruction which has not had a parallel in the history of civilizations.

But, why do we stand philosophizing thus bodingly before venturing to put our foot upon the threshold? Because we are about to enter, though it be only in thought, the sanctified precincts of a temple, the microcosm, the noblest structure reared by the Creator in this his visible creation, the temple of man, sanctified in his origin, sanctified in his destiny, sanctified in Christ by the elevation of human nature to individual, substantial union with the divine in the personality of the incarnate God.

There are few subjects, outside of those which are handed over to blustering politics and partizan journalism, upon which more is written amongst us to-day than is written upon the subject of education. Where once he had teachers, now we have teachers of teachers. The shelves of the libraries are laden with books, pamphlets, magazines, journals, reviews,—all occupied with the great subject of education. We hear, endlessly, of conferences and conventions and institutes and congresses, called to discuss the ever present question of universal interest, "Views" upon education are always in demand. When "views" upon any subject are in demand, we all know that there are a hundred million orators waiting for their turn to thrill the audience. But when it comes to a matter such as this, to the discussion of methods of teaching and of subjects to be taught, as everybody has either had an education which he considers best or worst according, perhaps, to the standard of the dollars now in his pocket, or else has not had much of an education and so patronizes or despises education according to the measure of mercantile success or failure which has attended him without it, and as, moreover, there are millions who are passing through that narrow acquaintance which comes from a year or two of authority in the school-room, and who are, therefore, "enabled to speak from experience,"—it is natural for us to suppose that those who, in the throng, are most competent to speak will find it hard to get even the recognition which is necessary to a hearing. In upheavals such as that by which we are confronted we usually find some word that seems to reduce and crystallize the matter for discussion. But it is, too often, a crystal with a different face for every looker-on. Here, the word is "pedagogics." Just whisper "pedagogics," and you will evoke the wisdom of the millions, not to listen but to talk.

The name, "pedagogics," is intended to express what we mean by the science—and the art—of education. Originally, the *pedagogue* (*παιδαγωγός*) was the slave who led the boy to school and home again. By degrees the name was applied to the teacher, in-

structor, trainer of every kind, and so the "leading" acquired a broader meaning. So, pedagogy (*παιδαγωγία*) came gradually to signify the entire system pursued in a boy's education. The name pedagogue with other school-terms was adopted into the Latin—for the Romans went to school to Athens. We find them making a distinction between "*paedagogus*" and their quasi-translation of it, "*educator*." Varro says, "*Educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus*," "the nurse educates, the pedagogue establishes, forms, finishes off." (ap. Non. 5.105.) Seneca tells us: "*Differunt autem paedagogus et praeceptor: nam hujus munus est puerum liberalibus instituere disciplinis; ille proprie custos est vitae et morum*." "Pedagogue and preceptor differ: the office of the latter is to form (institute) the boy in liberal studies; the former is, properly speaking, the guardian of his life and conduct." (2 *Ira*, 22.) Flavius Vopiscus states that the two offices were sometimes combined: "*Aliquando tamen paedagogus idem est ac praeceptor qui nempe pueros litteras docet*." "Sometimes, however, the office of pedagogue is exercised by the preceptor, that is, by the one who teaches the boy literature." (Vopisc. *Bonos*. 14.) Although, as we have seen, Varro said, "the nurse educates," we find Quintilian beginning, "If some one were entrusted to me to be educated as an orator," "*Si mihi educandus tradatur orator*." (1 *proem*.)

So much for the original meaning of words, from which it is clear that "pedagogy, pedagogics" are very well chosen to indicate what ought to belong to both the earlier and to the academic training in general; and can stand with full propriety for what we may mean by the science and the art of education. Unfortunately, the difficulty begins when we go on to consider what is meant by education. For, the word, education, is very widely taken to mean only a part of what it really means. The laws of conduct, the rules for the building and establishment of character are often assigned a minor place, or are treated as a negligible quantity, in the science of pedagogics as it is understood and taught and applied amongst us to-day.

When you speak of rearing, of founding, of establishing, let us say, a temple, you mean that you intend to build a structure that will be harmonious in the strength and proportions of walls and foundations and roof. Our pedagogics, if applied to architecture, would mean all walls, without foundation or roof. It would resemble a science that was occupied with walls and windows and mullions and buttresses, with rich columns and carved capitals and bold frescoes and tessellated floors. It would be a science that provided no foundation to rest the structure on, beyond the sands of a shifting

philosophy of uncertainty where nothing is fixed; and which spread above but a roof of paper that could yield no protection and had no binding force upon the walls. Without the strong foundation, all the walls and buttresses and columns, even were they to stand for a while, could not support the roof that would be needed to give the edifice stability, the roof of character and morality which must be the shield of safety to the human temple divine when the storms of adversity come to try it, when the flood-gates of passion are opened upon it. Even under the withering sun of daily life its scant covering will be seared and warped and seamed, until it is blown away by the lightest breeze or washes away under the softest rain to disfigure that very glory beneath which has been reared upon the quicksand.

What, then, is the matter with our pedagogics, with our systems of teaching? And what should our pedagogics and our teaching be? What do we aim at? Education. The education of what? The education of the man, of the human being. And what is man, the human being? An angel? No. Then, just only an animal? No. *Paulo minus ab angelis*, a little less than the angels. Here let us call attention to a fact that pervades the universe; and which, being thus universal, can be announced as a physical principle or law. We may formulate it in this manner: Whenever there is a substantial union of natures of different orders, such a union, namely, that there results but one individual, separate, complete, and the subject of every affirmation regarding any and all functions of the natures so united, it is universally true that the separate, distinct individuality is supplied by and denominated from that one of the united natures which is of the highest order. The highest nature always dominates and supplies in its higher efficiency for that subsistent individuality which is always found as belonging to the lower nature when it exists apart and independent, but which is lost to the nature of lower order when this is united with a nature of higher order to the formation of an individual which is to be in its totality the subject of all affirmation and denial. In man, we find the animal nature and the free, intelligent, spiritual nature. In man, therefore, the subsistence, the independent individuality is supplied for the unit of being by the free, intelligent soul. In man, we dignify this separate, independent, individual subsistence by the special name of personality. Man is a person. This prerogative of the highest nature in a substantial union we find all along the scale of being. Take the animal, that is, a being in which the highest nature is of the purely animal order. The animal, besides its special life of sensation, of sense-perception and locomotion, by which it is char-

acterized, does, nevertheless, exercise as its own certain activities which, if found apart, would belong to a being of a lower order. It exercises the functions or activities of assimilation, nutrition, growth, reproduction; and these, apart and not belonging to a being capable of sense activity are distinctive of plant life and indicate the individual, independent vegetative being. Yet, in the substantial union, this independence disappears, and the plant activity is predicated of the unit which is an animal. And so, again, does the plant take up and control to its own purposes and as a part of its own individuality, the inorganic elements; and it does this in such a way as to set at naught all laboratory chemistry of these elements as they are found in their independent individuality outside of the living organism. And so all these natures of lower order, animal, plant, mineral, as found in man, lose their independent individuality which is supplied for by the autonomous personality which belongs distinctively to a higher nature in man, namely, the spiritual, free, intelligent nature, the spiritual soul.

Now, what do we want to do? We want to educate the man. How is this to be done? Shall we turn our attention solely to the animal nature, to what is called physical development? Shall our chief aim be to make the man as strong as an ox? Shall we devote our best efforts to the training up of a race of lifters and runners and punchers? The man is a unit; and in his unity he is subject to the law of equilibrium. The rule, therefore, should be, so much bodily strength as is requisite to the best development in other lines as demanded by the harmonious development of the whole. To be brief upon this point we may lay down the recognized truth, that there is a due physical development which we can have without devoting our lives to mere physical culture, a development which with moral and mental culture really fits the body to resist disease better than it can be so fitted by turning it into knots of muscle. What is, however, being done to-day in this regard, is well expressed by a writer in *The Tablet* (Baltimore, Jan., 1894). Amongst other things the writer says: "A dozen years ago a valedictorian could not walk across the campus of any one of the larger colleges without attracting attention. . . . In those days, too, before the deification of muscle, references to 'honor' men were received with applause at college gatherings, and the elevation, boy fashion, of the first scholar of the class was enthusiastically demanded. All this has largely passed away. Graduate gatherings almost exclusively discuss the last foot-ball match or the coming boat race. It is the Hercules on whom attention is riveted. His movements and opinions are followed with eagerness. He is cheered and admired

wherever he goes. Where he flourishes new 'students' hasten to enroll themselves. Brain has yielded to brawn.

"This dethroning of the old ideals is unfortunate and serious. . . . The most significant and the saddest feature of the modern athletic craze is the inspiration given boys and young men to look upon the physical giant as representative of the best manhood, irrespective of mental quality; and an unconscious disregard in youth of those of their fellows whose trained minds and force of character are most in demand in the world outside."

I do not believe that, previous to the month of March, 1897, we shall find it stated in the history of education that the banner of a great university was considered by the students a fit thing to plant beside the arena of a pugilistic prize-fight. And the late fact is all the more intensely suggestive in that the banner was sent three thousand miles across a continent, from a locality which we are so often warned to speak of as the home of enlightened culture and the new haven of classic lore, to the far-off "west," and even to those confines where that "west" is believed by the scholars of the Orient to be "wildest" and most "woolly." Full certain it was to all, from the beginning, that the letter of good wishes and the university standard—as the gage of patriotic partizanship for the Californian against the ambitious Australian, who won, nevertheless, without the inspiration of an academic flag—were not ordered to be sent by the Board of Regents. And, in fact, a few days after the transmission of the ribbons and the billet-doux had been published, so great was the storm of criticism from the daily press, that the students were called upon by the Regents to exonerate the administration from any responsibility in the disgraceful affair; and, forthwith, in the students' Journal there appeared a card to the effect that the students, some students, were sole authors and abettors in the enterprise. But, lo! the year was not passed away, when the world was startled and dismayed by the recital of an orgie which has not, to my knowledge, been paralleled in the history of any university, and which took place through the night following the victory of the "foot-ball team" accredited to the same now twice centenarian institute of learning. The affair is recent and well known; and is too painful to be dwelt upon. But I can imagine the spirits of the ten clergymen, the original trustees, who gave their own libraries to the founding of the school, I can see them hovering through that night over that theatre of debauchery, shedding the tears of the righteous, and whispering to one another that it might have been better for them to have burned their books and to have left their children and their grandchildren's grandchildren to read but Bibles

at the rustic fireside, rather than that, even at the end of two centuries, the name of their infant school should be used as the pretext for the desecration of the humanity which they had proposed to elevate.

Men whose lives are given seriously and intelligently to the work of education, and who apply themselves conscientiously to study the influences which have wrought upon it in time, and the consequent results, very naturally take an interest, a sad interest, upon beholding the marks of decay upon any time-honored institute of learning. I do not speak of material decay, of crumbling walls and dismantled spires, of moss upon once worn walks and of spiders tapestrying deserted corridors. The view of all this might still, indeed, be linked with none but hallowed memories of a career that was noble to the end. But I mean the decay that may be going on at the heart and centre of a university's life, though well kept groves and shaven lawns and polished windows and marble halls may bribe the eye by visions of splendor to distract the judgment from passing sentence on the things that are not made with the trowel, the chisel and the saw.

But let us pass on to higher things. Man is not all body. He is especially soul, spiritual soul. And this soul is endowed with intelligence and memory. Man has the power of both receiving and retaining truth: he can acquire knowledge. But what should he learn and how should he learn and how much should he learn? These are the questions which tax the ingenuity of those amongst us who profess to be given to pedagogy or the science of education. One may labor so hard at learning, at the effort to know and to store the memory with knowledge, as to go against the ancient precept of the *mens sana in corpore sano*, that is, of keeping a sound body as the habitat for a sound mind. As it would appear, however, our education is not exposing the body directly to many disadvantageous risks. But again, this process of mere receptivity and retention may be pushed so far, and so much stress may be laid upon it at a certain stage in the human training where another phase of culture is imperatively demanded for the formation of the true man, that the result may be very much of a monstrosity when compared with the harmonious standard of the human ideal. We may spend our lives learning even more and more, learning lists of kings and dates and battles, lists of birds and reptiles and animals and fishes, lists of rocks and strata and minerals and plants, lists of stars and rivers and mountains, lists of algebraical formulae and of philosophical theories, lists of writers, especially of novelists, and lists of their books and of their fictitious characters. We may make of ourselves living dictionaries and encyclopedias. You might do the

same with the phonograph, which would, indeed, be more exact in reproducing what it had received. But with all this, the development may not be a harmonious development of the whole man. The chief part, the entire moral side of human nature may be overlooked. The truly essential office in education, the office of instruction and of drilling in the moral virtues may be neglected or even ignored.

There are two kinds of virtues; that is, we can distinguish two classes of virtues according to the manner in which one may become possessed of the virtue. When we say that a person possesses a given virtue, we do not mean that he has performed an act of that virtue, but that he possesses the power of *readily* performing the act. An individual act is not the virtue. Ten thousand acts are not the virtue, though they may indicate the presence of that ease and readiness which constitute the virtue. The virtue is not merely the radical power by which one is physically capable of performing the act. If the virtue were the mere physical, untrained power, then, because we all are physically capable of performing an act of patience we should all be said to possess the virtue of patience; or, to take the case of vice, because we are all physically able to steal we should consequently be born a race of thieves. A virtue is neither the act, nor the mere physical power to do the act. The virtue is, to use the strict terminology, the *expedited* power. It is the *habit* of the act, possessed to the degree that, when the occasion calls for an act of the virtue in question, such act can be readily and easily elicited. A virtue, then, is simply the habit. There are two ways in which one may become possessed of the habit. The habit may be infused or it may be acquired, and we have, accordingly, two classes, the infused and the acquired virtues. There are some virtues that cannot be acquired, that have to be infused. These are the supernatural virtues, the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity. We do not possess the radical power to elicit one act of these virtues. But for all the other virtues—styled moral virtues—we do possess the radical power, and this, too, speaking in the purely natural sense. We do not, indeed possess the readiness and ease, the *expedited* power, the habit, the virtue: this has to be acquired. I do not say that the Founder of human nature cannot, if He so pleases, bestow the ready habit of a moral virtue, or that He does not here and there bestow it for his own special designs. But all this is outside of our question, and it is something which we are not authorized to reckon upon for ourselves or for anyone else. The regular, natural order, as we know it, for these natural virtues is, that the radical power can be brought by training, only, to the condition of readiness and responsive alacrity which constitutes the habit. The virtue, the ease and readiness of habit, must be the



result of exercise. A virtue being a habit, is to be acquired in the way in which other habits are acquired, namely, by a repetition of acts. It is by repetition of acts that we acquire ease and readiness in memorizing, in speaking a new language, in adding numbers, in swimming, in skating, in catching a ball, in singing, in writing with a pen, etc. And so effective is the repetition of act in the formation of habit, that we can form even a strong inclination to something to which we may have felt a great repugnance, thus establishing what we call a "second nature" which prompts us to do unconsciously that which cost us quite a struggle when we first attempted it. Now, the difference between a virtue and a vice is this: a virtue is the habit of some good, whilst a vice is the habit of some evil. These virtues are called moral virtues because they regard the morality (*mores*) which man is bound to aim at for the perfecting of his being.

It is by the exercise of the habits of the moral virtues that man's great work in life is to be done. And it is a far harder task to form a single moral virtue than to become a philosopher, a puncher or a mathematical phenomenon. There is no natural way of acquiring the virtue but by instruction, study, discipline and exercise. One may learn practically the rules for government in the syntax of a foreign language in less time than it will take him to become proficient in the government of his temper. Strangely enough, we find many a student applying himself a thousand times more assiduously to the mastery of the unruly syntax than to the mastery of his unruly temper. Yet the control of his temper is vastly more important to him than the habit of the foreign syntax, not only in his separate individual existence, but in his domestic life, in his social life, in his commercial and professional pursuits, and in his civil life. It is, indeed, the control and judicious exercise of the emotions, it is the possession and practice of the moral virtues, that prove the man to be a man, first in his unseen life and then in his dealings with his family, with his friends, with the commonwealth. The exercise of the hidden virtues, of the domestic and social virtues, is a thing that enters into the daily life of every man. The astronomy and chemistry and algebra and smattering of languages, that absorb the time and energies of the period of formation, are things that enter into the after-life of very few. We say a man is a *man*, when we see him exercising an act of forgiveness, of alms-giving, of sympathy, of humility, of justice, of self-sacrifice, and so on. But we never say a man is a *man*, for the reason that he has spent so many years at school and college, stuffing his head with physiology and botany and French and mineralogy and with all the ologies on the list. Hence, the better education is, necessarily, the one that forms to the civil, social and domestic virtues which make the *man*,—the man that is

needed in the family, in society, in the state, in every civic role, whether as a public servant holding the trust of the people or as an unnoticed individual lending the unit of his righteousness to the momentum which must carry forward as a mass the aggregate of the civilized community. It is these virtues, and these alone, that can harmonize the inequalities between the powerful and the weak, between the rich and the poor, between the lettered and the unlettered, between the employer and the employed. It is these virtues, and these alone, that can bring out and emphasize the dignity of humanity on all sides, and obviate that calamity which observant students tell us is impending over the world, namely, the formation of two classes with opposing motive forces: tyrants on the one hand and serfs on the other; drivers on the one hand and beasts of burden on the other; the proud, the haughty, the selfish, the scornful on the one hand,—the irritated, the revengeful, the desperate on the other; two aggregates with opposing momenta that will not be equilibrated until they collide and reduce one another to powder.

Now, it has so happened, that very widely, for a time, amongst us, this higher, this highest education, this moral education, this training in the moral virtues has been swept away from the curriculum: so that the knowledge of it has not entered, at all, into the programme which the teacher must follow in order to qualify, or into the discipline and examinations which the student must go through in order to graduate. The consequence is that, education having run its course for a generation or two with the most important factor, the indispensable factor, excluded from the formula for the problem of human life, wise men are at length awakening, startled by the awful logic of results. And so it is that we have, now, what I have chosen to call "the ethical movement in education."

Now, first of all, we know that it is easy to see a mote that is in our neighbor's eye, and to be at the same time utterly unconscious of the beam that is in our own. As citizens of the Republic of the United States of America, this wonderful foundation of Providence in the new world, we very naturally take an exceptional interest in those who have been our imitators in the old world. We take a special interest in the fortunes of the Republic of France. Over there, between 1876 and 1880, there was inaugurated a great crusade to establish schools without the only effective basis for practical morality. Being a people naturally endowed with the gift of recognizing the short way to conclusions, our imitators have, as a matter of course, outstripped us in the race to results. Fifteen years after the beginning of their experiment, they compiled their statistics. The Paris correspondent of the *Germania*, writing in August, 1891, says of these schools that "their corruption has to be acknowledged

even by infidels and is irrefragably proved by the official returns of the French tribunals and the proceedings of the Chambers. Of course, in France, as in other countries, there are always crimes and suicides. But during the last few years these have increased to a terrible extent among the young people." He cites the report of the Administration of Criminal Justice to show that the number of children and minors proceeded against increased by five thousand in a single year (23,000 in 1886 and 28,000 in 1887). Comparing the suicides of minors in 1875-76-77 with those of 1885-86-87, he says: "Whilst the general total of suicides in France increased between the two periods by 41.24 per centum, that of suicides under the age of twenty-one increased by 72.27 per centum." To give the exact figures, the suicides of minors were in the three years 1875-76-77, 142, 196, 227. In the years 1885-86-87 they were 319, 324, 375. The amount of money already spent in establishing these schools of the new morality is, we are told, 689,496,000 francs.

The people, over there, are growing frightened. The schools that have held to the old morality had in 1876, 440,000 children. At the time of which we are speaking, 1891, they had 800,000. And you must remember that there has been no increase in the population of France. As for the relative cost of the two educations, take, for instance, the large city of Lyons, where the children were divided about equally between the two kinds of schools: the schools of the new morality cost, in 1890, 2,401,032 francs, whilst the schools of the old morality cost 150,000 francs, or less than one-sixteenth. And this, moreover, whilst in the schools of the old morality the education was just as good as the other and, indeed, far better, because it was given by teachers who made a profession of teaching, who had been teaching for years, and who had been trained for the purpose.

The Methodist *Christian Advocate*, commenting on these facts, in February, 1891, under the heading "A suggestive fact from France," says: "Fifteen years ago, youthful criminals who could read were sixty-eight per cent: at present the percentage has arisen to seventy-eight per cent." The *Advocate* continues: "Our Protestant authority for this says that 'the evident failure in a moral point of view, of education without religion is throwing weight into the Roman Catholic scale. Children are crowding their private schools. Schools without religion in a country where homes are without God can but raise up a godless generation.'"

Professor Fouillère, writing in the *Revue des deux Mondes* (May, 1897), about the actual condition of things, gives some facts and makes some reflections which ought to provoke us to very serious thought. He says: "In France, the increase of criminal cases over

1881 has been 30,000, though there has been practically no increase in the population. There has been especially an increase in the number of homicides and murders. . . . The saddest feature about this increase is that it has been proportionately greatest among the youth of the country. The actual fact is that the number of criminals who are yet children or youths is twice as large as the number of adult criminals; although France has only about seven million children and youths against twenty million adults. . . . On all sides the warmest friends of education in France are entirely discouraged. . . . Our present system of education dissipates instead of concentrating. . . It does not supply the children with the principles that strengthen them against temptation. . . . ”

Professor Harry Thurston Peck, editor of *The Bookman* and Professor of the Latin language in Columbia College, New York, speaking of France, says: “Its (the Church’s) conservative influence has been estranged, and its teachings, which are those that make for national security, have been blotted out of the education of modern France. The result is seen each year with more and more distinctness, and is a shocking example of what a purely secular training for the young can lead to.” (*Bookman*, Dec., 1897.)

Facing this testimony concerning the results of our own experiment as it has been applied abroad we are forced to ask,—how do we fare, ourselves? For an answer, take your daily papers of one year: add on your own observation of what did not get into the papers; add on what you may fairly conjecture has been the observation of a great population from sea to sea; sum up, for an illustration, the public crime, the hidden crime and the tolerated iniquity of a large city in the course of a year; consider the standard of honor avowed in the means adopted to secure the votes of the sovereign people; consider the value in dollars which it is calculated a sovereign people may be expected to put upon its voice in deciding the destiny of the commonwealth; consider the price laid down for the passage of a law which should be passed or rejected in justice on its own merits. I have no intention of going into details or of piling up statistics. I leave the matter to your own individual judgment, to define what you know to be very widely the standard of virtue in private life, in domestic life, in public life. It is just precisely what you know that has, as I said a while ago, startled some wise men from the dream in which they were planning easily—as we do in a dream—planning our future ideal section of the human family, brought up solely on the physico-intellectual programme, from the scissors and dumb-bells of the kindergarten to the wild athletics and intangible philosophy of the university,—but planning, all the while, with a negative indifference to, when not with a posi-

tive elimination of that most essential moral element in education, without which we cannot get the man that is needed in society. They have been startled, I said, by the stern logic of results; and a movement is on foot for a general renovation. This awakening to a present need, this restless anxiety for the future, this new partial willingness to listen, the attempt that is actually being made to put some kind of a proposed remedy on trial, this is what I have called the Ethical Movement in Education. And here I may as well lay down, at once, my pedagogical thesis, which is that this ethical movement in education has been planned along paths by following which it is doomed inevitably to be a practical failure.

The line of argument by which this thesis is established is precisely analogous to that which we pursued when speaking of the general subject of pedagogics, and where we saw that physical and intellectual culture would not make the man, if the moral element was excluded. So, also, no ethical or moral culture will produce practical morality in life, the things we are looking for, if that ethical or moral culture excludes the one, sole, indispensable basis upon which the practical moral life can be built. And this one, sole, indispensable basis does not enter into the principles of the ethical movement.

In the July of 1897, the National Educational Association met in the city of Milwaukee. The call for the meeting resulted in one of the most largely attended educational conventions ever held in this country. It brought together an imposing array of delegates from the aristocracy of mind. The most forcible discussions of the Convention were those which elicited the recognition of a need for moral culture in education. In connection with the general assembly the National Herbart Society held its sessions, at which were read papers by distinguished educators of national fame. These papers were exclusively on the subject of moral training and ethics in education. What was particularly noticeable, however, in the scheme of papers to be presented and discussed was this, that the ultimate motive upon which alone practical morality can be effectively secured, was left out. This sole ultimate effective motive is religion, the recognition of a Supreme Lawgiver, whose will alone can give to every just law its binding force upon the hidden conscience. The one reason alleged for refusing to the one effective moral motive due acknowledgment of its value in a general scheme of education, including moral education, was clearly enunciated by a distinguished Member, in the progress of the warmest discussion that took place during the session of the Assembly. This is the sentence containing the alleged reason: "I believe with him (the last speaker), that morality can be taught without religion."

Here, then, we may be permitted to draw the line between certain points of agreement and the point of disagreement. Those who have considered the matter seriously upon its practical side, affirm generally as being beyond dispute:

1. That practical morality in the various phases of the citizen's life, looked at in the broad aggregate of a population of seventy-five millions, has suffered a decline;

2. That the influences at work are not sufficient to stop the decline and prevent it from going on to one or another of the crises or calamities which form the dismal landmarks on the field of human history;

3. That this decline can be stopped only by providing some safeguard for the young whilst character is in the process of formation;

4. That this safeguard can be provided only by inculcating upon the young those principles which ought to govern the conduct of man in all the phases of his life, private, domestic, social and civil;

5. That these principles are the principles of morality.

This is the agreement. The difference lies between an opinion, on the one hand, and on the other hand, a positive affirmation backed by facts and unanswerable argument. The opinion is, that morality can be taught without religion. The positive affirmation is, that morality, a practical morality which is to be anything more than an ineffective, mental fiction, cannot be taught without religion. The whole point at issue lies right here; and the question demands a settlement upon the basis of fact and argument, and not upon the shifting uncertainties of mere opinion. The theoretical fiction of a morality without religion is lacking in what is essential to any kind of theory, that is, the hope, at least, of the possibility of its application to the matter under consideration. Eliminate religion as a factor in morality, and, first of all, you cannot formulate a complete code of morality; and, secondly, the diminished code which you may be able to formulate will have no more of motive in it to make a man observe it, than the mere objective knowledge of geography can have to make him travel around the world. It will have even less. There may be something in the travel to entice him. He may travel because he likes it. But with the purely objective moral code, the probabilities and the facts are a thousand against one that, when the occasion calls for the application of the code to his practical life, he will not like it. However, the projectors of a morality without religion do not propose the fickleness of liking as their motive. The motive which they propose as enforcing morality without the factor of religion is the fitness or suitableness of the separate propositions of their moral scheme to the ideal humanity. Now, is there perceptible such fitness of the moral act

to the ideal humanity? Undoubtedly, there is. We ourselves lay the greatest stress upon that fitness, and we make the objective truth of that fitness *not the motive* but the *foundation for the real motive* which is to be found precisely and only in the religious element which the others have discarded as unnecessary. But the sole perception of the objective truth of the fitness of an individual moral proposition, as isolated from the religious motive for action, is in no wise of itself adapted to induce the concrete man to keep his life in order. Of course, if man were absolutely devoid of all passions and emotions, if he were rid of his body and free from every influence except the influence of the objective fitness perceived, if he were receptively nothing more than an intellectual mirror reflecting the objective truth, then we might perhaps begin to discuss the question. But that is not the kind of man we have under consideration; nor do we know of any one about us to whom the conditions would be applicable.

You can, it is true, *announce verbally* certain proximate moral truths without making *explicit* mention of religion. You can announce to the boys and girls that they ought to obey their parents and teachers, that they ought not to quarrel or lie or steal or murder, etc. But herein your "ought," if it be a real "ought," *implies* religion. However, you must make explicit mention of a motive. But if all mention of the one efficient motive is outlawed, what are you going to do? You may hold up to them the beauty of domestic peace and civil order. But the proposing of this objective beauty of the thing is not going to secure the result desired. If you leave out the prime motive you cannot secure motion. You may teach a boy book-keeping, and tell him how becoming it will be for him to keep his father's books. He may answer you that your fitness is very lovely in the abstract, but that he finds it less jarring upon the conditions of his concrete humanity to go to the races and to live on his father's income. You may teach the boy music, and put before him the beautiful picture of the young man who stays at home of nights and plays the piano for company. But if he tells you that he admires your ideal and envies you your imagination, but that he feels his complex personality actually better fitted to play cards and to drink at the club, what will you say? You cannot reply.

So the mere objective knowledge of the fitness of some formulae of morality will not induce a man to arrange his life accordingly. It is not enough for you to tell a man that this is becoming and that that is becoming. He needs to know that the application of the formula of ideal fitness to his concrete existence is a duty imposed by law upon his free will by an authority that has a right to bind his

free will, and that has also the power to vindicate that right. He needs to know that there is a binding force outside of and over and above the fitness. How many there are, especially in the beginning and without experience, who cannot reason philosophically to the importance of a moral deed, and yet who can sufficiently grasp that it is a duty imposed by a lawful authority. They accept the fitness as implied in the obligation. If we descend from the higher law to the civil law, we shall find that this is precisely the principle upon which the civil law proceeds, and that it could not proceed otherwise. For the securing of public order and security and the common advantages of society, the civil authority does not wait until each and every citizen has considered and understood the general fitness of certain propositions, their economic and social advantage, importance, necessity. It does not even offer propositions and then wait until they are recognized as fit, looking for men to carry them out from the mere abstract knowledge of their fitness. How many would understand the philosophical fitness? When would it ever be possible to carry out any general design for the welfare of the social body? And even if a man did come to understand that a certain proposition was in harmony with the abstract ideal of human society, he would still be in need of a motive to apply the proposition to his own personal conduct. Moreover, the same man's ideal society may be a very variable one. It can easily be one thing when his coffers are full; and another, when his purse is empty. Hence, the civil authority knowing that there is something which the citizen does understand, namely, the duty of obedience to a real authority which possesses the power of a sanction for the keeper and the violator of its commands,—the civil authority, knowing this, simply *enacts laws*. Now, to come back to the natural law, to the natural code of morality, you may pick out individual points and explain their beauty and fitness and order as much as you please, but in the manifestation of all this objective fitness and beauty, religion aside, you can never proclaim a law. The objective beauty of a deed as perceived does not constitute law to the will that is physically free to do the contrary. Law is the ordination of a superior. But the objective beauty and harmony of a deed are neither an ordination nor a superior. The mere objective deed as known has no authority over me, the physically free conscious ego. So that, if you wish to have a real motive for the observance of the moral order, you must have the seal of a superior, of the Supreme Law-giver, put upon that order. Until you have that seal of command put upon the objective morality, you cannot call this morality law: and where there is no law, there is no obligation. More than this. Unless you recognize in the authority that commands, the power of a just re-

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tribution that will be visited upon the subject who presumes freely to violate the law, that law will not have its effective binding force. A man may check himself in one vice through the motive of another. He may even play two vices, one against the other. He may, for instance, refrain from stealing a dollar, to-day, through the motive of purely human shame, dread of the judgment of his friends. To-morrow he may be able to lay his hands upon a hundred thousand dollars. He sees that he can make a theft so smooth that he will be able to slide it through the technicalities of the courts and so escape the penitentiary. But, the shame! Well, this time, shame may be in the light pan of the balance.

Man, therefore, needs—society, as society, needs and must recognize—a comprehensive motive which can serve universally to all men for the complete code of morality. Leave out religion, and you cannot have that motive. Beauty, fitness, order cannot put on the character of law to be perceived by man as binding upon his will unless he recognizes his absolute dependence upon and his duty of reverence and obedience to a Supreme Lawgiver who wills the observance of the order that is due in the universe which He has created. And still further, if we wish to have an effective law, a law with a complete and sufficient sanction, we must recognize that our present conscious self is to live on hereafter and will be, even in its immortality, responsible to the Supreme Lawgiver for every broken law.

We are not contending, here, for a mere theory which we wish to have put on trial, to be accorded the privilege of an experiment as a change from some other theory which has proved itself unequal to the solution. We are contending for what we know to be the only basis for the practical moral life. We are contending for social order, for law with an incontrovertible and competent source, and with an effective sanction. We are contending for what we know to be the only means of securing order by the recognition of a truly binding force in law. And we know that if our position were calmly and seriously studied, there are millions, to-day most antagonistic to it, who would soon become its firmest adherents, and who would be anxious to enroll themselves amongst the most zealous and self-sacrificing workers in promoting the sole saving help that can tide us over a crisis that has already begun. It may be said that the people do not see the crisis. The people never see the crisis. But the handwriting is on the wall: and there are a hundred thousand Daniels who have come forward to translate it into identical words. People are eating and drinking and making merry. So it was when the waters came and covered the earth; so it was that very night when the Assyrian came down on Babylon; so it was when Goth

and Vandal swept over what was once the peaceful empire of Augustus; so it was when the guillotine sprang up like a mushroom in the night, right in the heart of the world's fashion and licence; so comes the earthquake, the cyclone, the flood; so comes every disaster that befalls men and families and states.

Professor E. R. Morrison of San Bernardino, California, writing in the *Educational Review* (November, 1897), said: "That some change in the educational system of the country is imperatively required seems to be generally admitted."

"It is no educational system which fails to educate."

"If our schools are doing their work efficiently, how comes it that our criminal statistics are the most terrible which the world has to show?"

At the National Prison Congress, opened on December 2d, 1897, at Austin, Texas, the President, General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, said in his address: "First and foremost what is essential is to revolutionize our educational system from top to bottom, so that good morals, good citizenship, and ability to earn an honest living shall be its primary purposes, instead of intellectual culture as heretofore."

President Eliot of Harvard, writes as follows in the *Outlook* (January, 1898): "No educational system can be successfully carried on without education in morals, and no education in morals is possible without a religious life."

Dr. Strong, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, writing in the *North American Review* (September, 1897), on "The Problem of the Twentieth Century City," says: "The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship, for which we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the young."

Mr. Amasa Thornton, commenting upon the article of Dr. Strong, in the issue of the same Review for January, 1898, speaks thus: "On every side is heard the statement that there must be a reorganization of society. Ten years ago the man who made that statement was considered an enemy to the public peace. To-day the statement is listened to by the people with respect, and accepted by many. . . .

"The questions we have to solve then are these: How can the present decline in religious teaching and influence be checked; and how can such teaching and influence be increased to such a point as will preserve the great cities of the next century from depravity, degradation, and destruction?

"If the adults of the present age are not as religious as the needs of the hour and of the future require, will the children receive the proper religious training if they receive none except in the home

circle? . . . . The average parent does not have the time, nor has he the inclination.

"The Catholic Church has insisted that it is its duty to educate the children of parents of the Catholic faith in such a way as to fix religious truths in the youthful mind . . . . and although a Protestant of the firmest kind, I believe the time has come to recognize this fact, and for us all to lay aside religious prejudices and patriotically meet this question."

The words of Mr. Frederick Harrison may not be out of place here. This is what he writes in the *Forum* of December, 1891: "If there be such things as morality and religion, and if anything can be said or done by way of inculcating them, or applying them to life, then education cannot be severed from morality and religion, and all education must be inspired by religion as well as morality. . . . . I do not understand what systematic morality can mean if it have no religious direction at all. . . Morality apart from religion is a rattling of dry bones."

In the Methodist *Christian Advocate* (Sep. 16, 1897), there was an article on our subject bearing special reference to a circular which a contributor to the journal had sent out to about four hundred persons, ministers, professors, lawyers, editors. The purpose of the circular was to obtain independent answers to a number of serious questions. The writer stated that, in most cases, he knew nothing of the religious preferences of those to whom he had sent the request. He received about two hundred and fifty replies. It will be of service to us here to read the first six questions and the answers which he appends as gathered from the replies.

1. Is religious instruction necessary to a properly developed character?

YES.

2. If so, are the American youth receiving such education?

NO.

3. Is the Church (including the Sunday-school) accomplishing it?

NO.

4. Is the home accomplishing it?

NO.

5. Or are these two agencies combined (or any other agency) accomplishing it?

NO.

6. Is religious education necessary to good citizenship?

YES.

In the *Educational Review* (Feb., 1898), Dr. Levi Seeley of the State Normal School, Trenton, N. J., writing upon "Religious Instruction in American Schools," states that he had sent out the

circular of which he wrote in the *Advocate*. In the *Educational Review* he gives a detailed account of the replies received, and makes his commentary. Dr. Seeley says: "The more educators come to recognize that there is a philosophy of education, the more profoundly convinced are they that there is something radically lacking in the American school system." He remarks that "Young people are deplorably irreverent and careless concerning the deeper things of life, to say nothing of the graver and more criminal tendencies. The dense ignorance of sacred history and the teachings of the Bible is simply appalling." In the course of his article Dr. Seeley makes a computation which he bases upon the Sunday-school reports and the educational reports for the year 1896. Summing up, he says: "We shall have then about 9,500,000 children from five to eighteen years of age in the Sunday-school, or a little less than fifty per cent. of all the children of our country. The meaning of these figures is simply overwhelming. More than one-half of the children of this land now receive practically no religious instruction. For but few parents who fail to send their children to Sunday-school are careful about the religious training in the home. Even this feature does not show all of the truth. It seems to admit that the fifty per cent. who attend Sunday-school are receiving proper religious instruction; but every one knows that this cannot be granted."

It is very necessary that we should beware, at the critical juncture which all acknowledge we have now reached, that the discussion do not take on the form of a dispute between men, that is to say, of war between living, individual emotions, passions and prejudices. Individuals aside, we have to do what I said, in the beginning, is absolutely necessary for the serious treatment of any question. We must deal with the question upon its merits, we must apply ourselves to study over again and to promote the free activity of those eternal principles which alone can re-establish and preserve the equilibrium of the individual life and of human society.

I know that there are estimable, thinking men who, from time to time, in their writings and their speech give utterance to principles which, if logically built upon in practical life, are subversive of all virtue and order. We find these men in their own practical lives to be much better than their principles. The principles are errors of speculation, whilst their lives are still guided under habit by a light that was kindled long ago in the very education they are speculatively contending against, an education which formed them to be the men they practically are because it laid so much stress upon the culture of the higher life. Still their own better lives do not hinder their speculative theories from being a menace and a danger, be-

cause these theories are taken up by personal admirers who do not think for themselves, and are used as general guides or maxims to mould the plastic mind of youth and to fix the character and conduct that are eventually reached by following the compass of the thought. And the consequence is, that erroneous speculative principles become to the community at large precisely that menace which the original propounders of the principles had it in their minds to avert:

Let us here instance the one sided application of a single principle which is so persistently announced, namely, that "ignorance is the mother of vice." As an abstract principle it is captivating, because it seems so brief, so clear, so comprehensive. It seems to crystallize into a single axiom the entire method of morality. Eliminate ignorance and you have the virtuous child. Eliminate still more, and you have the virtuous father and mother, the virtuous family. With only virtuous families you will have none other than virtuous communities and municipalities. With virtuous municipalities thus made up of virtuous individuals, you have a nation of people without a vice. So teach, teach, teach anything right and left, have a great supply of branches and books and teachers, and you put humanity on the high road to sanctity. Now, the fact is, that the principle, "ignorance is the mother of vice," without the proper modifications, distinctions and explanations, is false. As it has been very widely accepted, understood and applied, it is dangerous. In the fruit of its acceptance and application it is deplorable.

Without discrimination between knowledge and knowledge, between ignorance and ignorance, otherwise willing workers are accepting the principle as a contain-all. It is so comforting to have found an axiom that will rid one of the labor of thinking, and then to dispense algebra and poetry and color-boxes and object lessons on the passing clouds; and still more comforting to be able to congratulate oneself upon the way home with having fulfilled all the requirements of an apostle of morality and good citizenship. And do we not all know without a doubt that handwriting without the other thing in the heart is the accomplishment of the forger; and that arithmetic without the other thing in the heart is the reliance of the defaulter? And do we not know most unfortunately, that, under the plea of dispelling ignorance, there are being introduced into the curriculum for young children subjects which are not bringing about the physical well-being intended, whilst they are creating the moral disease which has gone before the downfall of every great civilization in the history of man? It is a very false principle to work upon, the principle that ignorance is the mother of vice. Go into

the homes of the poor, where father and mother and children are laboring for daily bread, where there is little arithmetic and less grammar, and no art or philosophy at all but the art of living according to the philosophy of conscience, and you will find illustrations of industry, sobriety, obedience to law, respect for parents, charity, tenderness, forgiveness, forbearance, kindness in judgment, modesty and unsullied purity, aureolas of virtue that are going to shame delegates from the four hundreds of four hundred Sodoms and Gomorrhas when Gabriel blows the horn. Will any one tell me that our ancestors, the barbarians, who broke up the license of the old Roman Empire were not on the whole better living men than those cultured imperialists of Italy and Greece and Africa and Asia Minor?—yea, even though they did not know how to make hexameter verses, though they had no rose water in the instruments of their toilets, and had not learned the hygienic value of a marble bath.

We have, therefore, made a strange experiment upon the individual human nature; and, through it, upon the domestic, social and civil life of a people. It is an experiment which was never tried before by any people, but which has always been declared a peril by the wisest men of all nations in all the ages past. We have naturally, been anxious about the outcome of our experiment as imitated in France, Italy, and some few other fields. We see that, abroad, the experiment has worked to results more rapidly than with us. In France the experiment had its root in irreligion with irreligion for its aim. Here, the root and origin has not been irreligion, but religious difference and religious indifference, and the aim has been to effect a compromise by ignoring and ostracising the whole subject of difference. The compromise is acknowledged to have been a very unsatisfactory one, dealing disadvantage all around, and no advantage.

Looking at the case, then, in the true light, it behooves us in a matter admittedly so grave, to judge with the same calm judgment which we are accustomed to apply to the minor, insignificant affairs of practical life. In the depths of our conscience we have to answer this question: Whether we can hope to send forth a moral, God-fearing people, a people fit to be entrusted with domestic management and the guardianship of the commonwealth, if they are trained up under the conviction that religion, the only basis of morality is a proscribed and outlawed thing during the best and brightest hours of the day through the tenderest and most impressionable years of life. Without the only effective basis of practical morality, how are we to expect to have any other practical morality than that which the *Western Christian Advocate* (M. E.), of Cincinnati, has been tell-

ing us about in the year of grace, 1898? If we all have such a struggle with ourselves, even under the most favorable circumstances of religious influence and religious opportunity, to keep ourselves, I will not say in the path of perfection, but to bring ourselves every morning to the resolve or the desire of walking therein, what must be the untold struggle of those whose years from the very outset have been cut off and estranged from this only motive that can spur a man on steadily to keep his life in order?

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WILLIAM POLAND, S. J.

## MR. PARNELL AND HIS BIOGRAPHY.

**B**IOGRAPHICAL works differ from other forms of literature in the personal way they affect the reader. Whether we sympathize with or dislike the object of the pen-picture, we are constrained by the human element within us to follow the author carefully and to seek for confirmation or dissipation of whatever theories or prejudices we may have previously entertained regarding the subject of the memoir. It is difficult to over-estimate the worth of a good biography. Such a work is more helpful to us in the building up of a good historical knowledge than volumes of strictly historical reading.

The impression which a biography gives the reader concerning the aims and ambitions of the subject of the memoir, as an active determining force in any political, social or literary movement, is the measure of the ability with which the biographer has performed his task. Now, the effect which Mr. R. Barry O'Brien's *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* has had upon Mr. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews* would lead us to believe that Mr. O'Brien had labored to a sinister end in compiling his book. Mr. O'Brien is a strong sympathizer with Irish National aspirations, and Mr. Stead bluntly says that his presentation of the late Mr. Parnell is likely to turn English sympathy against the Irish cause rather than in its favor. He presents the departed Irish leader, he says, in the rôle of the Avenger—the unappeasable exactor of retribution for the sufferings inflicted by England upon his country. Mr. Stead professes to deplore the appearance of the work for the unfortunate effect which he foresees as flowing from it on the cause of Home Rule. We are not confident that Mr. Stead

is a consistent upholder of that policy, or any other. If he were genuine in his deprecation of the appearance of this biography, we might very well confront him with his own article upon the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and ask him, if the case against England were not overstated in that article, could he blame any Irishman for entertaining the bitterest hatred that man can feel against the system of government, aye, the country too, which had perpetrated the revolting outrages upon his people which Mr. Stead has been at such pains to present in all their frightful truth. But Mr. Stead's judgment upon Mr. O'Brien's work is a strained and distorted one. The late Mr. Parnell hated the English rule, not with any hysterical hate or any Hannibal-sworn animosity, as a sacred heritage, but just as every other honest and patriotic Irishman hates it—because it is oppression and an incubus upon the genius, the development and the prosperity of the Irish people. He hated it because it is alien and a denial of the natural rights of man. And if Mr. Stead wants to know, he can very easily ascertain that among the survivors of Mr. Parnell in Parliament, on the Irish side, there are men who hate it in their passionate nature as thoroughly as Mr. Parnell did in his still and cool and immobile nature, and who would have not the slightest hesitation in proclaiming this fact to-morrow were they asked about it. They lose, in fact, no opportunity of demonstrating this sentiment by word and deed, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, and is Mr. Stead going to tell the world, after he himself has given the most cogent reasons for that hatred, that they are injuring the cause of Home Rule by persistence in such a state of mind? Mr. Stead is a phenomenon in literary industry, but that fact does not save him from being at times a trifle inconsequential.

The passage in the book upon which Mr. Stead has fastened, to sustain his threnody is an unfortunate one. It reads thus:

"Parnell hated England before he entered the House of Commons; and his hatred was intensified by his parliamentary experience. He thought the position of the Irish members painfully humiliating. They were waiters on English providence; beggars for English favours. English Ministers behaved as if *they* belonged to the injured nation; as, if, indeed, they showed excessive generosity in tolerating Irishmen in their midst at all. This arrogance, this assumption of superiority, galled Parnell. It was repugnant to his nature to approach anyone with bated breath and whispering humbleness; and he resolved to wring justice from England, and to humiliate her in the process. He wanted not only reparation, but vengeance as well."

We have no recollection of anything ever said or done by the late



Mr. Parnell to warrant the statement that he desired vengeance as well as reparation. To hate England meant that England's political system was gall to him as an Irishman; in many of his speeches he made it clear that he did full justice to the spirit of justice and conciliation which he found animating a large portion of the English people. In an address delivered in Liverpool before an assembly of Irish Home Rulers resident in England he made the distinction clear. He said among other things:

"You have also another duty to perform, which is to educate public opinion in England upon Irish questions, which I have looked upon as a difficult and almost impossible task—so difficult that I have often been tempted to think that it was no use trying to educate English public opinion. The English Press encourage prejudice against Ireland. Englishmen themselves are in many respects fair-minded and reasonable, but it is almost impossible to get at them—it requires intelligence almost superhuman to remove the clouds of prejudice under which they have lived during their lives. I know the difficulties of the position of the Irish people in England. It is not easy for people, living as they are in friendship with their English neighbors, to keep themselves separated from English political organisations, but they have never been afraid to lay aside private and local considerations in favour of supporting their fellow-countrymen at home."

Now, Mr. Stead is selected as an instance of the effect which this biography has produced among Englishmen, because he represents a very large body of opinion in England—the body which compassed Mr. Gladstone's repudiation of Mr. Parnell. There are many more moderate men amongst English political parties who will not be carried away by this view of Mr. Parnell's character. These will remember that in the days when the Irish party in Parliament worked in co-operation with the Liberals for the attainment of Home Rule, there was an entire abandonment of the attitude of hate on the part of the former and a cordial co-operation with the English people for the attainment of such measures as were deemed essential for the attainment of popular ends in England as clearing the way for the introduction of measures to pacify Ireland. Mr. Parnell was not the "Avenger" then, but the reliable, unwavering, cool-headed ally. Why does Mr. Stead ignore this important factor in the story? But who can answer for the inscrutable mind which was capable of evolving "Julia" and her correspondence from the world behind the curtain?

Mr. O'Brien was at several disadvantages in attempting such a work. In the first place, it is not an easy task to paint the picture of a man who may be said to have led a dual life, and who

made no confidant among his political connections. Very little is known of Mr. Parnell's interior life, and even of his political life and his everyday life, while he was more or less in the view of his colleagues, there is little to be gained save what appeared in the newspapers of the day. This habit of secretiveness must militate exceedingly against the most skilful attempt to portray the departed Irish leader. It tells heavily in Mr. O'Brien's book, which does not flow smoothly and lifelike, as a good biography should, but is largely made up of extracts from speeches and letters, "interviews," and other more or less formal and artificial vehicles of information. Then, again, Mr. O'Brien appears to have lived most of his time in London, and the background for his pictures is therefore wanting in that vividness and movement which made Irish life, during the days of Mr. Parnell's political power, so thrilling and absorbing a factor in the world's activities. It would be necessary for the reader to take up, along with this work, such a book as Mr. O'Connor's history of *The Parnell Movement*, or some of Duffy's later works, in order to gain an illuminative knowledge of the currents of political feeling in Ireland before and during Mr. Parnell's period, for the law of continuity in history is as fixed as it is in actual life, and the reader cannot settle down like a bee upon any particular flower of it, disregarding all the rest, with any great advantage to his stock of valuable knowledge. He must, in order to begin at a midway chapter of its romance, have at least a synopsis of those which have led up to the situation in which he finds himself plunged. Mr. O'Brien's introduction to his subject, it must be observed, is hasty and jejune. His literary style is plain and practical, and were it not that his work is enlivened by a good many personal anecdotes, the book might be pronounced lacking in literary attraction.

Again, it was Mr. Parnell's misfortune to close his career in the midst of a desperate and most unpatriotic attempt to sow eternal enmity between the priests and people of Ireland. The act of the pirate captain who fires his magazine rather than be taken alive is but a poor counterpart of Mr. Parnell's action when driven to bay and fighting for the retention of a leadership which he saw was hopelessly gone. There is no excuse for such an unscrupulous resort as this. It obliterated all obligations of past service, and revealed a selfish ambition in the man which nothing could palliate. Nor does Mr. O'Brien attempt to palliate it. He appears rather to think that enmity between the Irish people and the Irish priesthood was the natural and inevitable logic of the situation. He quotes the saying of a Fenian, while the deplorable election contest in Kilkenny was raging: "The only power in Ireland that

can stand up to Parnell is the Church, and the only power that can stand up to the Church is Fenianism." The man or men who, appreciating the religious, civil and social organization of the country, can contemplate the creation of a perpetual chasm between the ecclesiastical and lay orders in Ireland by means of a secret society is no friend to Ireland's freedom. And this was what Mr. Parnell, in his desperate extremity, sought to do, and the evil seed then sown in his Kilkenny speeches has borne poisonous fruit which has not even yet decayed. Never has there been a more striking illustration of the truth we find embodied in the dramatist's lines:

The evil that men do lives after them;  
The good is oft interred with their bones.

The evil that Mr. Parnell deliberately wrought in the few months which witnessed his moral downfall and his fight for supremacy transcended all the good he had been the means of accomplishing in the creation of an independent Irish party and the concentration of the national forces for one great national object. We would fain believe that his action, in that hour of national frenzy, was prompted by a spirit of resentment, foreign to his better nature, but for the moment uncontrollable and overmastering—a temporary passion which in cooler moments might be repented of and atoned for. But his biographer unfortunately leaves us in no doubt as to the perfect deliberation and malice aforethought with which Mr. Parnell set about the task of rending his party in twain and ranging priests and people in unnatural antagonism against each other. Summing up the results of the negotiations between Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. W. O'Brien at Boulogne, the biographer says:

"The question has been raised whether Mr. Parnell meant business in these Boulogne conferences; whether he went into the negotiations with the intention of making peace, or only for strategic purposes in carrying on the war. I asked an Anti-Parnellite who was concerned in the negotiations to give me his opinion on the point. He said it was perhaps hard to tell; but on the whole he inclined to the view that there were moments when Parnell meant peace, and that again there were moments when he used the negotiations merely for strategic purposes. Other Anti-Parnellites were of opinion that the Chief was playing a strategic game all the time, and playing it with his accustomed skill.

"What was his strategy? To divide the Anti-Parnellite forces (1) by drawing Dillon and O'Brien away from Healy; (2) by drawing O'Brien away from Dillon; (3) by out-manceuvring the three in detail; (4) by involving the Liberals in fresh difficulties and

bringing them into collision with their Irish allies. In the first object he succeeded completely. Healy's voice was for war & *outrance*, and accordingly the Boulogne negotiations led to the opening of the breach between him and Dillon and O'Brien which has not been closed to this day. In the second object he failed, for O'Brien and Dillon stood together to the end. But he scored a success in another way. Very many people believed that O'Brien was really on the side of Parnell, and that the relations between himself and Dillon were strained if not sundered.

"When both went into gaol it generally thought that O'Brien was a Parnellite and Dillon an Anti-Parnellite. O'Brien's ultimate declaration against Parnell on leaving gaol caused a revulsion of popular feeling against him which he has not recovered yet. Some said: 'Why did he pose as the friend of Parnell and desert the Chief in the end?' Others said: 'Why did he waste time over these Boulogne negotiations? If he were not a fool he would have known that nothing could have come of them.' One set of people lost faith in his heart, another lost faith in his head. To this hour the Boulogne negotiations are a stick with which Mr. Healy never fails to flagellate Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien. The 'fighting Catholic curates' were driven to Mr. Healy's side by what was called the Boulogne fiasco more than by anything else. 'Some of the seceders,' said Parnell with bitter scorn—'the majority of them—have changed only twice; Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien have changed four times.'"

For a period almost as long as the Trojan war this piece of Machiavellianism has been working out its disastrous results in Ireland and verifying all too certainly the malign foresight of the man whom the biographer styles as, next to Mr. Gladstone, the greatest political strategist of his time. It must seem to the unbiased student that when political strategy comes in at the door patriotism and conscience fly out at the window. We would rather that Mr. Barry O'Brien fastened our attention upon Philip sober than upon Philip drunk.

A very important question had been raised by Mr. Parnell's action in those brief but stirring days before his death. He challenged what many men before him had challenged—the right of the Irish bishops and clergy to take action in affairs of national importance. But the other men who had disputed this claim were usually persons on the side opposed to Mr. Parnell in politics—persons, that is to say, in the pay and service of England. Mr. Justice Keogh had disputed it in terms of historic vilipend; ermined personages of lesser note have followed that illustrious example, when hearing election appeals, from that time down to our own

day. The late Bishop of Meath was mulcted heavily for pointing out to his flock the dangers of following the advice of the supporters of Mr. Parnell. We cannot undertake the task of defining what is right and proper in all such cases, so far as choice of language is concerned. But there is not the slightest doubt of the position which hierarchy and clergy are bound to take up when questions of the moral law become entangled with the political problems of the hour. The Church must uphold the moral law, no matter whom its procedure may offend. When it ceases to do that it abnegates its proper functions and renounces its divine commission. Mr. Parnell might feel himself justified in refusing to yield to the demand of the English Nonconformists, through Mr. Gladstone, that he retire from the Irish leadership, for these irresponsible persons spoke with no authority behind them but their spokesman's *ipse dixit*; but the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and his conventicle and the Irish bishops and clergy were very different mandatories. Mr. Parnell had always recognized the authority of the latter, in the summoning of conventions and in public affairs generally; how he could dream of carrying on a campaign for personal supremacy in the teeth of their solemn repudiation appears, now that one looks back at the whole episode, an extraordinary case of self-delusion. The only explanation that can be accepted is that he had temporarily lost, through passion and disappointment, that foresight and clearness of political vision which had enabled him to attain the position he so long held and to measure swords successfully with the greatest English statesmen of his day.

On a notable occasion, when Mr. Trevelyan, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, made a vicious attack upon Mr. Parnell and his party because of the recrudescence of agrarian outrage in Ireland, Mr. Parnell made a stinging retort holding the Chief Secretary and his officials responsible for the disorder because of their incompetence and ignorance of the principles of government. He commenced his defiant speech by the declaration that he cared only for the opinion of Ireland and was indifferent about what the House of Commons and the English people thought of him. Had he lived up to that declaration and bowed to the opinion of the majority in Ireland, when the storm-cloud of dishonor burst over his head, he might have been spared for a nobler fate, and he certainly would have spared the country a series of discreditable and disastrous wrangles that mightily tickled her foes while wasting the national strength. There was cunning in the contrivance of these disorders, says Mr. Parnell's biographer; there is cunning in madness. We prefer to regard Mr. Parnell's malign diplomacy in the closing days as the result of feverish excitement rather

than patriotic resistance to English dictation and the sagacity that had so often previously organized victories. Mr. Parnell's attitude toward the Church was dictated by policy rather than by private sentiment. On one occasion some delegates from England were protesting to him against the action of the Catholic clergy in England in opposing Home Rule and supporting the Tories because these favored their views on education. Mr. Parnell was asked should not these Catholic clergymen be fought. He shook his head and said with a smile that he would not think of fighting the Church. Mr. O'Brien would have us believe that in those early days he disliked the Church but dared not openly avow his feelings. He says:

"I asked an Irish member, who had been a Fenian, on one occasion, if Parnell had been forced to quarrel either with the Fenians or the Church, which it would be? He said: 'The Church, for Parnell liked the Fenians, but he did not like the Church. He knew, however, the power of the Church, and he wished unquestionably to have a great conserving force like it at his back. Parnell would never quarrel with the Church unless the Church forced the quarrel, there can be no doubt of that.'"

Mr. Parnell's astuteness was very strikingly displayed in his dealings with the Church and with the Fenian party. He paid equal deference to both, but would not suffer either to control his action once he had made up his mind on any certain line of procedure as necessary to the success of his ultimate aims. He avoided any open conflict with the Irish bishops and clergy, but he steadfastly stuck to his own programme even though they had pronounced against it. The first case in which we find him at variance with the ecclesiastical body was the Westport Land League meeting of 1879. He had been invited by the promoters of that meeting to attend, and he did not consent until he had weighed the pros and cons of the situation very carefully. The Land League had only then been started, and few could foresee what its fortunes were likely to be—save those who had been in direct contact with the agricultural population and knew their passionate attachment to the soil. In considering the subject he had consulted Charles Kickham, one of the Fenian leaders, who had for the greater part of his life been in sympathetic touch with the Irish peasantry. The answer and the action which followed it are so characteristic of the man and the times that they are worth reproducing from Mr. O'Brien's pages:

"'Do you think, Mr. Kickham,' he asked, 'that the people feel very keenly on the land question?' 'Feel keenly on the land question?' answered Kickham. 'I am only sorry to say that I think

they would go to hell for it.' Finally Parnell resolved to accept the invitation of the Westport men. The Archbishop of Tuam, who saw something besides land in the new movement, condemned the meeting, and indirectly warned Parnell not to come. But he came, and delivered a stirring speech, which was long remembered by friends and foes.

" 'A fair rent is a rent a tenant can reasonably pay according to the times; but in bad times the tenant cannot be expected to pay as much as he did in good times, three or four years ago. If such rents are insisted upon a repetition of the scenes of 1847 and 1848 will be witnessed. Now, what must we do in order to induce the landlords to see the position? You must show the landlords that you intend to hold a firm grip on your homesteads and lands. You must not allow yourselves to be dispossessed as you were dispossessed in 1847. You must not allow your small holdings to be turned into large ones. I am not supposing that the landlords will remain deaf to the voice of reason, but I hope they may not, and that on those properties on which the rents are out of all proportion to the times that a reduction may be made, and that immediately. If not, you must help yourselves, and the public opinion of the world will stand by you and support you in your struggle to defend your homesteads. I should be deceiving you if I told you that there was any use in relying upon the exertions of the Irish members of Parliament on your behalf. I think that if your members were determined and resolute they could help you, but I am afraid they won't. I hope that I may be wrong, and that you may rely upon the constitutional action of your parliamentary representatives in this the sore time of your need and trial; but above all things remember that God helps him who helps himself, and that by showing such a public spirit as you have shown here to-day, by coming in your thousands in the face of every difficulty, you will do more to show the landlords the necessity of dealing justly with you than if you had 150 Irish members in the House of Commons.' "

Soon another incident arose which brought him again into indirect collision with the Church in Ireland, and which again displayed his skill in avoiding actual conflict. In the same year a vacancy occurred in the representation of Ennis, and Mr. Parnell put forward Mr. Lysaght Finnigan. His opponent was Mr. William O'Brien, a Catholic barrister and Crown prosecutor (now a member of the Irish judicial bench and a bitter anti-Nationalist). He had the support of the bishop and many of the priests, but Finnigan rallied all the men of advanced politics to his side, and Mr. Parnell went down personally to take part in his canvass. Finni-

gan won the fight, which was a very bitter one while it lasted. It was the first test of Mr. Parnell's strength in the country, and how much depended on the result was made manifest by his own admission to one of his party. "If Ennis had been lost," he said, "I would have retired from public life, for it would have satisfied me that the priests were supreme in Irish politics." So says Mr. O'Brien's biographer, though he gives no data for the remark, nor the name of the person to whom it is alleged it was made. It ought, therefore, to be taken with some reserve, for Mr. Parnell knew how to conciliate as well as how to repel. This fact was strongly demonstrated very shortly after the Ennis episode by the events which followed the introduction of the Irish University Bill by the Government. This was the measure which established a Royal University in Ireland, in place of the one which the Catholics demanded. The Royal University is modelled on the plan of the London University—being nothing more, in fact, than an examining board with power to confer degrees on those who succeed in passing the examiners. Mr. Parnell was strongly in favor of the more equitable demand of the Catholics for a real university; and time has proved the clearness of his judgment in this respect, inasmuch as, although the Royal University has been twenty years in existence, the demand for a Catholic University is louder, more importunate, and more irresistible than ever. In this he showed how deeply he valued the support of the ecclesiastical body in Ireland, and an incident which sprang out of his action in the House of Commons gave a further remarkable illustration of his sagacity and skill in finesse. The incident is thus related by Mr. Barry O'Brien:

"Mr. Gray, the proprietor of the 'Freeman's Journal,' and other moderate Catholic members were in favour of a compromise such as the Government proposed. There was a meeting of the Irish members to consider the subject. Some hot words passed between the extreme and the moderate men, and Parnell was reported to have referred contemptuously to the moderates as 'Papist rats.' Currency was given to this report in the 'Freeman's Journal.' Parnell said the statement was 'absolutely false,' and several of the extreme Catholics corroborated his assertion. Still, there was a good deal of unpleasantness over the matter, and many people believed that Parnell used the words. As a matter of fact he did not use them. They were used by an extreme Catholic just as the meeting had broken up and when there was a good deal of confusion in the room. 'The first time I ever had a talk with Parnell about politics,' Mr. Corbett, the present member for Wicklow, said to me, 'was about the "Papist rats" incident. Gray and

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Parnell had differed on the education question. Gray was in favour of a compromise; Parnell wanted the extreme Catholic demand. Gray succeeded in carrying the party with him, and Parnell was reported to have said, on leaving the room, "These Papist rats." I asked Parnell if he had used the words. He said: "No. The words were used, but not by me. Why Corbett, should I offend the Catholics of Ireland by speaking insultingly of them? Certainly it would be very foolish, to put the matter on no other ground. An Irish Protestant politician can least of all afford to offend the Catholic priests or laity. No; I would not insult the priests.'"

Now the present writer had the most positive assurance from Mr. Gray that Mr. Parnell did use the insulting expression, for he had been close to him when he was passing through the door. Mr. Gray, furthermore, repeated the charge very specifically in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*, but the country at large was more inclined to believe Mr. Parnell's version than Mr. Gray's. Seeing that the weight of sympathy, if not of judgment, was against him, Mr. Gray very wisely allowed the controversy to drop, after an emphatic disclaimer from Mr. Parnell. Subsequent events showed that the latter was not a rigid stickler for exact truth when a denial became necessary for his purposes. His assurances to some of his colleagues on the subject of the divorce proceedings induced them to rely implicitly on his power to clear himself of the odious charge brought against him. But those who knew him best knew only too well that the charge was unfortunately but too well-founded.

The situation as between Mr. Parnell, the Church, and the people at the period of the general election of 1880 revealed the fact that while Mr. Parnell had won over the majority of the people and of the Fenian party to his side, he had also secured a considerable support among the clergy, but that the bishops distrusted him. At this election Mr. Parnell was returned for three different constituencies. Of this episode and the new situation which it indicated the biographer says:

asked, What was the attitude of the Catholic Church towards him

"Parnell was returned for all three constituencies—Meath, Mayo, and Cork City. He elected ultimately to sit for Cork. It may be at this crisis? The majority of the priests were certainly for him, the majority of the bishops were against him. Cardinal McCabe, the late Archbishop of Dublin, was indeed a vehement opponent both of Parnell and of the League.

" 'The schemes of amelioration proposed by the League,' his Eminence said, 'are of such an order that no Government laying

claim to statesmanship can for a moment entertain them.' The Archbishop of Tuam was in sympathy with the Archbishop of Dublin. We have seen how the Bishops of Cork, Cloyne, Ross, and Kerry opposed him at the Cork election. Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel, was, however, then as later, in favour of a forward policy, and not hostile to the man who was the embodiment of that policy. Of the National Press, the 'Nation' supported Parnell, the 'Freeman's Journal' opposed him. He himself made light of his opponents, feeling that the masses of the people were at his back, and that the dissensionists would soon fall into line."

Many delicate situations arose during the course of Mr. Parnell's leadership, which, had the Irish bishops been less tactful men than they showed themselves to be, might have borne evil fruit for the Church in Ireland. There was, in the first place, the issuance of the "No rent manifesto." Mr. Parnell, it is stated in the biography, was opposed, or at least lukewarm with regard to the policy of this measure, which was also antagonized by Mr. John Dillon, who at once perceived that it must alienate the bishops and clergy. They did immediately oppose it, and their opposition was successful, for the advice given in the manifesto as a rule fell flat. It is but just to Mr. Parnell and the cooler heads among the Land Leaguers to show that they were outvoted on this affair, that the hotter heads apologized for it by pleading that it was only adopted as a retaliatory measure for the imprisonment of so many men under the Coercion Act, and that as soon as the "Kilmainham Treaty" was arranged the manifesto was publicly withdrawn. Parnell, while in jail, used to joke in his own quiet way when asked about the effect of the manifesto, and say, with a smile, that his own tenants were carrying it out to the letter. Then there was the Papal rescript about the Parnell tribute, which many regarded as an unfortunate and ill-judged piece of interference, whose effect was to make the national compliment to Mr. Parnell more generous and more prompt than it seemed at one time likely to be. This tribute was started as an answer to a particularly vicious attack by Mr. Forster, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, on the Irish leader and his chief colleagues as being the instigators of agrarian crime in Ireland. Mr. Parnell's reply, full of cutting scorn and defiance, hurling back the charge on Forster and the Ministry as the really responsible parties, roused the whole country to a pitch of enthusiasm rarely beheld; and when the people saw the Vatican apparently ranged on the side of their enemies, the situation became extremely dangerous. Were it not for the prudence of the bishops at this juncture, much harm might have accrued to the Church. The discretion which is vested in them

with regard to the publication of such documents was wisely exercised. The writer saw a vast meeting held in the Phoenix Park, outside Dublin, to denounce the issuance of this Rescript, and never beheld a more excited crowd. But to their credit be it said, both the Land League leaders and the people blamed nobody at the Vatican for the Rescript; all the blame was for the English Ministry who had been mean enough to use their influence at Rome to have the document issued.

A still more exasperating cause of friction between the Vatican and the Irish people was the employment of Mr. George Errington by the English Government as a sort of back-stairs go-between at a court where there was no regular ambassador. There was, unhappily, no doubt, that this personage spent his time intriguing to get the vacant archiepiscopal see of Dublin filled by a prelate as antagonistic as the late Cardinal McCabe and his predecessor, Cardinal Cullen, to the national aspirations of Ireland—in fact this sinister purpose was quite frankly avowed in a letter of Errington's to Lord Granville which was purloined from the post office and given for publication to *United Ireland*, the Nationalist organ. Mr. Gladstone afterwards expressed regret that he had been induced to countenance the employment of Mr. Errington in this business. It would be difficult to find any motive more likely to arouse resentment in Ireland, and disaffection toward the Church, than the interference of English emissaries in the appointment of Irish bishops with a view to the exercise of spiritual influence on Irish politics. The faith of the people could be put to no stronger test than the knowledge that such was actually being done; and here again the admirable tact of the Irish hierarchy came in to prevent evil consequences. The announcement that all Mr. Errington's manoeuvring was labor thrown away, and that the see of Dublin was to be filled by an ecclesiastic so decidedly Nationalistic as Dr. Walsh, of Maynooth, acted as a powerful sedative and smoothed away all rancor.

Still there were rocks ahead, not so much for Mr. Parnell as for the Church, and a glance back at the years of trouble makes one marvel that they were encountered and caused no disastrous shipwreck. There was, in the first place, the shocking tragedy of the Phoenix Park, wherein the cause of Home Rule was stricken down for the time by the knives that sent Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Burke to their graves. This outrage so deeply affected Mr. Parnell that he at once wrote to Mr. Gladstone offering to retire from public life, if such a step would make easier the task of the Ministry in its new mission of conciliating rather than harassing Ireland. But Mr. Gladstone feared that such a step

would not help, but rather retard the Government, and he accordingly gave no sanction to the proposal. The Irish bishops and clergy had no friction with Mr. Parnell or any other public man over this dark and sanguinary transaction. It created a feeling of genuine horror so instantaneous and universal throughout the country, that but little was needed from the spiritual guides of the people to make the latter wash their hands of it and execrate the assassins who had brought so deep a stain on the fair name of the country. Later on there came the trouble about the "Plan of Campaign." This was the name applied to the outline of a new agrarian movement for the purpose of coercing landlords to grant reductions of rent, but the title of the scheme was immediately but erroneously applied to the working of the scheme itself. Here, again, the Vatican felt constrained to intervene in Irish politics. It sent over Mgr. Persico to examine into and report on the state of Ireland, and Mgr. Persico made the mistake of taking his information chiefly from the landlord class, who felt most keenly the operation of the plan and who were correspondingly bitter against the authors of it. He was for a considerable time the guest of Lord Emly, then a Unionist politician, though now a Home Rule advocate, and some Unionist people of lesser note were his hosts when he went further south. When he returned to Rome his report was found to be damaging to the popular cause, and then followed a Papal condemnation of the "Plan." The bishops were once more placed in a dilemma, for they knew only too well how deep was the provocation afforded by the landlords and the Salisbury Government, and how cruel the position of the Irish tenants. Mr. Gladstone had publicly denounced the Ministry as the real authors of the movement, because while they admitted the inability of the people to pay the rack-rents they refused to bring in any measure of relief, yet were guilty of the extraordinary inconsistency of making a personal appeal to the landlords to refrain from their legal right of eviction, and even went so far as to despatch Sir Redvers Buller, a special military commissioner, to the South to get these cruel landlords to stay their hand. The rejection of Mr. Parnell's Land Bill that year had fired them with greed and vengeance.

But no difficulty arose as between the bishops and Mr. Parnell on this occasion, for he took care to repudiate all responsibility for the launching of the scheme. He was perfectly right in this evasion; but as a matter of fact it was he who was indirectly the cause of the experiment. He had been invisible for months previously; the tenant-farmers were being cruelly harried by the triumphant landlords, who were mercilessly utilizing the Coercion Act to crush out all resistance, moral or physical. It was felt by the more energetic

of Mr. Parnell's adherents that a crisis had arisen in the combined Nationalist and agrarian movement, for coercion seemed to have cowed the people. Something striking had to be done, independently of Mr. Parnell, and the "Plan of Campaign" was the practical result of this keen political necessity. The salient features of this device were an offer by the tenant to the landlord of what the former considered a fair rent, in view of the general fall in agricultural prices; the placing of the money in the hands of a managing committee, in case of the landlord's refusal, and the keeping it there until he came to terms. In case the landlord took legal proceedings, the money was to be utilized in defence of the tenant. These were the rough lines upon which the scheme was drawn, and many farmers eagerly availed themselves of the advice tendered them by the authors of it. It simply made the tenant the authority by whom a fair rent was fixed, instead of the landlord or a court of law; and since Parliament had closed the law courts against him by the rejection of Mr. Parnell's bill, some excuse might be found for the man who offered to pay what he could instead of what he had agreed, under compulsion perhaps, to pay. The Irish hierarchy were too keenly alive to the desperate nature of the case to take any very active steps regarding the Papal condemnation which followed Mgr. Persico's report. They caused the letter to be read, as duty demanded, and there the matter ended. In the subsequent peace which was established between the Liberals and the Irish party, on the offer of the Home Rule Bill, the "Plan of Campaign" was allowed to fall into desuetude.

On the whole the situation as between Mr. Parnell and the spiritual guides of the Irish people, down to the fatal turning-point in his career, were as smooth as could be expected under the circumstances. Most of the Irish bishops and a large majority of the priests are highly patriotic—that is, using the word in its commonly-accepted sense. They may be conservative in their views regarding ways and means, but they favor the principle of a separate Legislature for Ireland and the control of Irish resources for Irish purposes. Of course there may be some dissenters, but judging from the public utterances of many members of that distinguished body, they are thus far in accord with National sentiment. Mr. Parnell, although a Protestant, had been eminently successful as a leader. He kept his party together as much by the power of repulsion as by attraction. So long as he behaved with judgment and dignity he could rely on the bishops not running counter to the sympathy of the country—a sympathy which Mr. Parnell enjoyed to an extent never experienced by any public man since O'Connell's time. It is not relevant to the issue to consider the apparent anom-

ally of this fact. That he possessed so few of the characteristic notes of the Celtic character, and was, in fact, the antithesis of the Celt in his taciturnity and imperturbability, his want of humor and geniality, and yet attracted popular admiration to an almost unprecedented degree, is a consideration for the psychologist. What chiefly demands our notice is the fact that a leader who recognised his enormous political power did not at the crucial moment also recognise his moral responsibility. Here we have the inexplicable feature in a career that was at one time so full of brilliant promise both for the man and the nation. If he failed to recognise his responsibility because of the duller moral sense of the Protestant mind, then we are not certain that those of his party who were nearest to him, and who were morally certain of his equivocal position before the divorce proceedings were begun, were altogether blameless in failing to warn him of the danger of defying the moral sense of a Catholic country by a continuance of his clandestine relations in another man's household. We have it on record that these relations were suspected by the injured husband a good many years before the scandal ripened, and we know that at the period of the Galway election there was open talk of such a *liaison* among the refractory members of Mr. Parnell's party. This was the time to have spoken plainly to "the chief," and not in "Committee Room 15," after the harm had been done and the cause of Ireland betrayed.

We find nothing in Mr. O'Brien's book to show that either Mr. Parnell or those who took up his name as a party designation after his death felt that there was anything to apologize for in this closing chapter of his public life. On the contrary, he is always presented as the injured hero—the man to whom the country owed everything and repaid the debt with the blackest ingratitude. It is insisted on that Mr. Gladstone's letter, after the verdict in the divorce suit, made it impossible for him to resign, even temporarily, his position as leader. But nothing is made out of the condemnation of the Irish bishops. Mr. Parnell had always been ostentatious about his respect for Irish opinion and his contempt for the opinion of Englishmen. Here was the test of his sincerity. He was deposed by the moral sentiment of Ireland, and yet he would maintain his position in despite of that opinion—asseverating that he would never yield to English dictation. So, too, when he was driven to bay, the mask of iciness was laid aside; he made himself hail fellow well met with the rough element and headed a mob to capture the office of the organ of his own movement. He forgot his usual dignity of speech and bandied epithets with such of his opponents as had their natural aptitude for billingsgate sharpened by a legal training and the opportunity which the law of cross-

examination affords for the pleasant pastime of excoriating those who are placed at a disadvantage by the rules of legal procedure. The fact that a number of such legal practitioners were engaged on opposite sides during the struggle that ensued, after the failure of the Boulogne negotiations, was a superaddition to the misfortunes of a deplorable situation. Their eagerness for the miserable fray, their comparative youthfulness, and the desire to avail of the opportunity afforded them of acquiring distinction, no matter how questionable its character, were unfortunate elements in a most untoward conjuncture. They were for the most part patriotic young men, in their own way, but they were "dangerous pilots in adversity." This was a portion of the stage setting which does not play its proper part in Mr. Barry O'Brien's narrative—possibly because he had been living at a distance from the scene of strife, and could only catch a faint echo of it in the London newspapers.

Mr. Parnell's life was an example and a warning, but his biographer appears to have failed to grasp its meaning. Davis had a truer idea of the requirements for an Irish leader when he wrote the lines,

"And righteous men shall make our land  
A nation once again."

A nation that has clung to religion and morality under all forms of persecution is jealous of her escutcheon. We cannot put up men to contend for justice and morality who do not themselves show an example in their interpretation of the responsibilities of life.

But we must not let the memory of this great Irishman's fall obliterate our sense of the priceless services which he, in his better years, rendered his country. He produced order out of political chaos, enabled Ireland to stand erect time and again before her hereditary foe, beat down the mailed hand of coercion, and flung the business of the oldest Legislature in the world into direst confusion because it trampled on the just demands of Ireland. For these unique achievements Ireland idolized him. His own was the hand which flung the jewel of her homage away. It is not just to his memory to put him before the world in the character of the Avenger. In his better days his aim was altogether too exalted for that rôle. He made no such impression on Mr. Gladstone, as we find from the report of an interview which the author had with the great English statesman shortly after the Irish leader's death. He (Mr. O'Brien) asked him had he found Mr. Parnell a satisfactory person to do business with. To this Mr. Gladstone replied:

"Most pleasant, most satisfactory. On the surface it was impossible to transact business with a more satisfactory man. He took

such a thorough grasp of the subject in hand, was so quick, and treated the matter with so much clearness and brevity. It's a curious thing that the two most laconic men I ever met were Irishmen, Parnell and Archdeacon Stopford. When the Irish Church Bill was under consideration, Archdeacon Stopford wrote to me saying that he objected strongly to the Bill, but that he saw it was bound to pass, and that he thought the best thing for him to do was to communicate with me, and see if he could get favourable amendments introduced. He came to see me, and we went through the Bill together. Well, he was just like Parnell—took everything in at a glance, made up his mind quickly, and stated his own views with the greatest simplicity and clearness. It was an intellectual treat to do business with Parnell. \* \* \* As a rule, he was frank in his declarations and could be relied upon. I will give you an instance of what I mean. I was very anxious about the Royal Allowances Bill. I was not only anxious that the grant should be made, but that it should be unanimously and even generously made. The Irish members could not defeat the grant, but they could have obstructed and made difficulties, and deprived the measure of the grace which I wished it to have. I met Parnell in one of the division lobbies, and said to him: 'The Prince of Wales is no enemy of Ireland; he is no enemy to any Irish policy which has the sanction of the masses of the Irish people.' Parnell answered as usual in a few words. He said: 'I am glad to hear it. I do not think you need fear anything from us.' Well, I got Parnell and Sexton put on a committee which was appointed to consider the subject. Nothing could be better than Parnell's conduct on that occasion. He showed the greatest skill, tact, and ability, and gave me the most efficient help at every turn. I always felt that I could rely on his word."

Such was the judgment of the greatest of Mr. Parnell's adversaries, and those who look for the settlement of international controversies by the arbitrament of cool reason and the weapons of the mind will prefer that he should be remembered not as the Avenger but the Vindicator—the character which, Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Stead to the contrary notwithstanding, more faithfully conformed to all his speech and action on the great stage whereon he nobly played his part for years.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.





## THE PRE-REFORMATION CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

## PART II.

THE student of Scottish history, who sets himself to analyse the Reformation movement, will discover in the forces arrayed against the Church in order to compass her ruin, three component parts. A body of the more powerful nobles of the land form the first; sheltering themselves under the protection of the former are the few weak and insignificant leaders among the Puritan preachers: these form the second element; while hiding himself behind all, as far as his unwieldy bulk will permit, is the third and most powerful factor—Henry VIII, the Arch-reformer, the destroyer of Catholicity in England, and its vindictive opponent in Scotland.

Of themselves, the nobles were by no means enemies to be despised. In Scotland the ancient feudal power had never been broken as it had been in England, where the Tudors put the finishing stroke to the aggrandisement of the monarchy at the expense of their subjects. In the northern kingdom it was the constant effort of the kings of the 15th and 16th centuries to crush the power of the nobles, and generally speaking, their endeavours met with but scanty success. For, strong as the Scottish nobles ordinarily were, they grew continually more powerful on account of the successive minorities of youthful monarchs, which form so striking a feature in the history of the country during the last two centuries of the Church's sway there. James I, detained a prisoner in England for a period of 20 years, was during that time but a shadow of royalty; under the regency of his uncle, the Duke of Albany, the audacity of the nobles exceeded all bounds, and when James returned to his realm, it was his chief policy to restrain these overweening pretensions. This wise and powerful king did much to restore the prestige of the crown, but he paid the penalty of his endeavor in an early death by the assassin's hand. Through this tragic event the crown passed to his son, James II, a child of but 6 years old, whose actual reign was but short, for he died at the age of 30, leaving the throne to another infant King, James III, a boy of 8. This monarch also came to an untimely end in his 35th year, in a rebellion of crafty nobles. James IV, his son and successor—at that time, a youth of 16—reigned 26 years, and fell on the field of Flodden, leaving the crown to an infant prince, 18 months old. This child, proclaimed

as James V, in his turn died an early death, and was succeeded by a baby daughter, born only a few days before her father died—the ill-fated Mary Stuart, whose reign saw the overthrow of the Catholic religion.

The history of all these reigns shows a constant struggle between the crown and the nobility. Two of the monarchs met with a violent death at the hands of their subjects, the others were perpetually striving to repress undue ambition on the part of the nobles. During every minority it was the effort of some particular faction to gain possession of the young sovereign as an earnest of superior strength. This is especially noticeable in the instances of James V and Mary. Thus in 1526, when Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh had almost persuaded the youthful James to entrust himself to his care, the rival faction of the Douglasses exclaimed: "Rather as the enemies take you from us, we must keep one-half of your body with us."<sup>1</sup> In like manner Arran, in 1543, tried to get possession of the infant Mary "in hopes that he should not only have upon his side the shadow of her name, but also might dispose of her by marriage as he thought good, and either feed the English King with promises, or draw him to his partie."<sup>2</sup>

It was especially after the death of James IV, when his queen, Margaret, sister of Henry VIII, espoused in almost indecent haste the Earl of Angus, head of the powerful house of Douglas, that the factions among the nobles reached their height. Their feuds kept the realm in a perpetual ferment; armed bands traversed the country, waging private war upon one another and each striving for supremacy. The mistrust with which the majority of the nation regarded the predominance of English influence in the Councils of the nation split up the wrangling nobles into two groups—the French and English parties. The former desired the Duke of Albany, the heir presumptive, to be appointed Regent. The cousin of the late king, born of a French mother, married to a French wife, and brought up for the most part in France, the Duke's sympathies were all in favor of that country and his principles thoroughly Catholic. Angus, on the other hand, through his alliance, by marriage with the English King, represented the English faction which was in subservience to the crafty Henry, and used every means to further that monarch's influence in Scotland. It was the policy of that wily intriguer, Henry, to get possession of the person of James V, educate him in England and thus gain over Scotland the power he coveted. These schemes, however, were frustrated by the zeal and watchfulness of the French party. Nevertheless, after the Duke of Albany had assumed the reigns of government, and the

<sup>1</sup> Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scott. Catholics*, p. 4 (note).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

power of the English faction was weakened, the repeated intrigues of the nobles caused the regent to twice resign his office and eventually retire permanently to France.

The climax of the insubordination of the Scottish nobility to their sovereign was reached under James V, when that monarch had assumed the reins of government, and for some 14 years had endeavoured to preserve peace between his unruly subjects. Henry VIII. had been ravaging the border country with his troops, and harassing lands and burning villages, and yet the Scottish nobles absolutely refused to carry out their sovereign's will and gain an easy victory over the retreating foe by following them over the border. This disaffection had its issue in the disastrous defeat a little later on Solway Moss, when 300 English put to flight 10,000 Scots, carrying off many nobles and barons as prisoners to England, and James V, overcome by the disgrace, died of a broken heart.

Such were the men who, when Protestant principles began to show themselves in Scotland, took their stand as the enemies of the Catholic religion. But it must not be supposed that their real motive was that burning desire for pure Gospel truth which some of their biographers would have us imagine. "Many of them," says one historian, "favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, some from a conscientious conviction of their truth, others from an envious eye to those possessions of the Church which, under the dissolution of the English religious houses, they had seen become the prey of their brethren in England."<sup>3</sup> Another writer is still more uncompromising in analysing their motives. "The lay gentry of Scotland," says Burton, "had their eyes pretty steadily fixed on the estates of the Church and clergy. When a set of teachers arose whose doctrine pointed to the conclusion that these clergy were false prophets who had no title to their position, and consequently no just right to the wealth it brought them, there was a disposition to listen."<sup>4</sup>

The real fact was that the bad example of Henry VIII, had suggested to some of these unscrupulous nobles a means of enriching themselves with very little trouble. It has been calculated that the annual ecclesiastical revenues of the Church of Scotland previous to the Reformation, taking all sources into consideration, amounted to something like 1,635,000 dollars of present money value. It had been accumulating for more than 1300 years from the generous gifts which kings and nobles had freely offered to God and His poor. The general practice of the distribution of the revenues of the

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<sup>3</sup> Fraser Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> Burton, *Hist. of Scot.*, Vol. IV., p. 25.

Church at that period was to divide them into three equal portions, one of which was retained for the support of the clergy, another for buildings and repairs, and the third for the benefit of the poor. According to the statistics given above, the share of the clergy would amount to some 545,000 dollars. Allowing to each of the more dignified ecclesiastics, Archbishops, bishops and abbots—about 1000 in number—an annual income of 300 dollars, there would remain 245,000 dollars for division between the 2000 priests, vicars, monks and nuns, who represented the other dependants upon Church bounty. So that the wealth of the Church, vast as it may appear at first sight, brought no exorbitant income to individuals; 300 dollars per annum would scarcely satisfy a Protestant prelate of these days! But if the reforming nobles, who numbered about a hundred, might seize upon the whole 1,635,000 dollars, each would possess a share amounting to 16,350 dollars, and in addition there were the vast and well cultivated church lands to be divided amongst themselves and their followers.\* It was a tempting bait, and one calculated to induce them to favour a change of religion.

That the possessions of the Church and not a desire for new doctrines was the real motive which animated the nobles in their support of the principles of the Reformation, is seen by the events which followed the suppression of the Catholic religion. There was at once what may be called a general scramble for the spoils. The result proves the truth of the assertion just made as regards the nobles. Not only Abbeys and priories, but collegiate churches, hospitals and almshouses became in most instances the property of some one of their number. Thus, for example, the vast possessions of the royal abbey of Dunfermline passed in 1605 to Alexander Seton with the title of Earl of Dunfermline; the dependent priory of Urquhart was also conferred on the same individual with the secondary title of Lord Urquhart. The last Commendator of Arbroath, Lord John Hamilton, foreseeing the impending disaster, made over the possessions of that abbey in 1553 to his brother, Lord Claude Hamilton; that nobleman also became endowed with the revenues of Paisley, of which he was Commendator and received the title of Lord Paisley. Kelso passed to Sir Robert Kerr of Creswell, with the title of Earl of Kelso; Lindores, with the title of Lord Lindores, to Patrick Lesley, son of the Earl of Rothes; Balmerino, to Sir James Elphinstone, who became Lord Balmerino. The Austin Canons' abbey of Jedburgh and the title of Lord Jedburgh were bestowed upon Andrew Kerr of Fernhurst; Blantyre, another house of the same religious, became the property of Walter Steward, son

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\* These statistics are taken from Walsh's *History of the Cath. Church in Scot.*, p. 329-333.

of the Earl of Minto, and he received at the same time the title of Lord Blantyre. The Duke of Hamilton appropriated the revenues of the Collegiate Churches of Bothwell and Hamilton; the Earl of Cassillis those of Maybole. These are only a few instances out of many, but they will serve to show that the nobility of Scotland were not altogether disinterested spectators of the downfall of the National Church.

The reformers, of themselves, were utterly without influence on the nation at large; had they lacked the support of the nobles they would have given little anxiety to the ecclesiastical authorities. The first who dared openly to preach Protestant doctrine, which had only recently been promulgated by Luther in Germany, was Patrick Hamilton, Commendator of Ferne Abbey. It is doubtful whether he was ever a priest; he went abroad for his education, and having imbibed Lutheran teaching, strove to spread the new heresy on his return to Scotland. All classes rose against him, and in 1528 he paid for his rashness with his life; for according to the spirit of the age heresy was regarded as the murder of souls, and was visited by capital punishment at the hands of the secular authorities. Hamilton's fate made a great impression upon the people, for he was related both to the royal family and the powerful house of Arran. A few other insignificant teachers of the new doctrines sprang up here and there, and were promptly suppressed, during the ten years that followed Hamilton's execution. The first who was at all formidable was a schoolmaster of Montrose named George Wishart. He had been suspected of heretical leanings, and had fled to Bristol, where he publicly recanted. He is found in Scotland again in 1543. This man and John Knox, one of his disciples, were the foremost figures among the Scottish reformers, and it is significant that both of them sheltered themselves under the protection of the powerful nobles of the English faction. Something more will have to be said concerning these two worthies later on.

The third factor in the combination now claims attention. When James IV met an untimely death on Flodden Field, the country, as we have seen, was left with an infant King. A regency was appointed consisting of the Queen Mother, the Earls of Angus and Huntly, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, James Beaton. The desire of the nation, as we have seen, looked to the Duke of Albany as regent. It seemed only too probable that Henry VIII would be able to gain an ascendancy over his widowed sister which would not be beneficial to the nation. When the nobles split up into French and English factions, Henry seized his opportunity to ingratiate himself still more with the latter by a system of widespread bribery. The State Papers of the period show that he had a com-

plete service of spies in his pay, each one, as circumstances might permit, keeping the English monarch informed of every move in the political game. More than a hundred of the leading nobles and gentry of Scotland were implicated in this disgraceful treachery in the early part of the 16th century.

Foiled in his earlier attempts to get possession of the young King, James V, Henry lost no time, when his nephew assumed the reins of government, in seeking to induce him to side with the Protestant Reformation. Dr. Barlow, Henry's chaplain, and Lord William Howard were sent in 1535 to propose a marriage between James and Henry's daughter Mary, with the prospect of the Scottish king succeeding to the rule of both kingdoms. At the same time, James was invited to meet Henry at York, and discuss religious matters. James would have nothing to do with Protestantism, and refused to accept the treatise offered by Barlow on *The Doctrines of a Christian man*; while Barlow, much to his indignation, found all the pulpits of the country closed against him. He accordingly stigmatised the Scottish clergy as "the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil." The conference at York was prevented by the intervention of the Pope, and thus Henry's plots were again foiled. The marriage of James with Magdalen of France, and his second union with Mary of Guise, after the early death of the former queen, strengthened still more the bond between Scotland and France, and proportionately irritated the English monarch; the more so that he had earnestly desired to win the latter princess for himself. He urged James again and again to cast off "the usurped authority of the Pope," but the Scottish king refused to listen to such a proposal.<sup>6</sup>

The title of "Defender of the Faith," bestowed upon James V. by Pope Paul III.—a title which had been given to Henry by that pope's predecessor, Leo X.—was the last drop in the cup of the English monarch, and he indignantly prepared for open warfare. It is significant that he actually had the audacity to assign as the motive for war the exploded claim of the English kings to the sovereignty of Scotland. A letter from the Privy Council to the Archbishop of York, dated 1542, runs thus: "Mynding to have the Kyng's Majesties title to the realme of Scotland more fully playnly and clerely set forth to all the worlde, that the justnes of our quarell and demande may apere . . . . we pray you to cawse all your old registers and auncient places to be sought, where you think eny thing may be founde for the more clerer declaration to the world of His Majesties title to that realme." etc., etc.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Vide State Papers, Henry VIII., Vol. V., p. 81-89.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid, p. 212.*

Upon the death of James V., Henry's fresh scheme was to unite the realms by the marriage of the infant Mary Stuart with Edward VI. The loyal Scottish party opposed Henry's plan for the education of the princess in England, and the design was frustrated. The English intriguer, however, was not easily baffled, and he determined to overthrow the opposing party. The Lords of the Douglas faction had been compelled to withdraw from Scotland fifteen years before, when James V. took the government into his own hands, and they had taken refuge with their patron Henry VIII., whose stipendiaries they had long been. To these nobles, with Angus at their head, and to the numerous lords and barons who had been captured at the battle of Solway Moss, Henry submitted certain conditions, on fulfilment of which the prisoners would be restored to liberty, and the rebel lords, who were now free to return to Scotland on account of the death of James, would entitle themselves to fixed pensions from the English king. The conditions proposed were the following: The nobles in question were to bind themselves by a solemn obligation—

1. To acknowledge Henry's claim to Scotland as Superior Lord.
2. To use all possible exertions to obtain for him the government of Scotland, and to put all fortresses into his hands.
3. To endeavour to deliver the infant queen into his keeping.
4. To seize and hand over to Henry his most powerful opponent in Scotland, Cardinal Beaton.
5. In case the Scottish Parliament should refuse the demands of England, to use their whole feudal strength to co-operate with the English army for the conquest of Scotland.

Among the traitors who bound themselves to fulfil these disgraceful conditions were the Earl of Glencairn, the Earl of Cassilis, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Marshall, Lord Maxwell, Lord Somerville, Lord Oliphant, Sir George Douglas, the Master of Maxwell, and other barons who favored the Protestant party. The precise pensions paid to some of these are mentioned in a letter from the Duke of Suffolk preserved in the Hamilton papers,<sup>8</sup> and the real nature of their engagement is clearly expressed by Henry himself in a letter to the same Duke. "They have not stiked," he says, "to take upon them to set the crown of Scotland upon our head."<sup>9</sup>

Enough evidence has been produced to show that Henry VIII. was the most vigorous promoter of the Reformation in Scotland that history can furnish; the reformers apart from the seditious nobles were mere nonentities, and the nobles were instigated and paid by the English king to further his designs. It may be objected

<sup>8</sup> Vide Tytler, *History*, Vol. III., p. 375.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

by some that here is no record of the reforming of religion, but of political scheming merely. The remark is a just one, and serves to bring out clearly the true nature of the Scottish Reformation. Religion had little to do with it; from first to last it was a political movement, the chief elements of which were personal aggrandisement, temporal success and worldly ambition. It is certain that the overthrow of the Catholic Church was the aim of Henry VIII., for the Church and churchmen were the only vigorous opponents of his policy. That he was regarded as a dangerous enemy to religion in Scotland is clear from contemporary evidence. Cardinal Beaton in a letter to Pope Paul III., in the beginning of the war of 1542, pointed out to that pontiff, that the sole cause of the rupture between the two monarchs of England and Scotland was the loyal refusal of James V. to break with the Holy See and with France.<sup>10</sup> The Pope fully recognized this, for in January, 1543, before the news of the king's death, had reached Rome, he granted a large subsidy from the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland for the prosecution of the war with Henry, whom he styles "that son of perdition . . . . who is labouring for no other end than to make himself master of Scotland, and destroy the Catholic faith there as he has already done in England."<sup>11</sup> Enough for the present of Henry VIII. and his intrigues; it will be necessary to return to the subject in a future page.

It will naturally be asked: how could such schemes meet with ultimate success in the overthrow of the Church, if religion had so small a part in them? The question opens out a portion of the subject by no means pleasant to contemplate.

An impregnable fortress, well manned, sufficiently victualled for a long siege, may resist successfully the violent attacks of hostile arms for almost any length of time; strong defences, plentiful supplies, and brave and capable warriors render its capture a matter of practical impossibility. But one insignificant being only, is able to put an end to this security; let one of the inmates, whether by accident or design, give entrance to the foe, and ultimate defence is no longer possible; the garrison overcome, the citadel must fall. The metaphor may be applied to the Scottish Church. The fortress from its nature was impregnable; had the garrison remained staunch the victory must have been ultimately with the Church; the enemies

<sup>10</sup> "Tanti autem belli causa non alia sane extitit, nisi quod Serenissimus Dominus meus a Sancta ista Sede Apostolica deflere, illiusque insaniam sequi noluerit, Christianissimique Gallorum Regis, soceri sui, partes deserere, suasque contra illum sequi recusavit." Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 613.

<sup>11</sup> "Nihil aliud molitur, nisi ut regnum Scotiae occupet, et Catholicam et orthodoxam fidem in eo, sicut in Anglia fecit, destruat." Bellesheim, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Schottland*, Vol. I., p. 341 (note).



ranged against her were powerless of themselves to overthrow her. "Les sophistes ont ebranlé l'autel, mais ce sont les prêtres qui l'ont avilé," said a French writer; the accusation is not without reason when levelled at the Scottish clergy. It is impossible to deny that those were most responsible for the downfall of the Church whose duty it was to man her bulwarks.

Protestant historians are never weary of pouring out torrents of abusive rhetoric upon the Scottish Church as it existed at the time of the Reformation. Some of them would have us believe that the clergy were nearly all worthless, the bishops false hirelings, the whole ecclesiastical system "rotten to the core." Such statements are gross exaggerations. In all that tended to set forth the glory of the Scottish Church, the quotations in these pages have been designedly taken from writers of avowed Protestant principles. It is, therefore, only fair that whatever of blame may attach to the prelates and clergy should be stated in the words of faithful sons of the Catholic Church.

But first it may not be unprofitable to give a glance at some of the charges made by contemporaries of a less friendly disposition. Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount, the popular satirist of the time, is far too sympathetic with the reforming party to be taken as a reliable witness, even if he were not a professional humorist; still no satire is acceptable unless it contain a grain or two of truth, and it will be worth while to give some quotations from this witty though often scurrilous writer, as an index to the popular sentiment at the time. In his "Satyre on the Thrie Estaitis," he thus sums up the office of a Pastor:

"Ane bishop's office is for to be ane prechour  
And of the law of God ane public techour."<sup>12</sup>

In the same play he puts into the mouth of a bishop the following naive confession:

"I red never the New Testament nor auld  
Nor ever thinks to do, Sir, be the Rude;  
I heir Freiris say, that reiding does na gude."<sup>13</sup>

The accusation of neglect of study and preaching on the part of ecclesiastics runs all through his satires. He was no lover of the clergy and lost no occasion of holding them up to ridicule. His special antipathy was against the Friars, probably on account of their indefatigable zeal for religion. It is said that he once found an opportunity of reprehending the mode of ecclesiastical patronage then in vogue, by applying to James V. for the appointment of himself as Master-tailor to the King. James was amazed. "Sir,"

<sup>12</sup> Laing, *Works of Sir D. Lindsay*, Vol. II., p. 146.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

said Lindsay, "you have given bishoprics and benefices to many standing here about you, and yet they can nouthier teach nor preach: and why may not I as weill be your taylor, thocht I can nouthier shape nor sew?"<sup>14</sup>

All this cannot of course be accepted as genuine evidence, for in such satires exaggeration belongs to their very nature; yet witnesses of a more sober sort bear testimony to the same deficiency on the part of many of the pastors of the Scottish Church. The estimable John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the faithful companion in exile of the persecuted Mary Stuart, and the author of a history of his times, in treating upon the Reformation, asks how the overthrow of religion could have been accomplished in so short a time. "It was not," he answers, "that the rulers of the Church had betrayed their trust; but that they did not promptly extinguish the sparks of heresy by instruction, explanation and reproof as they ought to have done." He goes on to say, "The source and origin of the evil was that the people, neglected by the clergy and uninstructed in the catechism in their tender years, had no sure and certain belief."<sup>15</sup>

The evidence of Bishop Lesley is borne out by the repeated enactments of ecclesiastical councils and synods in the 16th century. Thus the Provincial National Council, which assembled under the presidency of Archbishop Hamilton in the Blackfriars' Church, Edinburgh, in August, 1549, decreed that every Ordinary should preach publicly at least four times a year; and *if unaccustomed to this duty*, they were to fit themselves for it by study, and by receiving into their houses men skilled in sacred learning. Rectors of parishes, *who in the judgment of the Ordinary were competent for the office*, were in like manner bound to preach at least four times a year. Those *unable to preach* were to fit themselves for the duty by studying in some public seminary, providing approved substitutes for their respective parishes in the meantime. A theologian and canonist were to be attached to each cathedral; the former to lecture on Sacred Scripture at least once a week, and to preach in the cathedral and other churches; the latter to lecture in Canon Law to the clergy. The passages which are here put in italics bear witness to the necessity of the legislation, just as the enactments themselves—a fact often overlooked by unsympathetic writers—testify to the anxiety of the majority, at least, of the prelates for the reformation of abuses. For in this council sixty ecclesiastics took part, among them being seven out of the thirteen bishops, and the representatives of two vacant sees.

Another council, held in 1552, emphasises these decrees relating

<sup>14</sup> Lesley, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, lib. X.

<sup>15</sup> Irving, *Lives of Scottish Poets*.

to the instruction of the people by a still more stringent enactment, in itself illustrative of the crying need for reform. Lamenting the fact that neither the prelates nor the inferior clergy were as a rule sufficiently learned to be able to instruct the people in the faith, or to convert those who had been led into error by the false teachers then rife, the council decreed that a catechism should be compiled containing a brief, clear and Catholic explanation of the doctrines of the Church, and that the clergy should read from it for the space of half an hour every Sunday and holy day to their respective flocks, except on such occasion as there should be a public sermon delivered by a religious or by some other preacher.

This catechism, known by the name of "Archbishop Hamilton's," was accordingly compiled and put into use in the same year. Even writers of pronounced Protestant tendencies are forced to witness to its value. "No divine at this day," said one, writing nearly two centuries after, "need be ashamed of such a work. Its composition," he says, "shows that all the clergy in those days have not been such dunces as some people would make us apprehend."<sup>18</sup>

The last Council of this kind ever held in Scotland assembled in 1559, and again insisted on the instruction of the people; binding the bishops to preach not merely four times a year, but more frequently, as the Council of Trent had enjoined. It also insisted on catechetical instructions or sermons being provided by all parochial clergy for their respective flocks on every Sunday and holy day, and indicated the special articles of faith upon which stress was to be laid. But enough has been said on this subject to show that there was need of legislation in the matter, and that the prelates attempted to supply it. The pity was that the remedy came too late.

generated by hostile writers. Lindsay's pages teem with scurrilous of truth, but there is no question but they have been grossly exaggerated by hostile writers. Lindsay's pages teem with scurrillous imputations which are unfit for quotation. Other authors, too, would have us believe that the lives of all the clergy were grossly immoral. In this matter the same may be asserted as with regard to the ignorance and indifference of prelates and others in connection with the instruction of the people; there was need of reform, but it is certain that all were not corrupt. Bishop Lesley, among the reasons he gives for the success of the Protestant movement touches on this subject also. "The lives of many ecclesiastical persons," he says, "were apparently stained by avarice and voluptuousness, and this gave to the sectarian ministers matter enough to cry down the Church with the common people, maintaining that the

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<sup>18</sup> Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 63, note (d).

light of the Gospel could not dwell in the darkness of vice."<sup>17</sup> Another Catholic witness is found in Father de Gouda, of the Society of Jesus, an emissary from Pope Pius IV. to Queen Mary, in 1562. "The lives of priests and clerics," he says, "are not unfrequently such as to cause grave scandal; an evil increased by the supine indifference and negligence of the bishops themselves."<sup>18</sup>

Here again it is to be noted that neither writer affirms the general depravity of the clergy. "The lives of many," says Bishop Lesley; "not unfrequently," is the expression of Fr. de Gouda. The legislation of ecclesiastical councils in this matter also testifies to the existence of the evil, but at the same time to the anxiety of the majority to remedy it. We have indeed shining examples of uprightness of life as well as zeal for learning in many of the prelates of the time.

Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, was not only a man of irreproachable life, but a distinguished patron of letters. When Commendator of Kinloss, and afterwards of Beaulieu, he brought from Italy the learned Ferrerius to become the instructor of the Monks of those houses in classical knowledge. He was also, as we have already seen, the practical founder of Edinburgh University. A Protestant writer, McCosmo Innes, pays an eloquent tribute to the virtues, learning and piety of this estimable bishop. "Than such a prelate, religious, learned, and fostering learning, loving the arts, and encouraging them, religion has no shape more dignified and amiable."<sup>19</sup> The same writer pays an eloquent tribute to "the blessed influence such a bishop exercised" over his diocese. Archbishop Foreman, who died in 1521, is another brilliant example of a worthy pastor of souls; Archbishop Hamilton's zeal has already been noticed; James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow (1552-60), who suffered exile for his faith and died full of days in Paris in 1603, was another worthy prelate; of Bishop Elphinstone much has been said already: these are a few noble names out of many.

Among the regular prelates too, are not a few who are worthy of mention: Abbot Chrystall of Kinloss, a great patron of letters; Abbot Myln of Cambuskenneth, who sent his subjects to study in Paris; Ninian Winzet, a priest, master of Linlithgow Grammar School, banished for his faith and afterwards Abbot of Ratisbon; Quentin Kennedy, the valiant Abbot of Crossraguel, a truly loyal son of the Catholic Church, who ceased not by every means in his power to confute heresy and further the truth; Gilbert Brown, Abbot of Sweetheart, one of the most vigorous opponents of the new doctrine, who was banished for his persistence in saying Mass:

<sup>17</sup> Lesley, *De Rebus Gest. Scot.*, lib. X.<sup>18</sup> Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scott. Catholics*, p. 76.

<sup>19</sup> *Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXXII., p. 394.

these are names to be held in remembrance out of a crowd of others of like renown.

And now it will be well to glance at the causes which led to the evident neglect of duty and laxity of morals which characterized some of the prelates and clergy. Fr. de Gouda, who has been already quoted, gives the opinion of sensible Catholics in Scotland at the time as to the origin of the misfortunes of the country. "They consider them," he says, "as owing to the suspension of the ordinary mode of election to abbacies and other high dignities. The preferments are conferred upon children or other incapable persons, without any care for God's honor and the service of the Church, and very often one such person holds several offices in the same church."<sup>20</sup> A Protestant writer of note, Mr. Gairdner, says of the Scottish sees: "Numerous instances of bishops of one family succeeding each other in the same sees show the extraordinary prevalence of nepotism. . . . In one see there had been a succession of Stewarts, in another of Gordons, in another of Hepburns; and the Church, which in all other countries had broken the neck of feudalism . . . fell, like everything else in Scotland, completely under the sway of the king and nobles."<sup>21</sup> Previous to the Reformation, too many of the bishops were mere feudal lords—sometimes courtiers, sometimes warriors, sometimes statesmen—too seldom real pastors of souls. Easy, worldly lives in the prelates were not calculated to further the ecclesiastical virtues in the inferior clergy, and thus arose the lamentable neglect of duty which later ages tried in vain to remedy. And the origin of it all may be traced to the state of things referred to by the writers above quoted.

The system of presentation instead of canonical election to sees and abbacies was the root of the evil. It began in the right assumed by the crown early in the 15th century, of appointing some favorite to the vacant see or benefice, and became in course of time a recognised mode of procedure. Owing to this pernicious system the most unworthy persons were often promoted to high office and it began to be practically a settled thing for the natural children of the sovereign and the greater nobles to be thus provided for. Especially was this the case with the religious houses. The custom of appointing a superior in *commendam*, that is, to take charge of the benefice during a vacancy, grew into the practice of handing over the revenues to such superior—generally a noble, seldom even a cleric—for the term of his natural life.

The result of this disgraceful state of things was that a natural son of James IV., when only 16 years of age, was raised to the primacy

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<sup>20</sup> Forbes Leith, *Narratives*, p. 76.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8 (note).

in 1509. How little of the typical churchman there was in his character is seen by the fact that he died in the battle of Flodden fighting at his father's side. Besides the archbishopric of St. Andrews, he held the Abbacy of Dunfermline and the Priory of Coldingham. James V. is a still more notorious example. Five, if not six of his illegitimate sons were promoted to benefices. James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Moray, was made perpetual Commendator of the Priory of St. Andrews, and later, of Pittenweem also; another James held the Abbeys of Kelso and Melrose; John Stewart was Prior of Coldingham and drew a yearly pension from the revenues of the see of Orkney; Robert Stewart, afterwards Earl of Orkney, was perpetual Commendator of Holyrood; Adam was made Prior of the Charter-house in Perth.

It is easy to see that with such a disposal of the benefices of the Church, neither worthy bishops nor zealous religious superiors could well be expected to flourish in the country. The marvel is—not that the clergy were in some cases unworthy of their high calling, but that they were not all, as some would have us believe, utterly depraved. The mercy of God preserved throughout those evil times a faithful remnant, as history clearly shows. The monks of Dunfermline and Paisley, Kelso and Crossraguel, still clung to their ruined homes, when all the glory had departed, and many of them ended their days in those ruins. James V. warmly commended the Franciscans of his Kingdom to the favour of Pope Clement VII., in 1531; speaking of them as religious of good observance and of the greatest purity of life.<sup>22</sup> Many of the secular clergy, too, were good and holy priests. In 1569, four of those attached to Dunblane Cathedral were tied to the market cross at Stirling wearing their sacred vestments and holding chalices, while the mob “cast eggs and other villany at their faces for over an hour, and thereafter their vestments and chalices were burnt to ashes” by the common hangman. Their crime was that of saying Mass.

Amid all the dangers which threatened the Church from foes without and apathetic defenders within, there was one man alone fitted by his high position, energetic character, and ability as a statesman to stand forward in defence of religion and country. This was David Beaton, Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews.

He was the third son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fifeshire, and was born in 1494. Of his early life little is known; he matriculated at the University of St. Andrews, and in his 16th year passed to the University of Glasgow, where his uncle, James Beaton, was then Archbishop. Afterwards he spent some years in the study of Canon

<sup>22</sup> Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 597.

and Civil Law at Paris—a university at that time renowned for those branches of knowledge. He had returned to Scotland before 1519; for, having come under the notice of the regent Albany, he was sent in that year to act as Scottish resident at the Court of Francis I; his French education and legal studies rendering him eminently fitted for the post. He was then in his 25th year and made full use of his opportunities to become proficient in the art of diplomacy. He was presented by his uncle, the Archbishop of Glasgow, to the benefices of Campsie and Cambusland in that diocese; and in 1523, when that prelate was translated to the primatial see, received in addition the abbacy of Abroath, which the Archbishop resigned in favor of his nephew.

In 1525 David Beaton took his seat in the Scottish parliament as titular Abbot of the above monastery, and from that time advanced rapidly to the highest offices of state. He became, in 1528, Lord Privy Seal and constantly grew in favour with James V. He successfully negotiated both marriages of that monarch, and it was in connection with the visit to France to arrange the match with Mary of Guise that Francis I conferred upon him the Bishopric of Mirepoix, a suffragan see of Toulouse, which brought him an annual income of 10,000 livres. This gift was confirmed by the Pope December 5, 1537. Soon after the French King petitioned Paul III. to raise the newly made prelate to the cardinalate, and this dignity was eagerly sought for him by James V. also, and was conferred in 1538. In that year Beaton had already been appointed coadjutor to his uncle with the right of succession, and early in 1539, at the death of Archbishop James Beaton, he became primate.

The jealousy of Henry VIII. had been long roused against the strong-minded ecclesiastic who stood so high in the counsels of the Scottish King, and he made many a secret attempt to stir up animosity between James and his minister, but without effect. At the untimely death of the former all Henry's powers of intrigue were exerted to ruin the influence of the Cardinal in Scotland; for in him the English King recognized the only formidable opponent to his ambitious designs. From that time forward until the death of both of them the history of the Scottish Reformation is practically a record of the plots of the one and the masterly opposition of the other.

After the death of James V. a regency was proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross, under the dying instructions of that monarch, consisting of Cardinal Beaton, with the Earls of Huntly, Argyle and Moray. The Earl of Arran, heir presumptive to the throne, though unfitted for the office by his weakness of character, combined with the majority of the nobles in order to get himself appointed Regent in place of

the Cardinal and the other earls. Under pretence that the Cardinal had been making overtures to the Duke of Guise to assume the government on behalf of the infant queen, Arran seized him and imprisoned him in Blackness Castle, acting, as it is thought, on the instigation of Henry VIII. and the English faction, at the head of which was Angus, lately returned from England. The governor then openly espoused the cause of the Puritan party and promised to bring about the reform of the Scottish Church after the model of the English. On the imprisonment of the Cardinal, the greater part of the kingdom was placed under an interdict. Mass was suspended; no Sacraments were administered, and feeling ran so high among the people that it was deemed prudent to set him at liberty. He immediately gathered round him the nobles of the Scottish party, together with the whole of the clergy, and deliberated on the means to further the national cause. The persons of the infant queen and her mother were placed in safety, and many of the nobles, through the Cardinal's influence, were induced to break faith with Henry VIII. Among these was the governor Arran, who had been won by the promise of the hand of the Princess Elizabeth and the prospect of the throne of Scotland. He abjured his Protestant opinions in the Franciscan Church at Stirling, and from that time was staunch in his adherence to the policy of the Cardinal.

Henry VIII., seeing no prospect of carrying out his designs during Cardinal Beaton's life, had no hesitation in conniving at a plot for his assassination. This is clear from letters found among the State Papers of the time. Indeed, there is good reason to suppose that the English King took a more active part in the affair than appears on the surface; for not all the letters have been preserved. Among the secret correspondence of the period is a letter dated 30 May, 1545, referring to an offer made by the Earl of Cassillis to kill the Cardinal, "if his majesty wold have it done, and wold promise, when it were done, a reward." The letter goes on to inform the agent in the affair, the Earl of Hertford, that "his highness, reputing the fact not mete to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Saddleyr, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to th' Erle . . . . he shall say, that if he were in th' Erle of Cassillis' place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there as he knoweth him to be, . . . he would surely do what he could for th' execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realme of Scotland, and would trust verily the King's Majesty would consider his service in the same."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., p. 449.



In 1544 Henry had already begun to make war on Scotland, and in terms of the greatest cruelty had ordered Hertford to direct his attention especially to "the Fife land . . . . not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the Cardinal's town of St. Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the Cardinal."<sup>24</sup> The result was the wholesale destruction of the great border monasteries, Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso and Dryburgh, with many smaller houses and churches.

To add to the trouble of the government, the reforming party under the protection of the nobles began to agitate amongst the people in the large towns. Wishart, who had lately returned to Scotland, preached in Dundee, Perth, Ayr and Montrose, declaiming against Popery in a way that stirred up the populace to fanaticism. The result was the destruction by the mob of the convents of the Dominicans and Franciscans at Dundee, the sack of the Abbey of Lindores, and an attempt to overthrow the Blackfriars' Convent at Edinburgh. When the citizens rose to protect the latter, Wishart threatened them with Heaven's vengeance for daring to oppose.<sup>25</sup> The reformer was accordingly arrested and put upon his trial, and finally executed as an obdurate heretic at St. Andrews, March 28, 1546. By many writers he is considered to have played a foremost part in the plot against the Cardinal's life. It is clear from the State Papers that "one Wishart" was the bearer of communications on the subject from Crichton, Laird of Brunston, to Henry VIII.,<sup>26</sup> and Wishart, "the Martyr," was at that time under the protection of Brunston, and was in the company of that gentleman when arrested.<sup>27</sup>

The execution of Wishart hurried on the plot against the Cardinal. Brunston and others had long been in correspondence with Henry on the subject. In May, 1546, it was determined to strike the blow. John Lesley, brother of the Earl of Rothes, says Knox, "in all companies spared not to say that that same dagger, showing forth his dagger, and that same hand should be put in the Cardinal's breast; or, as Spottiswood puts it: "that his hand and dagger should be the Cardinal's priests." On Saturday, May 29th, at an

<sup>24</sup> Tytler, *History*, Vol. VIII., p. 365.

<sup>25</sup> It is not universally accepted that Wishart's preaching was responsible for these results. Tytler, however (Vol. III., p. 41), attributes the outbreak to the influence of the reformer, and Mr. Andrew Lang (*Blackwood's Mag.*, March, 1898,) is still more positive about it.

<sup>26</sup> *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., 377-8.

<sup>27</sup> *Vide* Lang, *The Truth about the Cardinal's Murder*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1898.

early hour in the morning, Norman Lesley, Master of Rothes, one of those who had consented to be the Cardinal's murderers, in the proposal sent to Henry VIII. by Wishart, his uncle John Leslie, Andrew Melville, and other conspirators, forced their way into the castle of St. Andrews, and, probably by the corruption of the servants, penetrated to the Cardinal's chamber. "Threatening to burn down the door, it was at once opened. The Cardinal, sitting on a chair cried to the men who thronged his chamber: "I am a priest! I am a priest! Ye will not slay me!" Andrew Melville, described by Knox as "a man most gentle and most modest," called upon the Cardinal to repent of his former wicked life, and especially of shedding Wishart's blood, then immediately ran his sword through and through his body, avowing himself the messenger of God in despatching the enemy of Christ and his Holy Gospel. The prelate's mangled body was treated with every indignity and suspended by a sheet from the castle window by Norman Lesley, who cried to the people: "There is your God; and now that ye are satisfied, get you home to your houses." "These things we write merrily," says Knox in his account of the murder.

The complicity of Henry VIII. is attested by the pensions with which he rewarded the murderers. Sadler reported that the deed was done "to please God" and "for Christian zeal," but mentions also for the further reason of "a small sum of money."<sup>28</sup> From the Privy Council Records it appears that Norman Lesley received £250, and others of less prominence smaller sums. Tytler, speaking of the correspondence of the conspirators, which was overlooked by historians till a comparatively recent date, makes the following important statement: "By its disclosure we have been enabled to trace the secret history of these iniquitous times, and it may now be pronounced without fear of contradiction, that the assassination of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart, but an act of long projected murder, encouraged, if not originated by the English monarch."<sup>29</sup>

After the perpetration of the cruel deed, the conspirators, together with a number of other adherents, fortified themselves in the castle of St. Andrews, which, by the help of supplies furnished by Henry VIII., they managed to hold for fourteen months, in spite of the efforts of the Regent to retake it. In their company was John Knox, one of their "chaplains," who, together with the other rebels, was sent to the French galleys when the auxiliaries from France effected the downfall of their stronghold. The constant association of this man with the conspirators, and his close attachment to

<sup>28</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. V., p. 470.

<sup>29</sup> Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 48.

Wishart, have thrown upon him also the strong suspicion of being implicated in the murder.<sup>80</sup>

The character of Cardinal Beaton "has been," says a Protestant clergyman, "as much mangled by Knox, Buchanan and Sir David Lindsay, as his body was by his assassins."<sup>81</sup> Among other crimes he has been charged with poisoning James V. and forging that monarch's will. The first accusation is too absurd to need refutation. It was clearly against the Cardinal's interest, and the welfare of both Church and State, to desire the king's death at so critical a moment. The charge of forgery is dismissed by Buckle, a writer of strong Anti-Catholic leanings, as having not the slightest evidence to prove it. "Some writers," he says with telling irony, "being themselves Protestants, seem to suppose that the fact of a man being a cardinal qualifies him for every crime."<sup>82</sup> Mr. Lang, in a recent article, defends the great statesman with much enthusiasm; "A more shadowy charge," he says, "was never framed." He discusses the question minutely, and affirms stoutly the absence of proof.<sup>83</sup> Mr. Hay Fleming, who avows that he has no admiration for the Cardinal, attacks Mr. Lang in another article;<sup>84</sup> but although he criticises severely the method and reasoning of the latter, he does not succeed in establishing the truth of the charge in question.

The grossest statements have been made concerning the private life of the Cardinal. It must, however, be borne in mind that they have emanated from his sworn enemies, and are strenuously denied by his admirers—Lesley, Winzet and Barne—who are fully as worthy of credit.<sup>85</sup> Many of these charges rest on the sole testimony of Knox. He, beside being a priest who disregarded his obligations and was twice married, the second time to a girl of 16 when he was himself 60 years of age, is spoken of by contemporaries, Nichol Burne, James Laing, and Archibald Hamilton, as guilty of notorious vices of immorality at various times in his life;<sup>86</sup> he is therefore not an acceptable witness for the purity requisite in the priesthood.

That Cardinal Beaton was the only formidable opponent of the Reformation all writers allow. "Undoubtedly, if he had lived," says a Protestant writer, "the Reformers would have had a still harder fight for the victory."<sup>87</sup> "So short was the time between it (the murder) and the destruction of the ancient national faith," says

<sup>80</sup> *Vide* Lang, *Blackwood's Mag.*

<sup>81</sup> Lyon, *History of S. Andrews*, Vol. I., p. 304.

<sup>82</sup> Buckle, *Hist. of Civilisation*, Vol. III., p. 70.

<sup>83</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*

<sup>84</sup> *Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1898.

<sup>85</sup> Lyon, *Hist. of S. Andrews*, Vol. I., p. 305.

<sup>86</sup> *Vide* Willmot, *Hist. of Scott. Reformation*, pp. 55 seq. Stevenson, *Scotland and Rome*,

p. 59.

<sup>87</sup> *Quarterly Rev.*, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 43.

another, "that Beaton must be held to have been the last support of the Catholic Church."<sup>38</sup>

To a Catholic it is gratifying to hear writers of another faith eulogise a prominent prelate of the Church, as "perhaps the most consummate statesman whom Scotland ever produced,"<sup>39</sup> whose character "shines against the blackness of his assassins;" or, as "almost the last politician to keep Scotland within the circle of European interests;"<sup>40</sup> but it would seem more to the purpose to inquire whether he was merely a politician who wished to save his country, or whether he fought, as a good Catholic should, for the Church and the Faith.

We have already seen his letter to Pope Paul III. that he looked upon the war with England as a result of James V.'s unswerving loyalty to the Holy See. In another letter to Rome, the Cardinal speaks of his overwhelming labors, but protests that he shrinks from no labor, cost or danger to bring back peace and concord, and destroy schism and heresy.<sup>41</sup> The assertion is borne out by his zeal in striving to stop heretical teaching. His proceedings against Wishart, repugnant though they may be to modern notions, were recognized as just and lawful in that age, and they undoubtedly were the immediate cause of the loss of his life. We take leave of the great Cardinal in the enthusiastic words of Mr. Lang: "Beside his opponents, Beaton shows like a gentleman. 'I shun no danger,' he wrote to the Pope, 'if I may ward off danger from others.' God rest the soul of David Beaton! he fought for Scotland."<sup>42</sup>

With the pillar of the Church's strength cast down, the work of destruction was swift. By the help of their French allies the Scottish arms were victorious over the English in several engagements, and peace was concluded between the two countries in 1550. In spite of the strenuous efforts of the ecclesiastical authorities which followed upon the peace, Protestantism continued to gain ground, receiving fresh support from the proscribed preachers who fled from England at Mary's accession. In 1555 Knox, who had taken refuge for a time in Geneva, returned to Scotland, and began to preach his doctrines in private houses, and afterwards more openly. In 1556, alarmed at the threatening attitude of the authorities, he fled again to Geneva.

Meanwhile the Protestant lords grew more bold, the Regent, Mary of Guise, was unable to cope with them, and sought to pacify them by promising them freedom from molestation. On December 3, 1557, the "Solemn League and Covenant," by which the re-

<sup>38</sup> Herkless, *Cardinal Beaton*, p. 6.    <sup>39</sup> Lang, *Blackwood's Mag.*    <sup>40</sup> Herkless, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 615.

<sup>42</sup> *Blackwood's Mag.*

forming party cut themselves off from the Catholic Church was subscribed by the leaders.

After Elizabeth's accession Knox summoned up courage to return to Scotland, knowing that the English government would ever be ready, as in the past, to encourage treason and heresy in the northern kingdom. The "Lords of the Congregation," emboldened by his presence, resolved to force their opinions upon the nation. Knox furiously denounced the Catholic religion in an inflammatory sermon in St. John's Church, Perth, and in response to his appeal to his audience to destroy all the monuments of idolatry, the mob attacked the sacred images, altars and adornments of that splendid Church, leaving little but the bare walls standing. The work of destruction lasted two days and spread to all the churches and religious houses in the city, and on to St. Andrews, Stirling and Edinburgh the "rascal multitude" pressed, bent on their ungodly work—desolated sanctuaries and blackened ruins marking the way they had trodden.

It was but the beginning of the end; the proscription of the Catholic religion and the substitution of Calvinism in its place was the inevitable sequence. After fire and bloodshed and the desecration of all that was holy, the climax came on August 24, 1560, when Parliament declared it a crime to profess the Catholic Faith in Scotland, abolished "for ever" the jurisdiction of the Pope, and forbade the celebration of Mass under the penalty of death for the third offence.

Yet the people clung still to the ancient faith. Round the ruined monasteries groups of Catholics lingered. Paisley, a century after, was described as "a very nest of Papists." Among the mountains of the north and in the lonely islands of the west it never died out, and to this day the faithful Catholics of those favoured regions proudly boast of an unstrained religious record during the centuries that have passed.

The Church in the Reformation period, in the words of Fr. Stevenson, the eminent Catholic historian, "underwent a great trial, and bent beneath it—for a time, not permanently, for her days are eternal." The re-action has already set in, and Scotland can boast of an established hierarchy ruling some three hundred and eighty thousand souls. Religious orders have come back to the land, Churches and monasteries are rising, and the signs of renewed life are seen everywhere.

May the continual prayers for unity to which the Vicar of Christ so lovingly exhorts his children hasten the day when the Church, Catholic and Apostolic, the sole teacher of truth to Scotland in past ages, may once more rule that realm with undisputed sway.

DOM MICHAEL BARRETT, O. S. B.

## TERTULLIAN'S "IMPOSSIBILE."

Verba non sono solo sapiunt, sed et sensu: nec auribus tantummodo audienda sunt, sed et mentibus.—*Adv. Gnos. Scorpiace*, Cap. 7.

"THE real value of a word lies not in its sound, but in its meaning," pleads Tertullian. A word is, in truth, but the sign of an idea; and if the sign be misinterpreted, the idea shall not fare better. The great African Father can scarce accuse his interpreters of any wilful or wanton disregard of such a canon of exegesis. Their herculean task, as well as their patient and heroic attempts to accomplish it, may be seen of all men in any edition of his complete works. To the manuscript-difficulties they replied by innumerable suggested readings and literal variants. To the "barbarous and African Latinity," as Chateaubriand styles it, which is so prominent a characteristic of his phraseology, they replied by unwearied attempts to construct more than one acutely critical *Index Latinitatis*. To his "iron style"—with which metal, as Balzac declares, it must be allowed that he has forged excellent weapons—they replied by interpretative annotations and warning *prolegomena*. The whole ground has thus been often and very thoroughly gone over, although, it must be confessed, it has not been so very thoroughly cleared. Whatever difficulty still remains may well be considered *quasi-essential*.

The reader's attention has been called here to this summarized labor of the critics, in order to set over against that labor the curious fact that one little sentence of Tertullian, which must have seemed clear enough to all of them (for not one of them, as far as we know, has in any way annotated it), is the only one that has crept into general literature. It has been most widely quoted, misquoted, misunderstood. In a mangled, incorrect, but very prettily condensed form, it has been ascribed to St. Augustine. It constitutes for many their only familiarity with either St. Augustine or Tertullian. Even for those who should know better, it has formed the basis of invective against "the African Bossuet," as a man whose fanatical spirit proclaimed in a frenzied way its abhorrence of ordinary reason and common-sense. Brilliant, compact, clear, it is a crystallized expression of the whole of Tertullian's great soul. "*Credo quia impossibile*"—there is Tertullian in a nutshell!

## I. "CREDO."

A literary history of the dictum should certainly prove as entertaining as it would be instructive. But it would also prove a large task—and we shall not attempt it. Some features of that history may, however, be illustrated here.

First of all, we may glance at the question of its ascription to St. Augustine. How many *bon-mots* have found a convenient parentage by adoption! There is nothing new under the sun—and even the professed wit must borrow at times from the genius of some less prominent farceur. But, on the other hand, what innumerable *obiter dicta* have found a parentage, unconscious to itself, by ascription! Refer a "bull" to Sir Boyle Roche, a witticism to O'Connell, an aphorism to Aristotle—and you will be very safe. You will probably feel as safe in referring any brilliant bit of eloquent Patristic argument or splendid rhetoric to St. Augustine. Who will confute you by a negative argument? That must take the form of a complete edition of his works—a patient measuring out, drop by drop, of the *mare magnum* of his voluminous writings. Accordingly, for many years the world has quoted, with enthusiastic approbation, the golden utterance: "In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas," and has ascribed it—(and to whom with more felicity?)—to the great Bishop of Hippo. It is a genuinely Catholic sentiment, although it has not been found in any pre-Reformation writer, and *may* have been originated by one of the "reformers." But who really said it? The negative argument has not found it in the *mare magnum*. In the same way the *Credo quia impossibile* (slightly altered into *Credo quia absurdum*) has been ascribed to the same Saint, and the claim has been rejected in the same way—by an investigation of the *mare*. The fact that Tertullian said "Certum est quia impossibile" is not a sufficient reason for denying that St. Augustine said "Credo quia absurdum." It is not a sufficient reason, but it is, in view of the history of quotations, a very good reason. For of all our faculties, the least modest, the least willing to confess haziness or imperfection—except on the witness-stand in court—is the Memory. And if it does not recall either the author it quotes from, or even the exact words of the author, it will hang the quotation, revised, on the most convenient peg. As has been said, this is a generally safe thing to do; but in the case of St. Augustine, an exception must be made. Your ascription to him may be challenged. It is said that a certain orator in the French Assembly once quoted the dictum *Credo quia absurdum*, and ascribed it to St. Augustine; whereupon Bishop Dupanloup "indignantly denied that St. Augustine ever said anything of the kind." The

*onus probandi* thereupon fell, properly, on the quoter. We may well fancy that he was quite unprepared for either the challenge or an answer to it.

The mutilations undergone by the dictum of Tertullian—from *Certum est* to *Credo*, and from *impossibile* to *absurdum*—should cause little wonder when we recall how some of the most-quoted phrases of Shakespeare have been mutilated by curtailments until they have quite lost their original meaning. For instance, "Now is the winter of our discontent"—the opening line of *King Richard the Third*—has no meaning by itself, is but a logical subject and copula calling for the predicate in the next line, "Made glorious summer by this sun of York." The opening line is nevertheless often quoted singly; so that the sentence, thus curtailed, destroys *is* as copula and turns it into a complete verb—*exists*, as though the sense were: "Now is discontent come upon us like winter." Again, the incomplete sentiment and sense of "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin," is often used to extol the human impulse of fellow-feeling which requires but a touch, as it were, of our common nature to make the whole world a band of brothers. When Ulysses (*Tro. and Cres.*, act III. sc. 3) was rating the sulky Achilles, he used it in quite a different meaning:

One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,—  
That all, with one consent, praise new-born gawds,  
Though they are made and moulded of things past;  
And give to dust, that is a little gilt,  
More laud than gilt o'er-dusted.

A finer kind of mutilation is employed when a complete dictum is stolen from its cradle; loses, therefore, some of the parental care that should jealously guide its wanderings; and finally appears in all the strutting manhood of a *sui juris* sentence. A mutilation of this kind has been inflicted on the strong rhetoric of Tertullian. He did not write "*Credo quia impossibile*;" neither—to speak with logical, if not grammatical, strictness—did he say: "*Certum est quia impossibile*." The *Certum est*, as he wrote it, is not a general proposition, applying to all things impossible, but a particular proposition, applying to but one thing, as the context shows; "*et sepultus, resurrexit* (sc. *Christ*); *certum est quia impossibile*." How far the completed context may cause a revision of the meaning commonly associated with the mutilated sentence of Tertullian we shall consider further on. For the present it is sufficient to note that already the dictum has shrunk somewhat as a brilliant generalization.

That a divorce between text and context may prove a very valid

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misrepresentation of an author's real meaning is one of the most familiar facts in the literature of controversy. A generally unsuspected illustration of this fact is furnished by the jocular turn given to the words of Shakspeare: "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once." This remark is often addressed to a single person; as though the "order of going" referred to a *command*, or to one's *manner* of departure, rather than to the question of *relative precedence*. We have almost forgotten its original significance—the terrible agitation of Lady Macbeth as she implores the lords in the banquet-hall to forget their order of precedence in leaving the scene of her husband's horrible frenzy.

Taken thus from its context, and rendered more incisive by the change of *Certum est* into *Credo*, the dictum has been a theme of abuse based on a greater or lesser degree of misconception—not of its meaning, but—of its reputed author's meaning. We can get a pretty good peep into the scientific laboratory of some great men through this loop-hole of quotation. Hear Huxley: "When one thinks that such delicate questions as those involved fell into the hands of men like Papias (who believed in the famous millenarium grape story); of Irenaeus with his 'reasons' for the existence of only four gospels; and of such calm and dispassionate judges as Tertullian, with his *Credo quia impossibile*, the marvel is that the selection which constitutes our New Testament is as free as it is from obviously objectional matter."<sup>1</sup> The retort courteous furnished by these very words of Huxley to "men like Papias," Irenaeus, Tertullian, is surely the irony of logic. *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur!* Let us change the name and quote the great scientist against himself: "When one thinks that such delicate questions as those involved fell into the hands of men like" Huxley (who charges Tertullian with what he never said; who pretends to estimate that marvellous man, as though familiar with his writings, and describes him as a "calm and dispassionate judge!"<sup>2</sup>—a description of that gladiatorial figure as unique as are the impetuous argumentative onslaughts of the gladiator himself)—"the marvel is that the selection which constitutes the New Testament" of Science "is as free as it is from obviously objectional matter." Apropos of Huxley's "calm and dispassionate," we may make room for another estimate quoted by Prof. A. Harnack (in his article on Tertullian in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), who says that "His writings in tone and character are always alike 'rich in thought and destitute of form,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *A Literary Manual of Foreign Quotations*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian (*De Patientia* cap. 1.) confesses to an irritable disposition: "Ita miserimus ego, semper aeger caloribus impatientiae."

passionate and hair-splitting. . . . ' His eloquence . . . . wins hearers and readers by the strength of its passion. . . . Though he is wanting in moderation . . ." etc. The moral pointed by our illustration of Huxley's argumentative style is the unabashed ease with which scientific opponents of Christianity esteem as grist all that can be gleaned from the fruitful fields of literature.

To these two variants, namely, *Credo quia impossibile* and *Credo quia absurdum*, it is necessary to add still another. Proteus faces us now in a new disguise: "*Credo quia ineptum!*" Matthew Arnold, in his *Literature and Dogma*,<sup>8</sup> curiously holds as "the real objection both to the Catholic and to the Protestant doctrine as a basis for conduct;—not that it is a degrading superstition, but that it is *not sure*; that it assumes what cannot be *verified*." He then proceeds to attack specifically the Ritualists as beings on whom this objection "has and can as yet have, so far as one can see, no effect at all. Who that watches the energumens during the celebration of the Communion in some Ritualistic church, their gestures and behaviour, the floor of the church strewn with what seem to be the dying and the dead, progress to the altar almost barred by forms suddenly dropping as if they were shot in battle,—who that observes this delighted adoption of vehement rites, till yesterday unknown, adopted and practised now with all that absence of tact, measure, and correct perception in things of form and manner, all that slowness to see when they are making themselves ridiculous, which belongs to the people of our English race,—who, I say, that marks this can doubt, that for a not small portion of the religious community, a difficulty to the intelligence will for a long time yet be no difficulty at all? With their mental condition and habits, given a story to which their religious emotions can attach themselves, and the famous *Credo quia ineptum* will hold good with them still." I have quoted Arnold here rather extensively, in order to illustrate what is the meaning he attaches to the phrase. To render *ineptum* here by *ludicrous* would probably be not far from his understanding of "the famous *Credo quia ineptum*," although the trend of his "objection," more closely argued out, should require *ineptum* to be rendered *absurd*, or *foolish*, or *unreasonable*. Needless to say, we do not quote him for his logic or his reverence. The cogency of his illustration ("energumens!") is much less patent than its easy ridicule of emotions he does not share and cannot understand.

Let us pass on to another expression of our famous dictum—an expression which, in view of the wonderful unanimity of all the others thus far cited in respect of their opening word *Credo*, might

<sup>8</sup> *Passages from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold*, p. 212.

well seem at first sight to be the most corrupted of all. It runs: *Certum est quia impossibile est*, and is thus found in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (Cap. IX): "Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith: the deepest mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained, by syllogism and the rule of reason. I love to lose myself in a mystery; to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo!* 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved enigmas and riddles of the Trinity—incarnation and resurrection. I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian, *Certum est quia impossibile est.*"

Here we have the four of them—three agreeing in a *Credo* and disagreeing in all else:

1. *Credo quia impossibile.*
2. *Credo quia absurdum.*
3. *Credo quia ineptum.*
4. *Certum est quia impossibile est.*

Poor Tertullian! One feels that a Carlylesque apostrophe would not be out of order at this stage of our investigation: "O thou impossible Man! Shall not thy poor dust, scattered through the yet dustier pages of thy legion of professed commentators, have no rest in the gorgeous tomb or sculptured urn of a world-covenanted and unique expression of thy *haec dixit* instead of each man's own privy *ipse dixit* (twisted around to make the *ipse* refer not to himself, but to Thee and Thyself—whereas not *Thou* saidst, but *He* said it)? What? Thou hast not uttered these poor *Credos*? And has then the whole literary, and scientific, and philosophical, and part of the religious world, too, despite the swarms of bee-critics (and some would-be critics) who have sipped lifelong honey from thy flowers only to feed the Drones with a few drops of thy inept *Credos*—has this world of ours shrieked out 'Tertullian said,' the while Thou didst not say? Impossible!" What retort courteous might the great African Father make to such an apostrophe? What other, indeed, than his own *Certum est quia impossibile*?

And in that answer we should perceive variant No. 5.

What did Tertullian really say? To speak with logical exactitude, he said none of these things, but instead wrote the splendidly rhetorical sentence which has been the favorite quarry for the blasting out of these too serviceable marbles. He addresses Marcion, and not the Nineteenth Century literary man, or scientist, or philosopher: *Natus est Dei Filius; non pudet, quia pudendum est: et mortuus est Dei Filius; prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est: et sepultus, resurrexit; certum est, quia impossibile.*

Various as have been the *Credos* attributed to Tertullian, there has been withal a strikingly consentient interpretation of them. Their rhetoric has been construed very literally; and Tertullian stands in general literature as a type of those hysterical believers whose fanatical spirit best expresses itself in an abhorrence of ordinary reason and common-sense. Thus he appears to Huxley, "with his *Credo quia impossibile*;" who accordingly marvels at the freedom of the New Testament selection from "obviously objectional matter." Thus, also, to Matthew Arnold, with his "famous *Credo quia ineptum*," as a man on whom reasonable "objection" can have no effect at all. Thus, too, to Sir Thomas Browne, as the author of "that odd resolution. . . *Certum est quia impossibile est*," which answers all the objections of Satan and rebellious reason. Thus, too, he is to some a prototype of Pascal—that hardly less-edited marvel—who appears "as an almost ferocious ascetic and paradoxer affecting the *credo quia impossibile* in intellectual matters and *odi quia amabile* in matters moral and sensuous."<sup>4</sup>

It might be asked: Do these crystallized dicta accurately represent the spirit of Tertullian? Or does the interpretation generally affixed to them fairly translate his meaning? Neander spent, from the standpoint of a Protestant, much effort in interpreting the general spirit of Tertullian. The *Antignostikos; Geist des Tertullianus*, etc., published in 1826, and re-published in an enlarged and emended form in 1849, should, one might think, have laid the ghost of the *Credos* attributed to Tertullian; and, by a partial quotation there introduced of the Latin original, have made a misquotation, at least, if not misinterpretation, practically impossible. Such, perhaps, was his thought when he penned these words in the *Preface* to the *Second Edition*.<sup>5</sup> "There was a time of darkness, self-called enlightenment, which, in the contraction and obscurity of unconscious mental poverty, looked down with an air of pity on the greatness of earlier ages; it could not understand so striking a phenomenon as that of the new world of Christianity revealing itself to this man of rugged, wayward spirit, and fancied that by taking some paradoxical expressions of this eminent father on philosophy and reason, torn from their connexion, it could form an estimate of his whole character, thus judging of the fruit by the hard shell that protects it. But this time has passed away." We have italicized the cause of Neander's complaint, as well as his assurance that there is no further basis for it. The fact is, nevertheless, that the reason for the com-

<sup>4</sup> One of the estimates of Pascal referred to by Saintsbury.

<sup>5</sup> Ryland, publ. in Bohn's Stand. Lib., Vol. II., of *The Hist. of the Planting and Training*, etc., p. 195.

plaint has marvellously broadened since the day when Neander congratulated the present era on its improvement *in re* Tertullian. The Credos carelessly attributed to that "rugged, wayward spirit" have been multiplied and misinterpreted more than ever in our day. But let us hear the German historian further on the specific topic of our discussion. In his analysis of *De Carne Christi* he speaks of Tertullian's argumentative style, and incidentally refers to the words which have been the prolific parent of the Credos: "And here it may be proper to notice those words for which Tertullian has often been reproached, but which sound worse than they mean if taken in their connexion: '*Credibile est, quia ineptum est; certum est, quia impossibile.*' It may be easily perceived that the faith, the certainty of Tertullian, has a quite different ground from the *ineptum* and *impossible*, and he was perfectly conscious of this ground. In order to form a right judgment of so original a writer, we must compare with such expressions (on which his ardent mind seized as a bold antithesis in maintaining a really profound truth) those other expressions in which he so emphatically urges the importance of the *rationale*."<sup>6</sup>

Despite Neander's confident approbation of the improved scholarship of his time, the illustrations brought together in our present discussion make it very clear that the world of literary and scientific men will continue to attach a meaning to the Credos quite alien to the mind and intent of Tertullian. What shall the apologist do with these little toys strewn so carelessly on every floor of the *House of Fame*? He can not gather them into one heap and burn them—for then the *House of Fame* might itself be placed in jeopardy! But may he not hope that, by insistent and provident warnings, the unsuspecting guest may learn to avoid stumbling over them in such a fashion as to risk breaking his head in the encounter? *Credo quia impossibile* has unquestionably—although, at the same time, strangely—proved already much of a stumbling-block. In this connection it will doubtless prove interesting to consider the suggestion offered by Mr. Joseph Wharton, the prominent Philadelphian,<sup>7</sup> in his pamphlet printed last November for private distribution. The pamphlet (12 pp.) is entitled: "*Credo quia impossibile est.*" After noting that its title represents the common and wrong form of Tertullian's words, and after quoting the exact words of the original, Mr. Wharton urges his plea for a new connotation of the word 'quia.' So clearly and attractively is the argument made, that we

<sup>6</sup> *Antignostikos* (Ryland, p. 474).

<sup>7</sup> Founder of "The Wharton School of Finance and Economy" in the University of Pennsylvania, and a member of the Society of Friends.

should like to give space here to much of the author's own presentation of his theme; but our limits forbid. We avail ourselves of his courteous permission, however, to condense and to quote—which we shall do under the heading:

## II. "QUIA."

Mr. Wharton admits that the language of Tertullian under review is paradoxical, and that it remains so even after a version into English that renders *quia* concessively and that freely expands, by appropriate interpolations, the compact original into flowing English. His aim is, therefore, "merely to mitigate the ferocity of that paradox as usually construed by suggesting such English rendition of the declarations of the Latin text as," he believes, "Tertullian would admit to be a correct expression of his views, and thus to make him comprehensible by English readers" (p. 6). He would render, therefore, the original text of Tertullian as follows:

<p>Natus est Dei Filius; non pudet, quia pudendum est: et mortuus est Dei Filius; prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est: et sepultus, resurrexit; certum est, quia impossibile.</p>	<p>The Son of God was born: this is no cause for shame, though ordinary birth causes shame; and the Son of God died: this is perfectly credible, though it seems absurd; and having been buried, He rose again: this, though apparently impossible, is absolute fact.—(P. 4.)</p>
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In support of his suggested rendition of *quia* as *though* instead of *because*, he begs the reader to remember that Tertullian "was both subtle and uncompromising in controversy; that his mind appeared to leap at times to conclusions rather than take the pains to reach those conclusions by a series of logical steps; and that he seemed to delight in uttering paradoxes, perhaps to challenge attention to the points for which he was contending" (p. 1); and proceeds to argue as follows: "When Tertullian wrote there was no Latin-English lexicon; he wrote *quia* because that word, as he understood it, expressed what he wished to say, and it was no concern of his how some inhabitant of a distant country in a future age might construe the word. Our dictionary makers, in view of the numberless classical texts where *quia* obviously means 'because,' very properly set down that word as its synonym. Those who are mere dictionary users, although they may not in any instance lightly question this definition supported by such a wealth of examples, are at liberty to remember that Tertullian was a provincial—an African—writing at least two centuries after Cicero, and that distorted uses of words,

local perversions, variant meanings, and slang applications of words have always existed. A living language, as Latin emphatically was in Tertullian's time, is not absolutely rigid, but is plastic, as every philologist knows."<sup>a</sup>

He therefore asks: "May we assume that Tertullian aimed to accentuate his propositions by setting sharply against them opposites, which, while plausible, strengthen them by failing to overthrow them? May we therefore interpret *quia* as a disjunctive conjunction meaning 'although' or 'though'? May we, then, adding such words as seem fitting to expand the hard compactness of Latin into current English, interpret our text" as above?

Seeking an answer to these questions, Mr. Wharton submitted them first to a Catholic priest, who declared that Mr. Wharton's rendition of the text accurately represented the mind of Tertullian: then to "a learned professor in a great University who was pointed out" to him "as an eminent Latinist and a good authority concerning Tertullian," who disapproved the rendition: then to a second Catholic priest, who believed that *quia* should be rendered *because*; and, lastly, to a Protestant clergyman, "learned in Biblical and Oriental literature," who was inclined to accept *quia* in the sense of *because*. All of these advanced reasons for their respective views. The professor of Latin disallows the new connotation of *quia* as *though*, for the reason that the context does not imperatively demand it, and the usage of Tertullian militates against it. He notes that *quia* nowhere else in Latin has a concessive signification—an exact examination of the use of *quia* in post-classical Latin having already been made, with the result that a concessive *quia* is conspicuous by its absence; and that there is, therefore, an intrinsic improbability that it was used in this sense in one solitary passage of Tertullian. He objects to these interpolations in the English rendition: "*ordinary*," "*seems absurd*," "*apparently impossible*." The priest who had approved the rendition defends these interpolations on the score that Tertullian "jumped at conclusions, so rapid and impetuous was his thought, oftentimes leaving words to be filled in, just as writers and rapid talkers of our own day do." He contended that to fairly interpret a text, we should look at the context. Tertullian was engaged in refuting Marcion, and his refutation in capp. 4 and 5 was a running commentary on St. Paul, (I Cor. i. 27: "the foolish things of this world hath God chosen," etc.). When the text

<sup>a</sup> "Brander Matthews, for instance, writing of 'New Words and Old' in *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1898, says, "'We have found out that nobody in Rome ever spoke Ciceronian Latin; Cicero did not speak it himself. . . . We have discovered that there was a wide gap between the elegance of the orator's polished periods and the uncouth bluntness of the vulgar tongue of the Roman people.'"

is separated from this context, a merely literal rendering fails to suggest the mind of Tertullian. Concessives, interpolations—*anything* that will save the reader of an isolated text from a complete misunderstanding of its author's real meaning should be permitted in the rendition of it into a foreign tongue. The priest who was unwilling to render *quia* concessively, contended that Tertullian was taking his argumentative cue from the words of Christ, "With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible" (Matt. xix. 26), and had in mind not to make an *apology* (concessive) but an *apologia* (illative and vindictory) which might be paraphrased thus: If some one should tell me that Almighty God has intervened in human affairs, and should allege as characteristics or phenomena of that intervention such characteristics as a finite creature might display, I should distrust the tale; but if, in support of the reported intervention, such characteristics should be alleged as only an *all-mighty* Being could display, I should infer and believe the rather that God had indeed intervened because (*quia*) things impossible (to human power) had been accomplished. For instance: Humans are the prey of the grave; God will therefore conquer the grave—an *impossibile quid* with men—*ergo*, a characteristic of God and his intervention. *Sepultus* (Dei Filius), *resurrexit: certum est quia impossibile*.

Practically identical with this comment is the estimate of the "Protestant clergyman, learned in Biblical and Oriental literature:" "I understand Tertullian to mean that in the realm of the supernatural he is not limited by the limits of the natural. He is familiar with the saying of Jesus, 'The things which are impossible with men are possible with God' (Luke xviii. 27). As the event of which he speaks is in the realm of the supernatural, it is to him all the more credible because in the realm of the natural it is impossible" (p. 9).

Of the last two critics quoted, Mr. Wharton writes:

"Their interesting remarks agree in the assumption, which may be conceded, that Tertullian aimed in this famous text to point out the possibility to God of that which is impossible to man, yet their argument does not justify his use of *quia* (if that word must be held to mean "because"), for *quamquam* would have served as well as—nay, much better than—*quia* to establish a line of demarcation between the two sorts of possibility, and to indicate his belief that certain occurrences were possible and actual on one side of that line, notwithstanding their impossibility on the other side. Besides, the first proposition of the text, namely, "*Natus est Dei Filius; non pudet quia pudendum est*," where *quia* has exactly the same force as in the



two other branches of the text, is scarcely touched by that assumption, since that first branch involves not so much a question of divine possibility, as one of mere human sentiment or opinion.

"Obviously, Tertullian was thoroughly permeated by the feeling, experienced by so many in all ages, that the ways of God are not limited to the ways of man; that things impossible to man—nay, incomprehensible to man—are possible and open and feasible to God. . . . ."

"In setting forth his argument, however, he largely failed to obtain acceptance, and indeed challenged the denial which it has so often encountered, when he chose to write "*certum est quia* (instead of *quamquam*) *impossibile*."

"It is easy to hold that such nice discussion of words is mere waste of time when time is already too short for the engrossing events that crowd our busy days. It is easy to say that the robust old theologian who never asked for aid or quarter would disdain such elucidation as is here offered, and still easier is it to pass him by with the light sneer that no one now cares what Tertullian said or what he meant to say.

"But it is not quite in vain to smooth the way, if possible, for careful students whose reason is sure to be shocked by the naked old stumbling block that is here considered. . . . ."

Mr. Wharton concludes his paper by re-affirming his belief in the correctness of his rendition of the text, as a rendition that represents the *mind* of Tertullian.

### III. "IMPOSSIBLE."

The plea for a new connotation of the word *quia* is ingenious, and the estimates formed of it by its four critics are interesting in that they display the various phases which a disputed text will present to different habits of mind. The present writer does not discover a very great difficulty in the interpretation of the original Latin text; and especially when it is considered—as it shall be further on in this paper—in connexion with its context. That it is paradoxical,\* and boldly so, is true. But paradoxes are rhetorical quantities, and are to be weighed in the scales, therefore, of rhetoric rather than of strict grammar or etymology. *Verba non sono solo sapiunt, sed et sensu; nec auribus tantummodo audienda sunt, sed et mentibus*. Our Lord spoke at times in paradoxes as well as in parables; for a stupendous truth can often be best understood—although not com-

\* It is needless to say that we use the word *paradox* in its second meaning—a truth under an appearance of untruth, reasonableness under that of unreasonableness, a *consequentia* under that of an *inconsequentia*. Perhaps *oxymoron* would more exactly describe the argumentation of Tertullian.

prehended—in the form of a stupendous paradox. Thomassinus, in his Tract on the Incarnation, almost unconsciously falls into the inevitable paradoxes that surround the mystery of the God-Man. The Incarnation, he says, "coacervatio quaedam est impossibilium."<sup>10</sup> Like Tertullian, he quotes "the foolish things" of St. Paul's paradox; but in an inverse order of reasoning. We do not so much wonder that the Omnipotence of God, he says, should conquer death and hell; but we begin the better to estimate His power if He does this by his *weakness*, girding Himself with infirmity. This depth of insight into His power is afforded by the Incarnation. Tertullian, on the other hand, argues from the same text of the Apostle to establish, by a kind of *a priori* logic, that a correct view of His Omnipotence should lead us to expect that vision of infirmity which was manifested by His Incarnation. Thomassinus argues from the accepted fact of the Incarnation to the proper concept of the Omnipotence. Tertullian argues from the accepted fact of the Omnipotence to the Incarnation. The paradoxes of the former are treated as facts; of the latter, as probabilities. So startling as almost to be *bizarre*, Tertullian's paradox nevertheless does not hide, but rather vividly insinuates, a stupendous truth: so that Hurter,<sup>11</sup> thoroughly read as he was in the Fathers, quotes with implied approbation the "Natus est Dei Filius," etc., merely remarking on the boldness characteristic of the style of Tertullian: "Quare more suo audacter scribit Tertullianus."<sup>12</sup>

Tertullian's *quia* is therefore a paradoxical statement of the argument of *congruity*. St. Anselm, in his *Cur Deus Homo*,<sup>13</sup> states the congruity mildly in answer to the difficulties brought forward by Boso. Tertullian uses a stronger rhetoric flavored with a larger sprinkling of argumentativeness. Both appeal to reason. We fail to understand, therefore, a comment passed on the suggested rendering of Mr. Wharton by the "professor of Latin"—a comment which should be investigated in this connection, since it represents the popular estimate of Tertullian as merely an ecstatic, and somewhat bigoted, assertor of the truth of the Scriptures. "But is the '*credo quia absurdum*' of Tertullian really so absurd?" he asks; and answers his own question as follows: "*Non credo*. A careful perusal

<sup>10</sup> And continues: Quid enim ex hominum non de trivio imperitorum, sed de lyceo, sed de academia philosophorum iudicio magis impossibile, quam Deum hominem fieri, aeternum nasci, immortalem mori, incommutabilem pati, mortuum reviviscere, virginem matremque eandem esse" (L. I. c. 1).

<sup>11</sup> Tract. VII. Thes. cxli.

<sup>12</sup> As an illustration of a rather lengthy paradox which, however, condenses into crystalline limits and brilliancy withal, the longer sermons that should else be required to describe the sufferings of the damned, we make room here for this sentence of St. Gregory the Great: "Fit ergo miseris mors sine morte, finis sine fine, defectus sine defectu: quia et mors vivit, et finis semper incipit et deficere defectus nescit" (Mor. IX. 66).

<sup>13</sup> L. I. C. 8.

of the 'De carne Christi' and its companion essay 'De resurrectione' will convince you that the passage under notice is nothing more nor less than a defiant asseveration of the truth of the Scriptures implying the implicit acceptance, without question, doubt, or misgivings, of the New Testament narrative. I once heard Talmage say that if the Bible had said that Jonah swallowed the whale he would have believed it, simply because it was in the Bible. This is exactly the attitude of the fanatical, uncompromising propagandist, Tertullian."

We may first call attention to the fact that Tertullian did not say "*credo quia absurdum*," and that it was somewhat infelicitous thus to misquote him side by side with a recommendation to peruse carefully the two companion essays *De Carne Christi* and *De resurrectione*. We have here a little side-light thrown on the *genesis* and *exodus*—the origin and spread—of the *Credos* we have been considering.

Apropos of the professor's *Credo quia absurdum*, and as illustrating his sentiment with respect to the mind of Tertullian, that "fanatical, uncompromising propagandist," we make room here for another literary quotation. Dr. Paul Carus, in his *Primer of Philosophy* (Chicago, 1896: p. 28), is considering 'Experience,' and writes: "The second class of supernatural truths, i. e., mystical statements concerning extramundane affairs, are partly vague and partly absurd, so that they can neither be explained nor understood: they have simply to be believed. And this is the opinion of the supernaturalists themselves, stated in the sentence: *Credo quia absurdum*." Clearly, the 'supernaturalists' of Dr. Carus agree with the Tertullian of the Professor of Latin in "a defiant asseveration of the truth of the Scriptures implying the implicit acceptance, without question, doubt, or misgivings, of the New Testament narrative." We venture to think, nevertheless, that a careful perusal of the *De Carne Christi* will show the inaccuracy of this picture (of Tertullian, at least; for we are not concerned, just now, with the 'supernaturalists'). That Essay of the 'uncompromising propagandist' is certainly far from being a 'defiant asseveration,' etc. It is, in truth, very much of an *argumentum ad hominem*. At all events, it is not an *asseveration* but an *argument*.

A brief analysis of the first five chapters (the famous bone of contention is found in the *fifth* chapter) of the *De Carne Christi* will serve to disprove the estimate passed on Tertullian by the professor of Latin, and will furnish us with a reasonable basis for interpreting the mind of Tertullian. In the first chapter he states the purpose of his work, which is to refute those heretics (Marcion, Apelles,

Valentinus) who, rejecting the resurrection of our bodies, felt it necessary to deny to Christ a real flesh which suffered death on the Cross and rose again from the grave. To do this, the heretics refused to accept those portions of the Scriptures which militated against their position. With no other reason than the necessities of their position, they accepted what they pleased from the sacred text and rejected what they pleased. Was it absurd in Tertullian to point out to them that this was unreasonable? He asserts, therefore, his "prescription" against arguing scripturally with heretics—a principle having a special force in times that lay so very near to the original apostolic depositum and tradition. But even here he will not indulge in a mere violent asseveration of the truth of the Scriptures, but proceeds, in the most lawyer-like fashion, to choose for the arena of argument those portions of the scriptures which were admitted by Marcion in respect both of text and interpretation. What these portions exactly were we are largely forced to conjecture; but it is not unlikely that Tertullian was somewhat better informed on this subject than we can hope to be. He will first of all insist, however, on his own counsel or rule—one of his "prescriptions." He accordingly (*chapter the second*) rebukes Marcion for blotting out the records of Christ's nativity: "Ex qua, oro, auctoritate? Si propheta es, praenuntia aliquid; si apostolus, praedica publice; si apostolicus, cum apostolis senti; si tantum Christianus es, crede quod traditum est. . . "

If Tertullian had pursued his attack on Marcion merely by quoting the Scriptures against him, he would have assumed as a principle what Marcion denied, and would have given the professor of Latin some very slight basis for the assertion that the *De carne Christi* is but a defiant asseveration of the truth of the Scriptures. But Tertullian does not do this. Having insisted, properly enough, on the value of the prescriptive principle, he proceeds to abandon it as follows (at the end of Chap. II): *Sed plenius ejusmodi praescriptionibus adversus omnes haereses, alibi jam usi sumus. Post quas ex abundanti retractamus desiderantes rationem, qua non putaveris natum esse Christum.* Having elsewhere, he says, availed himself largely of "prescriptions" against all kinds of heresy, he considers a repetition of any one of them against Marcion as superfluous, and proceeds to investigate the particular reasons which may have led Marcion to deny the reality of the Flesh of Christ.

In *Chap. III.* he proves by an appeal to reason that Christ's nativity was something neither *impossible* nor *unbecoming* (hazardous) to God; and that an apparent Flesh is an hypothesis which Marcion's

own principles ought to regard as reflecting on the veracity of God. The discussion here is peculiarly philosophical, and not Scriptural. He argues that if neither the *impossibilitas* nor the *inconvenientia* may be alleged, perhaps Marcion's objection lay in the supposition of an *indignitas*? "Igitur si neque ut impossibilem neque ut periculosam Deo repudias corporationem, superest ut quasi indignam rejicias et accuses." (IV.) He still argues here philosophically, until the question becomes one merely of the different point of view, God's and man's. As Marcion was a great and singularly professed admirer of St. Paul, Tertullian quotes for him the words of St. Paul: "The foolish things of this world hath God chosen, that He might confound the wise." If the nativity of Christ were something foolish or unworthy of God, as looked at by earthly eyes and intellects, St. Paul warns us that this is no argument against the fact: "For the foolish things . . . hath God chosen." Now, asks Tertullian, what would the world esteem as "foolish" things? "The conversion of mankind to the worship of the true God? the rejection of error? the (new) training in justice, chastity, patience, mercy, innocence? But these are not foolish things!"—He bids Marcion look after the "foolish" things, and declares that Marcion shall not find a more foolish thing—and therefore more fully justifying the text of St. Paul—than the nativity of Christ. Whatever "foolishness" Marcion can allege, "non erit tam stultum quam credere in Deum natum, et quidem ex virgine, et quidem carneum, qui per illas naturae contumelias volutatus sit."

In *Chap. V.*, he admits that there are, certainly, other "foolishnesses," such as the sufferings and humiliations of Christ. Marcion had admitted the (apparent) crucifixion of Christ. Tertullian uses the admission thus: "Reject this (i. e., the scripture narrative of the crucifixion) also, O Marcion! you should do so with even greater reason. For which is the more unworthy of God—what could shame Him more—to be born or to die? to bear flesh, or the cross? to be circumcised, or crucified? to be raised or buried (*educari, an sepeliri*—apparently a playing on the "e" of *educare*, viz: "to be raised up, or to be laid down")? to be laid in a manger, or to be hidden in a tomb? It would be wiser in you to reject this (the crucifixion) than the nativity."

So far, Tertullian's line of argument is rather an appeal to reason than "a defiant asseveration of the truth of the Scriptures," as the professor of Latin (and "eminent authority on Tertullian") describes it. But just here he does make an appeal to Scripture; but it is to that Apostle whom Marcion revered and in whose epistles he took a special delight—St. Paul. If Marcion persisted in asserting



only an *apparent* crucifixion, then falsely did St. Paul judge himself to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified (I. Cor. ii. 2) and vain, therefore, is the faith of Christians (I. Cor. xv. 14). Tertullian's thought seems to be, that if the nativity involve "foolishness," more so does the resurrection; and yet our faith is built on this resurrection, which would not, however, be a real resurrection unless a real flesh had suffered death and burial. If all this great drama is but "foolishness" to the world, why, be it so! "Sed non eris sapiens nisi stultus saeculo fueris, Dei stulta credendo" ("You will not be wise unless you shall have become a fool to the world, by crediting the foolish things of God"). His argument is Pauline again.

And now we come to the famous text itself (*Chap. V.*) which has been the fruitful source of so much misinterpretation and misquotation; which has furnished from its richly stored armory so many hastily-snatched weapons both of those who seek to attack and of those who seek to defend truth. Huxley has brandished before our startled eyes *Credo quia impossibile*, and has demolished Tertullian with one sweep of the keen blade. With the lance of his *Credo quia ineptum* in rest, Matthew Arnold charges on Ritualists and Catholics alike. Furnished with the breast-plate of his *Certum est quia impossibile est*, Sir Thomas Browne could defy, while he invited, all the onslaughts of Satan and rebellious reason—nay, sighed only that there were no more worlds of doubt to conquer, declaring: "Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith" that he might answer all of them with "that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian." With the pin-prick of his *Credo quia absurdum* Dr. Paul Carus, of *The Monist* and *The Open Court*, can deflate the big balloon of "the supernaturalists." On the other hand, the Traditionalists, panoplied in this armor, could assert the propriety of a belief in all rumored miracle and marvel. But let us hear Tertullian himself—*Audi alteram partem!*

He has quoted St. Paul—Marcion's favorite writer—in defence of the "foolishness of God." And asks:

Quid destruis necessarium de-  
decus fidei? Quodcumque Deo  
indignum est, mihi expedit. Sal-  
vus sum, si non confundar de  
Domino meo. "Qui mei," in-  
quit, "confusus fuerit, confundar  
et ego ejus." Alias non invenio  
materias confusionis, quae me  
per contemptum ruboris pro-

Why do you destroy the nec-  
essary dishonor of our faith?  
Whatever is unworthy of God is  
my gain. I am safe, if I be not  
ashamed of my Lord. "Whoso,"  
saith He, "shall be ashamed of  
Me, I also will be ashamed of  
him." Other reasons (*than these  
of His humiliations*) I find not

bent bene impudentem et felicitestultum. NATUSESTDEIFILIUS;NONPUDET,QUIA PUDENDUM EST: ET MORTUUS EST DEI FILIUS; PRORSUS CREDIBILE EST, QUIA INEPTUM EST: ET SEPULTUS, RESURREXIT; CERTUM EST, QUIA IMPOSSIBILE. Sed haec quomodo in illo vera erunt, si ipse non fuit verus, si non vere habuit in se quod figeretur, quod moreretur, quod sepeliretur et resuscitaretur, carnem scilicet sanguine suffusam. . . . .

for shame, which, by my contempt of shame, should prove me to be rightly shameless and happily foolish. THE SON OF GOD WAS BORN—I AM NOT ASHAMED, FOR THE VERY REASON THAT THIS IS SHAMEFUL: AND THE SON OF GOD DIED—IT IS WHOLLY CREDIBLE, FOR THE VERY REASON THAT IT IS ABSURD: AND, BURIED, ROSE AGAIN—IT IS CERTAIN, FOR THE VERY REASON THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE. But how shall all this be true of Him, unless He had in Himself that which should be crucified, should die, should be buried and should rise again, namely, flesh suffused with blood. . . . .

Clearly, this is not “a defiant asseveration of the truth of the Scriptures.” It is simply a serviceable *argumentum ad hominem*. He says, in effect, to Marcion: Your reasons for rejecting the nativity of Christ must be some one of these, namely; that for God to assume real flesh is “impossible,” or “hazardous,” or “unworthy,” or “foolish.” But do you not see that the crucifixion of Christ, which you admit, presents a dilemma either horn of which is more repulsive to merely human reason? You are impaled on one horn of the dilemma if you contend for an *apparent* crucifixion; for this is to impeach the veracity of God, and to render nugatory that Magna Charta of our faith asserted by St. Paul, namely, that *if Christ be not risen again, our faith is vain*. But how could he rise again if that which was buried was not Christ, but only an *apparent* body? Turning from this horn of the dilemma, you are confronted with the other: for if you admit a *real* crucifixion, you admit something even more “impossible,” “inept,” “unworthy” than the nativity of Christ in real flesh. I conjure you, therefore, to recognize the manifest difference between God’s thoughts and man’s thoughts, His ways and our ways, His point of view and ours. Your wisdom is human, not divine. Correct it by the antidote of St. Paul, who has told us that “the foolish things of this world hath God chosen that He might confound the wise.” The “necessary dishonor of faith,” which you seek to escape from, is in reality that dishonor which a

Christian must lovingly embrace. The Son of God was born—is this shameful? Then the more gladly I accept the fact, for I see in it a part of the "necessarium dedecus fidei." And the Son of God died—is this inept? Then the more credible is the fact, for the very reason that I recognize in it an illustration of that "foolishness of God which is wiser than men" (I. Cor. i. 25). And having been buried, He rose again—is this impossible? Then it is an assured fact, for the very reason that "the things that are impossible to men are possible to God" (Luke, xviii. 27). You perceive, therefore, that what may seem to the "wisdom of men" to be ineptitudes, absurdities, impossibilities, may in reality be the most powerful illustrations of the fact that God's ways are not our ways. Assuming, then, that you concede all this, I ask you, how shall these things (the birth, death and resurrection of Christ) be properly construed as facts unless He had had that real flesh which alone could be born, could die, could rise again?

The reader who has followed attentively the course of Tertullian's argument must perceive that Tertullian does not bear himself like a fanatic who defiantly asserts the prerogatives of the *impossible*, the *foolish*, the *inept*, as against those of reason and common-sense. He is not flying an ecstatic pitch towards that *O altitudo* (Rom. xi. 33) quoted by Sir Thomas Browne. Rather is he appealing to Reason to correct her own false principles and to recognize her own limitations. And all the *Credos* attributed to him are but vague phantasms and hallucinations of his real attitude; are caricatures of his mental features; are, in effect, *dissecta membra* which should first be correctly collocated in their context ere they may warrant an estimate of the whole man. *Ex pede Herculem* is not always a safe conclusion; but it becomes a travesty of logical induction when the *pes* is not that of Hercules.

The Traditionalists (condemned in 1855 by the Holy See) caught the fine element of truth in the paradoxical argument of Tertullian; but, stretching it out into the extremest attenuation of logic, reduced the paradox to a practical absurdity—a real *Credo quia absurdum*. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, in his *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* (Vol. II., p. 214), has given to the oft-quoted *Credo quia impossibile* its gentler construction, although plainly he does not succeed in representing the argument of Tertullian. He was not, however, striving to do this—probably had it not even in mind—and the passage is reproduced here merely as a Catholic's use of the dictum:

"M. Gaume, accepting the situation that all traditional beliefs useful to the devotional life should be admitted, multiplied endlessly the marvellous legends submitted for the acceptance of the



pious. . . . Consequently, a thoroughly 'loyal' Catholic was expected to believe without difficulty every wonder which the populace reported. Improbability in the ordinary sense was a ground of probability to the religious mind. *Credo quia impossibile.*"

We shall close our sketchy notice of the *Credos* and the *Impossible* with a brief account of a book which, taking its inspiration from Tertullian's paradoxes, built up a whole argument on a kindred expression: *Incredibile, ergo divinum.*

#### IV. CONCLUSION.

There appeared in Paris, in 1843, a book entitled: *Onguent contre la Morsure de la Vipre Noire*, and purporting to be written by a certain Dr. Evariste de Gypendole, "First Surgeon Major of the Old Guard, Physician in Ordinary to the King of Lahore, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, etc., etc." Dr. Brownson, in his *Review* (July, 1845), gave the book a notice (which was printed as an article), and made most copious extracts. In 1852 a translation of the book was made by V. D. Barry, LL.D., (published at Louisville: Webb and Levering). Its title appeared as "A Salve for the Bite of the Black Viper" . . . translated from the French of the Abbe Martinet. To Dr. Barry's English version we are indebted for the extracts given below.

The Black Viper is Atheism, and, in general, all that *rudis indigestaque moles* comprised under the name of "Philosophism." The "Salve" is a quintessence of all the objections against Catholicity. Its special virtue lies in its concentrated venom. For instance, Dr. Gypendole admits the "Absurdity" of Catholic doctrine. We need no great powers of discernment to surmise that Tertullian's *ineptum* is fashioning the argument: "In its doctrine," says Dr. G., "Christianity is but a tissue of myths, of fables, of inconsistencies, repugnant to reason. It teaches that Jesus Christ is God: absurd! That he is born of a Virgin, even a Virgin: absurd! . . . That the Son of God was born in a stable, that he died upon a cross, between two criminals: absurd! . . ." Next comes Tertullian's *impossible*, as witnessed by the *Morality* of Christianity: "By its first commandment Christianity requires me to believe all the absurdities which compose its doctrine: Impossible! It requires me to forgive my enemies, to love them as myself: Impossible! . . ." After writing the "Impossible!" seven more times, he concludes: "Morality of Christianity a total impossibility!" Under the head of *Worship* he writes "Superstition" six times; and concludes: "Worship of Christianity an entire Superstition." The application of the Salve, thus compounded of all the venomous objections against Chris-

tianity, consists in requesting the philosopher who has been bitten by the Viper, to explain the spread and duration of Christianity. Dr. G. arrives at the conclusion: "Since the establishment of Christianity is wonderfully incredible and prodigiously impossible, it is as clear as that two and two make four, that God has wonderfully concerned himself in it; then the faith of the Universe is wonderfully divine. *Incredibile, ergo, divinum. Incredibilissimum, ergo divinissimum!*" (p. 77). On the next page he again repeats: "*Incredibilissimum, ergo divinissimum*: it is prodigiously incredible, therefore, wonderfully divine." The viperine poison in the philosopher's blood is being gradually counteracted by this antidote—on the principle, doubtless, of *similia similibus curantur*; until the philosopher is forced to cry out: "Doctor, your devilish salve is a snare. With that, I understand how the most insignificant old woman, who is provided with it, may live, without fear, among Infidels; and, what is stranger yet, be an *apologist as formidable as Tertullian*" (p. 82).<sup>14</sup>

Dr. G.'s insistent harping on this string is noticed in the following illustrations: "Behold then the phenomenon explained: *Incredibile, ergo divinum* (p. 110). "*Incredibilissimum, ergo divinissimum*" (p. 112); "*Incredibile*," etc. (pp. 117 and 119); "And nevertheless, millions of men, young and old . . . have, in spite of these millions of difficulties, a single one of which terrifies me, faithfully practiced the morality of Christianity. I know better than any one, how much that is above human strength, therefore—" (p. 120). Both phrases (in the *positive* and the *superlative* degree) appear on p. 122. The *Incredible* appears again on pp. 124, 129, 135, 137. Perhaps we shall be prepared, by this frequency of repetition, for the final rhapsody: "Incredible, therefore Divine! alone Incredible, therefore alone Divine! most perfectly Incredible, therefore most perfectly Divine! ! ! " (p. 141).

The "Salve" of the Abbe Martinet is not too rudely applied with the rhetoric of Tertullian. The argument *ad hominem* was used by him against Marcion: Dr. Gypendole used the same argument against atheists: "Meanwhile, go on, if it suits you, and when you shall have sufficiently wrangled, disputed, cavilled, declared in the loudest strains your little victory, enlightened faith, which already laughs and lets you go on, will come to drive you, armed with an unanswerable argument *ad hominem*; and defeating you with your own weapons, it will say to you: That is all very well, but now, wretches that you are, withdraw, you have only labored for us" (p. 138). And, finally, we perceive in the Doctor's paradox a professed admiration for that of Tertullian: "What shall I do, then, to shake

<sup>14</sup> Italics ours.

off the humiliating winding-sheet of Christianity, in which I am enveloped? Without entering into any discussion, either with myself or with others, I will choose the most incredible of all the mysteries of Christianity. Transporting myself in thought, or what will be better, in person, to the foot of the consecrated Tabernacle, to the sight of those weak symbols in which the Christian world adores the body and blood of a God, I will say to myself, with a celebrated man: 'No! there was no one but God, who could have imagined a morality so incomprehensible, so completely removed from human thoughts; there was no one but God, who could have the boldness to propound it as an indisputable truth; there was, above all, no one but God, who could succeed in causing it to be believed, with such facility, such universality and such constancy.' Then, making the noblest use of my reason, I will exclaim, with Tertullian: 'That is truly incredible, and yet the Universe has believed it; therefore, it is truly divine.' *'Incredibile, ergo divinum.'*"

In concluding this hasty glance at the paradoxical argumentation of Tertullian, with the Abbe Martinet's ingenious though inexact application of it, we venture a surmise that the whole idea of the attractive title "Salve for the Bite of the Black Viper," as well as the paradoxical form of the phraseology, was an inspiration caught from Tertullian. In his *Adversus Gnosticos Scorpiace* the African Father begins his long essay with a description of the bite of the Scorpion, and then by an easy transition leads the reader into a discussion of the spiritual treatment to be used as an antidote for the spiritual venom metaphorized by the Scorpion. From this work of Tertullian we have borrowed the text of our present paper; and as our discussion has been one of the meaning rather of Tertullian than of the mere paradoxes uttered by him, we shall conclude with that text: *Verba non sono solo sapiunt, sed et sensu: nec auribus tantummodo audienda sunt, sed et mentibus*" (*Adv. Gnost. Scorp.*, cap. 7).

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## IRISH SURNAMES.

The ruins of religious edifices which during centuries have been landmarks in the fairest regions of Ireland, are suggestive of an era when an intelligent Christian people dwelt in the land; recalling to the reflecting mind the brightest centuries in her history and the sad story of her misfortune. The corner-stones of these grand old ruins of cathedrals, of monasteries, of cloisters and of universities, whose vast outlines and whose great architectural beauty excite our wonder, were laid amidst surroundings of religious pomp by saints and venerable prelates during those centuries when the Roman Catholic Church held religious sway over all Ireland. No North, no South, no East or West, had its dark region; Christianity prevailed throughout the Island. During that "golden period" long lines of saintly ecclesiastics had sanctified the churches and shrines; successive lines of holy abbots and of abbesses had presided over monastic communities of men and of cloistered women; apostolic delegates from Rome had periodically presided in the councils of the Irish hierarchy; learned professors had in succession filled the cathedras of her universities, whose fame had attracted students from all parts of Christendom, as well as from unchristian centres of the Orient; while in the meantime there went forth from the "Island of Saints," inspired and holy missionaries, who carried the light of Christianity to some of the barbaric peoples of unchristian Europe.

This was indeed, the "golden period" in the history of the fated Island—the reign of Christian light; but alas! it preceded a long night so dark with misery, a period of such destructive vandalism so terrible in extent, that in the history of civilization, there will probably be found no parallel. Invading vandals came from a sister island and they were Christians; but after a struggle of 4 centuries, when finally the English yoke was fastened on the necks of the Irish people, there was but little left to remind of the "golden period" but spacious ruins which lent attraction to some romantic valley, or crowned a rock like Cashel. Chaos prevailed where religion had so long presided. But with the ruins of temples and shrines visible on every side, the native Irish clung to the faith and to the language of their forefathers; which faith was their greatest solace in their misery. Amidst all the temptations of money and power and during periodical persecution, compared to which the drastic Russian crusade against the religion, the language and the patriotism of the

unfortunate Polish people, during modern times, has been mere child's play.

The study of the Irish language, which was in universal use during the "golden period," has been taken up by literary men during recent decades in England. This study has for some time attracted the attention of intelligent minds in America; while some rare, some valuable, and some costly and extensive collections of Hiberniana may be found in the libraries of the latter.<sup>1</sup>

It is among the curious phases in the history of literature, which is so rich in perplexities, that a language so rigidly proscribed in penal enactments by English legislation, during previous centuries, should in modern times have become a fascinating study for many eminent English scholars, when the inherent prejudice existing in the average English mind against the Irish race is taken into consideration. While in the pursuit of this study, it has become evident that the Church in Ireland during the "golden period," held close relations with Rome, from the fact that before and after the invasion of Strongbow, the most precious collection of manuscripts in the Milesian language, which constitute a chronicle of religious events during these centuries, is to be found in the archives of the Vatican at Rome.

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to define the origin of the people of Ireland whether of Milesian or of alien stock.

The former possessed the soil during the "golden period;" the parent stock of the latter acquired a foothold by conquest or were colonized by right of conquest.

This purpose may be developed by a classification of the names of existing families.

"Many Irish names appear strange," writes the distinguished Irish scholar, Dr. Philip MacDermott, "and uncouth to the average English reader, though if their etymology and pronunciation were perfectly understood, they would be found truly beautiful and euphonious."<sup>2</sup> The names of the ancient Milesian families were prefixed with "Mac," and "O;" the latter apparently predominating with princes and distinguished men. Although the use of Irish surnames was forbidden under severe penalties by English Parliament they were nevertheless retained, and they continued to be used. The prefix to surnames of the "Mac" and the "O," has also been retained to a great extent and thus united have been borne not only in Ireland but throughout the civilized world.

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<sup>1</sup> From personal knowledge we venture to assert that the most extensive, the most valuable and complete collection of Hiberniana in America, is to be found in the library of Hon. W. J. Onahan, of Chicago, Ill.

<sup>2</sup> The *Annals of Ireland*, Translated from the Original Irish of the Four Masters, by Owen Connellan, Esq. Irish Historiographer, Etc. With Annotations by Philip MacDermott, M. D., and the Translator. Quarto. Dublin. 1846.

It is apparent that in countries which have been more or less identified as Catholic, such as Austria, France, Portugal and Spain in Europe, and the Spanish-American nations, Milesian family names are prominent at the present day, whose ancestral stock had been deprived of their landed possessions by political and alien oppression and forced into exile in the countries named, where their abilities and their swords have acquired recognition and honorable reward.

How many such names have become honored in America and are cherished with the highest regard?

In the glorious history of our wars during more than a century; in the formation of our territories and states as well as in the building up of our cities; in the development of our judicial system; but more particularly in the building up of our commercial, our banking, and our manufacturing interests; in the learned professions and in the development of political science; the "Mac's" and the "O's," representing the old Milesian stock, have held their place in the hierarchy of renown.

In no nation in the world, during the passing century, has there been such a development of religion, which in its progress, dwarfed the old Puritan systems, and to a great extent, severed the connecting links which bound America to the Established Church of England. In religious work, including all creeds, men with the prefix of "Mac" and "O," have been prominent factors. During this same period the marvelous progress of the Catholic Church, the creation of her hierarchy, the formation of her provinces and sees; the foundation of her universities and of other institutions of learning, the establishment under her auspices of asylums, and of resorts where the decrepit poor, the sick, and the fallen of the sex may be cared for, has been so marvellous in number and so great in extent, as to excite the wonder of co-religionists in the old world, and to suggest to eminent ecclesiastics in Europe, functioning under state supported systems, the suspicion that the Catholic religion which so expands and which so develops the Divine attributes of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, under a democratic system of government, and without state aid in construction, and without government support in operation, must be tainted with unorthodox liberalism.\* This, however, is not the conception of the status of religion in North America, entertained by the present venerable Pontiff, Leo XIII. But while there may be claimed for the "Mac's" and the "O's" such a prominent place in the front of religious work

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\* In support of this proposition, we may cite the personal testimony of the late Rt. Rev. Casper H. Burgess, as related to us; and *in re*, the life of the Very Rev. Isaac T. Hecker.

in this country, we cannot ignore the important part played by those of Irish birth and of Irish descent, in America, whose lineage is not of Milesian stock.

The great extent of this element in the population of the American Union, and in the provinces of Canada, constituting the Western Empire of British America, may not be generally appreciated. In relation to both America's, however, the study of the nomenclature in the text of this article may facilitate the appreciation of what we venture to suggest. At the close of the 18th century and omitting the names of Milesian stock having the prefix "Mac," the following Milesian family names which should have had this prefix, were in general use among prominent families:

Brady,	Corcoran,	Gilmore,	Reynolds,
Breen,	Costello,	Kenney,	Scanlon,
Brennan,	Coughlan,	Keogh,	Shane,
Campbell,	Curtin,	Lysaght,	Shanley,
Cassery,	Dunlevy,	Martin,	Sheehan,
Cassidy,	Eagan, <sup>1</sup>	Maurice,	Teige,
Clancy,	Gaffney,	Patrick,	Thomas,
Coggan,	Gilduff,	Philip,	Tully,
Cogan,	Gilfoyle,	Pierce,	Ward,
Colman,	Gilligan,	Rafferty,	and
Conroy,	Gilmichael,	Rannall,	Williams.

The proper Milesian designation would be Mac Brady, Mac Breen, Mac Brennan, Mac Cassidy, Mac Gilmore, Mac Patrick, Mac Thomas, etc.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The figures 1 and 2 affixed to certain names, point to a sad event in Ireland's history—the extinction of her Parliament in 1800, comprising a House of Lords and a House of Commons; which had been enfranchised from English control by the pressure of the Irish Volunteers under command of Lord Charlemont in 1782. "This Parliament," said Grattan, "in spite of its defects, did more for the country in the short space of time it was allowed to exist, than England had effected in all her long and varied struggle for liberty. Ireland had to create everything out of chaos. It was a Godlike work, and like the Divine Creation, required fiends to destroy it." As England could not control the "Godlike work," her minister Pitt determined to destroy the Irish Parliament. The Lords Clare and Castlereagh were given *carte blanche* to effect this fiendish project to crush the liberty of their own country.

"An act to unite England and Ireland" under the control of the British Parliament and to abolish the Irish Parliament was introduced in the latter by Lord Castlereagh, which was defeated in January, 1799. During all that year the purchase of votes to carry the "Union," as the measure was called, proceeded. Titles of nobility, judiciary positions, commissions in the army, lucrative appointments, official patronage, fat pensions and sums of money varying from \$20,000 to \$100,000, were among the inducements given for votes. By this infamous process, a scandal unparalleled in political history, was the "Union" carried June 7, 1800, when, as Grattan said, "Ireland ceased to be a Nation."

The names of the incorruptible who cast their votes in the Irish Parliament against the "Union," is known in Irish history as the "Red List." The names of those who sold the freedom of their country is known as the "Black List;" the reward these renegades received for their respective votes may be seen in detail in the "Memoirs of the Life and Times of Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan, by his Son." Vol. V., pp. 181-196. London, 1849.



In like manner as with the Milesian "Mac's," the Milesian "O's" about the same period had changed their names to a considerable extent; the following prominent families, omitting the prefix "O," had for their surnames:

Ahern,	Dempsey,	Fury,	Kelly,
Bannon,	Devine,	Gallagher,	Kenally,
Behan,	Devlin,	Garvey,	Kennedy,
Bolger,	Dinnan,	Gormly,	Kenny,
Boylan,	Dogherty,	Gormon,	Kernaghan,
Breen,	Dolan,	Gowan,	Keveny,
Brennan,	Dooley,	Grady, <sup>2</sup>	Killeen,
Brien,	Donnegan,	Hagan,	Kirwan,
Carberry,	Donnellan,	Hagarty,	Kirwich,
Carey,	Donnelly,	Halloran,	Lane,
Carroll,	Donoghoe,	Hammil,	Lanigan,
Casey, <sup>2</sup>	Donovan,	Hanley,	Larkin,
Cashin,	Devany,	Hanrahan,	Laverty,
Cassidy,	Doran,	Hanratty,	Lawler,
Coffey,	Dowling,	Harney,	Leahy,
Coleman,	Doyle,	Hart,	Leary,
Colgan,	Drinnan,	Healy,	Leddy,
Connaghton,	Driscoll,	Heany,	Lenaghan,
Connelly,	Duff,	Heffernan,	Lennan,
Cooney,	Duffey,	Hanlon,	Lonargan,
Connor,	Dugan,	Hennessy,	Longan,
Considine,	Dunlevy,	Henry,	Lynch,
Corcoran,	Dunn,	Herlihy,	Mahony,
Cosgrove,	Dwyer,	Heyne,	Malone,
Cowhey,	Early,	Higgins,	Manning,
Creedon,	Fahy,	Hogan,	Marky,
Crotty,	Falvey,	Hoolaghan,	Masken,
Crowly,	Farrell,	Horan,	Meagher,
Cullen,	Fay,	Hosey,	Mearn,
Cullinan,	Flaherty,	Hurley,	Madden,
Curry,	Flannery,	Kane,	Meehan,
Daly, <sup>1</sup>	Flannigan,	Kean,	Meeny,
Danagher,	Flattery,	Kearney, <sup>2</sup>	Melford,
Deas,	Finnegan,	Keely,	Mellan,
Delancy,	Fogarty,	Keenan,	Milliken,

It should be stated that the Irish Parliament which had done so much "Godlike work," was *exclusively non-Catholic*; gentlemen of the Catholic faith were debarred by their religion from sitting in either house. The figure 1, is annexed to names in the "Red List," and the figure 2, to those in the "Black List." *Very few are thus designated in the table, of Milesian names*; the great majority will be found among the names of alien stocks.



Moloney,	Muldoon,	Nelligan,	Ryan,
Mooney,	Mulledy,	Nolan,	Scanlon,
Moore, <sup>1</sup>	Mullin,	Quinn,	Scully,
Monaghan,	Mulligan,	Rafferty,	Shea,
Moran,	Mulloy,	Regan,	Sheridan,
Moriarty,	Mulready,	Reilly, <sup>1</sup>	Shiel,
Morny,	Mulroony,	Riordan,	Spillane,
Morrissey,	Mulvey,	Roony,	Sullivan,
Mulally,	Murphy,	Roman,	Tiernan,
Mulcahy,	Neenan,	Ronayne,	Tierney.

The proper designation of these Milesian names would be, for example; O'Ahearn, O'Halloran, O'Sullivan, O'Tierney, etc.

But the reader should not lose sight of the fact that the examples of Milesian surnames given from which the prefix "Mac" or "O" has been dropped, is, in extent, as to their number, small in comparison with the greater number and variety of surnames having such prefix; names which have become familiar in Europe and in America, and which figure largely in the population of the United States and the larger portion of Canada.

Twice were the lands of Ireland seized by English spoilers, of Catholic and of non-Catholic faith. In both outrages, the legitimate owners were dispossessed; whether peasant, or of gentle blood, the occupants of the soil were forced to seek shelter; the lowly in the uncultivated mountainous regions available—the well born in such refuge as their means might afford, or in exile across the sea. After the defeat of the Milesian kings, and to a considerable extent of their chieftains, their depopulated possessions were given in reward to English court favorites, whether nobles, partizan officers, or political adventurers; some of these sold their acquisitions but many others brought from England Anglo-Norman colonists who were assigned land for cultivation on liberal terms.

Some of these English Catholic settlements which were planted in the "Golden Vale" in the south and in the fairest regions of Ireland flourished, and several generations were born and lived upon the soil, and thus was founded the race of the Anglo-Norman Irish.

But under Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, the Anglo-Norman Irish, noble and plebeian alike, were called upon to conform to the "reformed religion" and to renounce their ancient faith; this they refused and an aggressive war of extermination ensued, which was continued under succeeding dynasties.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> 65,000 native boys and maidens, many of whom were well born, Christian youth and virgins alike, were reft from their homes, sold to slave dealers in London, who sold these unfortunates as slaves to the planters in the West India, or wherever elsewhere in the American regions a market for them could be found.

When this was ended the Anglo-Norman Irish, both high and low, had paid the penalty of the spoliation of the Milesian possessors of the soil by their ancestors. Cases of apostacy enabled some to retain their titles and others their possessions; many were put to death; others were banished, but with retributive penalties, the second series of spoliations ensued; the victims of which were the descendants of the perpetrators of the first series.

Ireland was desolated to such an extent that in the province of Munster, one might travel 20 or 30 miles without meeting a living being.

By a repetition of history the principalities were divided among the favorites of the English court, and the baronies and townships among military and political adventurers, resident and non-resident, and the lands among needy soldiers. All the possessions of the Catholic cathedrals, churches, universities, monasteries and convents, with miles upon miles of productive domain, were confiscated and bestowed upon the Protestant Irish Church, which was established in place of the ancient church founded by Saint Patrick; an Irish Protestant hierarchy with parochial functionaries created at the same time, were endowed with the confiscated domain, which comprised the fairest and most productive lands in Ireland. This was the origin of the second general accession of alien population from the nearby Kingdom of England.

Besides, the Protestant bishops and functionaries were assigned exorbitant salaries, to be paid in part by revenues from the confiscated domain and principally from tithes of the products of the soil.

An additional influx of English colonists succeeded; with the exception of the province of Ulster, whose chieftains and noblemen had not been entirely subdued and a comparatively small number of Milesian chieftains elsewhere who had succeeded in retaining their possessions, all Ireland had been placed under control of the established Irish Church dignitaries, the "reformed" Anglo-Irish nobility, of alien office holders, of rewarded English partisans and of such of the absentee court favorites as had not sold their grants in the ill-fated kingdom; while the indigenous Milesian population had been reduced to beggary or had found a refuge in more congenial countries on the continent and peninsulas across the sea. In other words, Ireland had passed into the hands and under the control of English aliens.

This completed the foundation of the Anglo-Irish element of population which at the close of the 18th century was represented principally by the families whose surnames follow:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Alphabetical list of the Mayors or Provosts of Dublin from 1308 to 1664, and of the Lord Mayors from 1655 to 1817.

Agar,	Bagg,	Berresford, <sup>2</sup>	Bolton,
Alcock, <sup>1</sup>	Bagwell,	Berrill,	Botet, <sup>2</sup>
Aldrich, <sup>2</sup>	Ball, <sup>1</sup>	Berwick,	Bourke,
Allan,	Barker,	Bingley,	Boyce, <sup>2</sup>
Ameas,	Barnett,	Bingham, <sup>2</sup>	Boyle, <sup>2</sup>
Annesley,	Barrington, <sup>1</sup>	Bird,	Brabazon,
Anthony,	Barron,	Bissett,	Brereton,
Archbold,	Barnwall,	Blackney, <sup>1</sup>	Brett,
Archer,	Barry, <sup>1</sup>	Blackwood, <sup>2</sup>	Broderick,
Astle,	Beaumont,	Blake, <sup>2</sup>	Brooke, <sup>1</sup>
Athy,	Beamish,	Blaquier, <sup>2</sup>	Browne, <sup>2</sup>
Audly,	Beecher,	Blennerhassett,	Brownell,
Aylmer,	Bellow,	Bligh,	Bruen,
Aylward,	Benson,	Blount,	Burberry, <sup>2</sup>
Bagot,	Berkley,	Bloomfield,	Burdet, <sup>2</sup>
Bagnall,	Bermingham,	Blundel,	Burrowes, <sup>1</sup>
Bagnoll, <sup>2</sup>	Bernard,	Bodkin,	Burke,

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Adamson, Adrianverner, Alcock, Alexander, Allen, Alley, Andrews, Aldrich, Archer, Arthur, Bailie, Ball, Barby, Barker, Barkey, Barlow, Barnell, Barry, Barlet, Bath, Beake, Bee, Bellew, Bellington, Bell, Benett, Berle, Beresford, Bermingham, Best, Bevan, Bilington, Bishop, Blackhall, Blake, Bloxham, Bolton, Booker, Boys, Brewster, Brice, Browne, Burke, Burnell, Burren, Burrowes, Burton, Calloner, Cantrall, Cariton, Carvill, Cash, Castleton, Chamberlain, Chambers, Cook, Cooke, Collier, Couran, Cosgrove, Craddock, Crampton, Cramp, Cranwell, Creagh, Curtis, Cusack, Darley, Darragh, Decy, Dermot, Desmyniers, Deviniah, Dew, Dickson, Dixon, Douce, Dovewicke, Dowdall, Dows, Drake, Duff, Duffy, Eastford, Ebb, Eccles, Elliot, Emerson, Empron, English, Eustace, Evans, Exshaw, Falkiner, Featherstone, Fegan, Field, Finglas, FitzHenry, FitzLeones, FitzRery, FitzRoberts, FitzSimons, Fleming, Forbes, Forrest, Foster, Fownes, French, Gallan, Galleon, Gaydon, Geale, Gerald, Gibbons, Gilbert, Golding, Goodwyn, Gore, Gough, Grattan, Green, Hacket, Hamilton, Hancock, Hart, Hatfield, Herbert, Highgreen, Hodgison, Hodson, Hone, Horan, How, Howison, Hull, Humphrey, Hunt, Hutton, James, Jenkin, Jervis, Jones, Kane, Kelly, Kilberry, King, Knox, Lawless, LeDecer, Lenon, Lightburne, Long, Longhran, Lovett, Lovestock, Lowther, Macarrell, Malone, Manders, Marks, Marechal, Mead, Meillier, Mereward, Mitchell, Moncrieffe, Money, Mornes, Motley, Motygan, Murray, Newberry, Newman, Nottingham, Nuttall, Ottrington, Page, Passavant, Pearson, Pemberton, Pembroke, Pentony, Peppard, Philips, Piercy, Pigot, Plunket, Poole, Porter, Preston, Pugh, Quail, Quaitrot, Quin, Ram, Rameford, Reader, Reed, Reysin, Reynolds, Ripton, Roach, Rochford, Rogers, Rogerson, Ross, Rose, Rossell, Rouncelle, Sarsfield, Savage, Sedgrave, Sergeant, Silliard, Shelton, Sherman, Shillingford, Shortall, Somervell, Spenfield, Stackbold, Stanihurst, Squire, Stevens, Stoyte, Sutton, Talbot, Tanner, Taylor, Tew, Tigh, Totty, Tue, Tyrrell, Usher, Van Homrigh, Verdoen, Wade, Wakefield, Wakepont, Walker, Walsh, Walton, Ward, Waterhouse, Watts, Watson, West, Weston, White, Whitewell, Wiggett, Willkinson, Woder, Wybrant, Wydon, Young.

A careful study of these 260 names of representative citizens of Dublin, shows that during 4 centuries no incumbent of the mayoralty was of Milesian stock. Could the records, during the same period, of all the other municipalities of Ireland be examined, a similar result would probably be found. Except in Ulster, the Anglo-Norman Irish stock has, during all these centuries steadily increased in the cities, and partakes largely of the Nation's population; while the Milesian stock has more than proportionally increased as a rural population.

The alphabetical list has been compiled from the chronological list, given in Appendix No. IX., in the "History of the City of Dublin, etc., By J. Warburton, Rev. J. Whitelaw, M. R. I. A., and Rev. Robert Walsh, M. R. I. A." Quarto, 2 Vols., pp. 1368. London, 1828.

Burton, <sup>1</sup>	Corr,	DeVerdon,	Fitzmaurice,
Bury,	Corry, <sup>1</sup>	DeVessey,	FitzRichard,
Bushnell,	Cosby,	Digby,	Fitzsimons,
Bushe, <sup>1</sup>	Cotter, <sup>2</sup>	Dillon,	Fitzwilliam,
Butler, <sup>2</sup>	Cotton,	Disney,	Ffrench, <sup>1</sup>
Caddell,	Craddock, <sup>2</sup>	Denny,	Fleming,
Cane, <sup>2</sup>	Creagh,	Derenzy,	Flower,
Canton,	Creighton, <sup>2</sup>	Despard,	Flowerden,
Cantwell,	Crofton,	Devereux,	Folliot,
Carew, <sup>1</sup>	Croke,	Dobbin,	Fortescue, <sup>2</sup>
Carpenter,	Croker,	Dobbs,	Forward, <sup>2</sup>
Carr,	Cromwell,	Domville,	Foster, <sup>1</sup>
Carlton,	Crosby, <sup>2</sup>	Dongan,	Fox, <sup>2</sup>
Carroll,	Crowe, <sup>2</sup>	Dorwelle,	Freke, <sup>1</sup>
Cantfield,	Cruikshank, <sup>1</sup>	Dowdall,	Furlong,
Cavendish, <sup>2</sup>	Cuffe, <sup>2</sup>	Down,	Gage,
Chamberlain,	Culme,	Doyne,	Gamble,
Chetwind,	Cusack,	Drake,	Gardiner,
Chichester,	Dalway, <sup>1</sup>	Drought,	Garnet,
Child,	Daly,	Drew,	Garret,
Cfinnery, <sup>2</sup>	Darcy, <sup>1</sup>	Duchet,	Giffard,
Cholmondely,	Dawnt,	Duff,	Ginkle,
Christmas,	Davis,	Dunloe,	Godfrey,
Clement, <sup>1</sup>	Dawney,	Dunne, <sup>2</sup>	Goold, <sup>1</sup>
Clinton,	Dawson, <sup>1</sup>	Dutton,	Gore, <sup>2</sup>
Cobb,	D'Alton,	Edgeworth, <sup>1</sup>	Gorges, <sup>1</sup>
Codd,	DeBermingham,	Egan, <sup>1</sup>	Gough,
Coddington, <sup>1</sup>	DeClare,	Elliot,	Grace,
Cockayne,	DeCourcy,	Emmet,	Grattan, <sup>1</sup>
Cogan,	D'Exter,	Esmond,	Green,
Coghill,	DeFleming,	Eustace, <sup>2</sup>	Grimes,
Cole,	DeGernon,	Evans, <sup>1</sup>	Gunn,
Comerford,	DeHereford,	Fairfax,	Hamilton, <sup>1</sup>
Condon,	DeLacy,	Falkiner, <sup>1</sup>	Handcock, <sup>2</sup>
Conyn,	De La Hyde,	Fane,	Harding, <sup>1</sup>
Conyer,	DeLoundes,	Ferard,	Hardman,
Cooper, <sup>1</sup>	DeMassere,	Fetherston, <sup>2</sup>	Hardy, <sup>1</sup>
Coote, <sup>1</sup>	DeMoleyn,	Field,	Hare, <sup>2</sup>
Cooke, <sup>2</sup>	DeNugent,	Fish,	Harman, <sup>1</sup>
Cope, <sup>2</sup>	DePepard,	Fisher,	Hart,
Copeland,	DeRiddlesford,	Fitzeustace,	Harvey,
Core,	DeSpencer,	Fitzgerald, <sup>1</sup>	Hartpoole,
Cornwall,	De St. Michael,	Fitzharris,	Hastings,

Hatton, <sup>2</sup>	Kingsborough, <sup>1</sup>	Maynard,	Pope,
Hauger,	Kingsmill,	Meagh,	Power, <sup>1</sup>
Hayes,	Kirwan,	Metge, <sup>1</sup>	Prendergast, <sup>2</sup>
Heatherington,	Knight,	Molesworth,	Preston, <sup>1</sup>
Heneker, <sup>2</sup>	Knott, <sup>2</sup>	Molyneux,	Probys,
Herbert,	Lake, <sup>2</sup>	Moneel,	Powell,
Hevenden,	Lambert, <sup>1</sup>	Monson,	Pulland,
Hewitt,	Langrishe, <sup>2</sup>	Montgomery, <sup>1</sup>	Purcell,
Heyburn,	Lawless,	Moore,	Quinn, <sup>2</sup>
Hickman,	Lea, <sup>1</sup>	Morgan,	Ram, <sup>1</sup>
Hill,	Leader,	Morris, <sup>2</sup>	Rawson,
Hoare, <sup>1</sup>	Lee, <sup>1</sup>	Musgrave, <sup>2</sup>	Read,
Hobson, <sup>2</sup>	Leigh,	Nangle,	Redmond,
Hodnet,	Leeson,	Nash,	Rice,
Holmes, <sup>2</sup>	Leighton, <sup>1</sup>	Needham,	Rice-Spring,
Hollywood,	Leonard,	Nellerville,	Richards,
Holt,	LePoer,	Nesbit, <sup>2</sup>	Riddall,
Hopkins, <sup>2</sup>	Lesley, <sup>1</sup>	Newenham,	Ridgeway,
Howard, <sup>2</sup>	Lill,	Neville, <sup>2</sup>	Roche, <sup>2</sup>
Howth,	Loftus, <sup>2</sup>	Nicholson,	Rochfort, <sup>1</sup>
Hughes,	Logan,	Nugent,	Roper,
Humphrey,	Lombard,	Odel, <sup>2</sup>	Rossiter,
Hussey,	Longfield, <sup>2</sup>	Ogle,	Roth,
Hutchinson, <sup>2</sup>	Luttrell,	Ormsby, <sup>2</sup>	Rowan,
Hyde,	Lyster,	Osborn,	Rowelston,
Irving,	Macnamara,	Packenham, <sup>2</sup>	Rowley, <sup>2</sup>
Irwin, <sup>1</sup>	Mahon, <sup>1</sup>	Palmer,	Rush,
Jacob,	Mandeville,	Parcell,	Russell,
Jackson, <sup>2</sup>	Mansfield,	Parsons,	Rutledge, <sup>2</sup>
Jebb,	Mansell,	Penefather, <sup>2</sup>	Ruxton, <sup>1</sup>
Jephson, <sup>2</sup>	Manning,	Peppard,	Sandford, <sup>2</sup>
Jocelyn, <sup>2</sup>	Marburie,	Percival,	Sarsfield,
Johnson, <sup>2</sup>	Marsden,	Perry,	Savage, <sup>2</sup>
Jones, <sup>2</sup>	Martel,	Petits,	Savage, <sup>1</sup>
Jordan,	Martin, <sup>2</sup>	Petty,	Saville,
Joyce,	Massey, <sup>2</sup>	Phepos,	Sedborow,
Keane, <sup>2</sup>	Masterson,	Phipps,	Sendamore,
Keating, <sup>2</sup>	Maude,	Pigot,	Sharkey, <sup>2</sup>
Kemmis, <sup>2</sup>	Maunsel, <sup>2</sup>	Pitt,	Shaw, <sup>1</sup>
Kenney,	Mason, <sup>2</sup>	Plunket, <sup>1</sup>	Sheares,
Kent,	Marward,	Pole,	Sherlock,
Key,	Matthew, <sup>1</sup>	Pomeroy, <sup>1</sup>	Shirley,
King, <sup>1</sup>	Maunsel,	Ponsonby,	Shortalls,

Sibthorpe,	Stapleton,	Trench, <sup>2</sup>	Walshe,
Sinnot,	Staunton,	Trevillian,	Wandesford,
Sitgreaves,	Stewart, <sup>1</sup>	Trevor,	Warburton,
Skiffington, <sup>1</sup>	Stratton, <sup>2</sup>	Tuite,	Ward,
Sneyde, <sup>1</sup>	Stratford, <sup>2</sup>	Tyrrell,	Warren,
St. George, <sup>1</sup>	Supple,	Uniack,	Wellesley,
St. John,	Sutton,	Unice, <sup>2</sup>	Westby, <sup>1</sup>
St. Lawrence,	Synge, <sup>1</sup>	Usher,	Westenra,
St. Leger,	Taaffe, <sup>2</sup>	Vandekur, <sup>2</sup>	Whaley, <sup>1</sup>
Smith, <sup>2</sup>	Talbot,	Varney,	Wharton,
Smythe, <sup>1</sup>	Taylor, <sup>1</sup>	Vaughan,	White,
Southwell,	Temple,	Vernon,	Wilden,
Spring,	Tew,	Vernor, <sup>2</sup>	Wilmot,
Spring-Rice,	Tighe, <sup>1</sup>	Verreker, <sup>1</sup>	Willoughby,
Stack,	Tinglase,	Vessy,	Wingfield,
Stackpole,	Tobin,	Vincent,	Wirrall,
Stafford,	Toler, <sup>2</sup>	Wadding,	Woder,
Stanhurst,	Tone,	Waller, <sup>1</sup>	Wolfe, <sup>1</sup>
Stanley, <sup>2</sup>	Tottenham, <sup>2</sup>	Waldron,	Wynne, <sup>1</sup>
Stannus, <sup>2</sup>	Townshend, <sup>1</sup>	Wall,	Yelverton.
Staples, <sup>2</sup>	Tracy,	Walpole,	

These names are to be found in all the Irish records prior to the commencement of the 19th century; many of them are in the pedigrees of the nobility of the English creations and the gentry of English descent.

They will also be found frequently mentioned in the history of political, of military and of naval events, and in the annals of the Irish judiciary during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

Those of Norman descent are easily distinguished by the prefix of "De" and Fitz," while others are of Anglo-Norman lineage. Lesley and others are of Scottish lineage dating back to the settlement of their ancestors early in the 17th century, while MacNamara and Mahon may be claimed to be of pure Milesian stock.

A study of these names *in extenso* will show to what extent this species of the Irish race has taken root in American soil.

The following Anglo-Norman and English families adopted Irish surnames: The de Burgo's or Burke's of Connaught, took the name of MacWilliam, and some of them that of MacPhilip; the D'Angelos' or Nangle's of Meath and Mayo, changed the name to McCostello; the d'Exeters of Mayo to MacJordan; the Barretts of Mayo to MacWattin; the Stauntons of Mayo to MacAveely; the de Berminghams of Connaught, to MacFeoris; the Fitzsimons of Kings', to MacRudery; the Poers of Kilkenny, to MacShere; the

Butlers to MacPierce; the Fitzgeralds to MacThomas and MacMaurice; the de Courcys of Cork, to MacPatrick; the Barrys of Cork to MacAdam, and many others in like manner. Many of the Milesian Irish, on the other hand, anglicized their names and many of them have so translated and twisted their surnames, that it is extremely difficult to determine whether these families are of English or of Irish descent; hence several of them of Irish origin are considered to be of English descent.

"In the reigns of the Henrys and Edwards many penal acts of Parliament were passed, compelling the ancient Irish to adopt English surnames, and the English language, dress, manners and customs; and no doubt many of the Milesian Irish (to use the term) took English surnames in those times, to protect their lives and properties, as otherwise they forfeited their possessions and were likely to be punished as Irish enemies."

The rulers of Scotland for several centuries came from Ireland before the heel of the invader had polluted Irish soil.

The royal house of Stuart is of Norman-Irish descent—and it fell to James Stuart, first of this unfortunate line of English monarchs, to depose the hereditary Milesian chieftains and rulers of Ulster, to confiscate their titles to their lands comprising 7 counties, namely: Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone. In order to wipe out the ancient faith, the hereditary owners of the lands in these countries were dispossessed and large tracts were conferred upon a few British noblemen, and upon Scottish adventurers, who would undertake to colonize. But the greater extent of the lands of these 7 counties was acquired by wealthy London corporations and by London Guilds, whose money, needed by the English court, enabled them to purchase English titles to the territory of this fair portion of Irish soil for nominal consideration, *which these Corporations and Guilds control at the present day.* It was stipulated, however, that the purchasers of the spoliated counties should drive out the indigenous occupants of the soil, who would be forced to seek refuge in the forests and mountains, and to replace them with colonists of Anti-Catholic belief. This drastic process was consummated with lamentable cruelty.

It is described in English history as the "Plantation of Ulster!" It is one of the most infamous transactions which stains the history of English domination in Ireland. Its epoch was 1606. The colonists who came to these 7 counties were called "planters and undertakers," many of whom came from Scotland, the latter were the disciples of Knox and intensely bigoted. It was from the immigra-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Philip MacDermott, annotations to "The Annals of the Four Masters." P. 314.

tion of this class of people early in the 17th century that Ulster was partially repopulated. Some of the descendants of these "planters and undertakers" of Ulster have in recent years in the United States sought to obtain recognition as "Scotch Irish." These should develop the Hessian-American descendants of Revolutionary times, who might claim as great ancestral distinction as the "Scotch Irish." In regard to the ancestry of the latter it is a fact that many of the original Scotch "Planters and Undertakers" were of ancient Milesian stock, who in this manner, but with alien religious belief, found their way back to the country of their ancestors.

The Province of Ulster, whose territory to a great extent was acquired and controlled at the epoch stated, by London corporations and Guilds, was, so far as the Catholic religion was concerned, partially transformed. An ultra Protestant regime succeeded the ancient faith and in time it became under English rule the petted and favored Province of Ireland.

Its coast proximity to Scotland and the large number of Scotch people who had become tenants and settlers, as stated, on its prolific lands, gave promise of a complete transformation, which, however, was never realized. New accessions of skilled mechanics from Scotch cities and towns changed the destiny of the province. English capital was furnished lavishly by enterprising men for the development of manufactures; the linen and lace factories established at an early period grew in extent, and these with other kindred enterprises, when not hampered or crushed by adverse British Parliamentary enactment, prompted by the greed and jealousy of English manufacturers and traders, as frequently happened, flourished.

In Ulster and by the process outlined was thus generated the "Scotch Irish." As late as 1840, this province was a sort of manufacturing annex to Glasgow and other Scottish industrial districts. But it must not be taken for granted that the counties of this province have become to a great extent populated by descendants of Scotch settlers, or that the ancient faith of its dispossessed people has been obliterated. The census of 1893 shows the religious status of its people to be as follows:

POPULATION BY COUNTIES.		
	Protestant.	Catholic.
Antrim .....	314,519	108,605
Armagh .....	86,385	75,437
Cavan .....	6,452	104,328
Donegal .....	38,209	157,224
Fermanagh .....	37,385	47,238
Londonderry .....	90,717	73,095
Tyrone .....	117,665	109,564
Totals .....	691,332	675,491



The population of Belfast, chief city of Antrim, is composed largely of bigoted non-Catholics; outside of this county the majority of the people of the province are Catholic and their number steadily increases.

To the eternal honor of the memory of many eminent men of English, Irish and of Scottish lineage who were prominent in this northern Province of Ireland during the last half of the 18th century, it is of record that these gentlemen were conspicuous for their opposition to the selfish and grinding policy of England in her control of Irish affairs; for their sympathy, and for their warm approval of the people of the 13 American colonies in their revolt against English rule; for their co-operation with and support of Lord Charlemont and his associates in effecting the emancipation of the Parliament of Ireland from British control; and, with some ignoble exceptions, in the opposition of their members in both houses of this Parliament to the infamous scheme of Pitt, through his unfortunate and unscrupulous lieutenant the brilliant Lord Castlereagh, to corrupt a majority of its members who voted for the act of "Union," by which Ireland was deprived of self government. And, when in the despair of resisting such corrupting influence, the great league of the United Irishmen was formed in 1798, to obtain freedom, among the most distinguished adherents of this formidable revolutionary compact were to be found Presbyterians of the Ulster province. In no province in Ireland is the prefix "Mac" so universal; but it is not among the people of Milesian lineage that this prefix prevails; it distinguishes the descendents of those who had migrated to Ulster when this province was "replanted" in the manner stated.

From the middle of the 18th century there was a continuous emigration of this people to the North American colonies, more particularly to Pennsylvania, but also to the Carolinas. In the western counties of the former state, at the present day, the prevalence of the prefix "Mac" to the surnames of families is quite notable.

Omitting, therefore, the surnames having this almost universal prefix, the following were probably the leading families of Scotch origin in all Ireland at the close of the 18th century:

Acheson, <sup>1</sup>	Atkinson,	Colclough,	Ferguson, <sup>2</sup>
Archdall, <sup>1</sup>	Babington, <sup>1</sup>	Craig,	Fetherson,
Archibald,	Baillie, <sup>2</sup>	Cunningham,	Galbraith, <sup>2</sup>
Armstrong, <sup>1</sup>	Balfour, <sup>1</sup>	Davies,	Gore,
Asche,	Bennett,	Duff,	Grant,
Alexander, <sup>2</sup>	Bruce, <sup>2</sup>	Dunbar,	Hamilton,

Hardy, <sup>1</sup>	Lowther,	Murray,	Scott,
Hume,	Lynn,	Newcomen, <sup>2</sup>	Shaw,
Irwin, <sup>1</sup>	Macartney, <sup>1</sup>	Prittie, <sup>2</sup>	Stewart, <sup>1</sup>
Kennedy,	Mannering,	Richardson, <sup>1</sup>	Terrie,
Knox, <sup>2</sup>	Maxwell, <sup>1</sup>	Roe,	Wemyss, <sup>2</sup>
Leighton, <sup>1</sup>	Moreton,	Rowley, <sup>2</sup>	Wilson,
Leslie, <sup>1</sup>	Morough,	Saunderson, <sup>1</sup>	Wray.
Lindsay, <sup>2</sup>	Montgomery, <sup>1</sup>		

Among the creations of Irish titles, we shall not say of nobility, for that would be incorrect, during the reign of the first of the George's, was Lord Southwell, 1717. With his title this gentleman acquired large tracts of territory in the county of Limerick, the indigenous Catholic people of which were dispossessed of their lands in the manner customary at the time, and forced to seek a refuge in the forest and mountains.

In furtherance of the plan to wipe out the Irish race and to obliterate the Catholic faith in Ireland, as had been carried out in Ulster, Lord Southwell, in 1725, brought from one of the German provinces of the Rhine, a colony of German Lutheran families, numbering 1,000 or more souls. To the heads of these families he assigned the dispossessed land on long leases and at a nominal annual rent, placing them near his family seat, Castle Matrix. These Germans were called Palatines. Ferrar, the historian of Limerick describes this German colony as it appeared in 1780:

"They preserve their language, but it is declining; they sleep between 2 beds; they appoint a burgomaster to whom they appeal in all disputes. They are industrious men and have leases from the proprietor of the land *at reasonable rents*; they are consequently better fed and clothed than the generality of Irish peasants.

"Besides, their modes of husbandry and crops are better than those of their neighbors.

"They have by degrees left off their sour-kroust and feed on potatoes, milk, butter, oaten and wheaten bread, some meat and fowls, of which they raise a great many.

"They have stables, cow-houses and trim kitchen gardens; their houses are neat and clean. The women are very industrious and perform many things which the Irish women could not be prevailed on to do; besides caring for their households and children, they reap the grain, plough the ground, and assist the men in everything.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The elite of the American Indians living in their normal state despised agricultural labor, which, while on the war-path or absent in the hunting field the Indian relegated to his squaw, who cultivated a soil whose richness yielded abundant crops of grain and

"In fact the Palatines are a laborious independent people, who are mostly employed on their small farms."

This was the origin of the "German-Irish." Let us see the effect of 60 years of later experience on Irish soil of the "Palatines."

In 1840, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, in their descriptive account of Ireland, describe the "Palatines" as different in character and distinct in habits from the indigenous race.

"We visited several of their cottages in the vicinity of Adare," they write, "and the neatness, good order and quantity and quality of the furniture—useful and ornamental—too surely indicated that we were not in a merely Irish cabin. The elders of the family preserve in a great degree, the language, customs and religion of their old country; but the younger *mingle and marry with their Irish neighbors*. The men are fine, tall and stout fellows, but reserved in their aspect; the women are sombre looking and their large blue eyes are neither bright nor expressive. They are in all respects the very opposite in character to the smiling, hospitable and open hearted Irish women.

"They are at present, both as regards their customs and traditions, only a relic of the past. Like the Quakers they do not interfere with politics and religion, and they have remained neutral spectators of the exciting events which have agitated Ireland since their advent upon its soil."

It would appear from the Halls' account of the "Palatines," that this, the latest of the Irish colonization schemes, has failed in its main object, as was the case with the "plantation of Ulster," on a more extensive scale.

It is quite probable, that the Milesian lads and lassies may succeed, if they have not done so already, in changing the race characteristics in most respects of the descendents of Lord Southwell's

vegetables. On the Continent of Europe women share with their husbands in the tillage of the soil. While as stated, the "Palatine" women in the County of Limerick labored in the field, their neighboring Irish women disdained such work which they considered degrading to their sex. This dislike of men's work by Irish women seems to be inherent in the race.

In this country it is not unusual to find well cultivated gardens in the near vicinity of farm houses. With American, English, Irish, or Scottish farmers, such gardens are cultivated by men. But where the proprietors are from the European Continent, the heaviest share of the work is performed by the women.

Instances occur where a wealthy German, who has an Irish wife, cultivates a large farm. It is rare, however, that a vegetable garden forms a part of his establishment.

His Irish wife may cultivate flowers, but she will neither dig, rake, nor plant in the garden. Should a city friend visit this farmer in the summer, he will find substantial meals, but neither asparagus, beets, carrots, cucumbers, early corn, lettuce, tomatoes or young onions, such as he enjoys in the city, on this farmer's table.

<sup>o</sup> Ireland, its scenery, character, etc. Vol. I., pp. 346-347. Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall. 3 Vols., octavo. Profusely illustrated. London: Hall, Virtue & Co. On p. 346, Ferrar is quoted.

importation of German Lutherans in 1725. In connection with this chapter illustrating English spoliation and misrule in Ireland during the 18th century, it remains to be stated that the successor of the original Lord Southwell of Castle Matrix, was, during the current year of 1898, received into the Catholic Church at London. The surnames of the German-Irish cannot be given with exactitude; but their ancestral Fritz's, Meta's. Ella's and Ruth's are still used.

There remains the Danish-Irish, the French-Irish, and the Spanish-Irish.

"Many families of Danish origin," writes Dr. McDermott, "took Irish surnames, prefixing "O" and "Mac," so that their descent cannot now be ascertained, while several of their chiefs took Irish Christian names. The Danes and Norwegians, being in possession of Dublin and some other parts of the country, and having maintained their colonies there for more than 300 years, there is consequently much of the Danish blood in the counties of Dublin and Meath, particularly in Fingall; and there are many families of Danish descent mixed by intermarriage with the old Milesian stock. It is traditionally stated that great numbers of the Northmen were red haired, particularly the Norwegians, who generally had fair or reddish hair and florid complexions, and to the present time red-haired persons in Ireland are considered by the popular classes to be of Danish origin."

The following are the names of Irish of acknowledged Danish descent:

Blacker,	Everard,	Galwey,	Sweetman,
Betagh,	Fagan,	Harold,	Terry,
Coppinger,	Godfrey,	Palmer,	Tuke,
Cruise,	Gould,	Plunket,	Trant,
Drumgoole,	Gilbert,	Skiddy,	Stack.
Dowdall,			

The Plunkets, earls of Fingall, are a numerous and distinguished family of Danish origin.

Considering the important part played by the Danes in the early history of Ireland, it is probable there are many other families of Danish origin, besides those whose surnames have been given, in some of the maritime counties of Ireland; but the origin of these families as a rule cannot be traced, because at the present day they bear no distinctive surnames such as are familiar among Scandinavians.

It is certain, however, that the families whose surnames have been given, were at the close of the 18th century prominent in

the counties of Cavan, Cork, Dublin, Kerry, Limerick, Longford, Louth and Meath.

The revocation of the "Edict of Nantes" was followed by the migration of many Huguenot refugees into the South of Ireland. Many of these settled in Cork and became a valuable acquisition to that important seaport, assisting as they did in increasing its commercial importance.

In time, the skill of the French artisans enabled the Irish manufacturers to rival and excel English products. Their woollen fabrics especially excelled those of Yorkshire and were preferred in the English markets to such an extent, that the English manufacturers induced the British Parliament to enact repressive laws, which in their operation partially ruined their Franco-Irish competitors, who were compelled to close, not only their woollen factories, but such others as had successfully competed with English traders. In fact the only industrial enterprises permitted on Irish soil, were those of the linen and lace factories of Ulster, with which it was impossible for the English to compete. These arbitrary enactments resulting from the greed and jealousy of English competitors, proved disastrous to the trade and commerce of Ireland, which had become important, but especially was it ruinous to the commercial interests as well as to the people of the South of Ireland.

There are many families in Ireland descended from French refugees, not only those of the Huguenots, but also those of the more distinguished political exiles of 1789—who remained in the country. These have been and are still prominent in commercial and financial affairs and in professional pursuits. The surnames of most of the French-Irish will probably be found in the list of the Anglo-Norman Irish.

Some, not in this list, however, occur to us, whose names are familiar. Their Gallic etymology is marked. The La Touche family, so universally known in the banking circles of Europe, is quite prominent.

The patriotic record of this family is glorious. In the last Irish House of Commons, there were 5 La Touche's, none of whom had been polluted by contact with Castlereagh; 4 voted against the English act of "Union," and one, the Right Hon. David La Touche, cast his vote on the side of Lord Castlereagh.

There are, besides the families of De Bath, De Salis, La Vallon, Tonson and Touchet.

Probably the most perfect type of a tall, sober-faced French Puritan, is the eminent jurist and statesman Saurin.

In the development of this study may be traced the existence of a race of Spanish-Irish.

When the Spanish Armada was wrecked off the coasts of Clare and Galway counties, many survivors of the disaster who reached the shores were kindly cared for by the Irish people, and considerable numbers of these unfortunates remained in the families of their generous hearted rescuers.

Spanish Point on the coast of Clare reminds of the disaster to the great Spanish fleet.

In the counties of Clare and Galway there is to be found at the present day, a people differing essentially from any of the distinctive races existing on Irish soil. This people are the descendants of the Spanish officers, sailors, and soldiers who had been cast ashore during the fearful storm which destroyed the Spanish fleet.

The race marks of this people are well defined. Crossed as it has been with the Milesian stock, its Spanish features offer a most interesting study, for they remain prominent. The men are tall, muscular, dark-featured, with black eyes and black hair. The women have decided Spanish traits in their physique; they are usually tall; brunettes in some cases and fair in others; with large expressive black eyes and an abundance of black hair. Their beauty reminds of the women of the Basque provinces, while among them are to be found the perfection of the female form in all Ireland.

But what of the Irish language which was in general use during the "golden age?"

It has been transmitted from sire to son during succeeding generations of the Christian indigenous race. Its use could not be suppressed by the conquerors of the Island. Its wealth of poetic expression enabled the victim of persecution to appeal with such pathetic earnestness to the Merciful God, that consolation and fortitude were vouchsafed him in his great misery.

In some districts on the coasts and islands, and in some wild regions, it is the principal if not the only language used or understood.

The Irish peasant of to-day uses this language in his home; his prayers were taught him in his native dialect; in this language he plighted his troth, in this language he confesses his sins; and when the journey of his life of trials and of sorrows approaches its termination, it is in this same language of his forefathers that the priest of the faith he has clung to utters the consoling words which encourages him to rely upon the promise of his Redeemer, for his eternal reward.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

## A PRE-REFORMATION MANUAL OF ANGLICANISM.

AN apology is perhaps owing to my readers for inviting their attention in the present paper to a book which has recently been studied by a master in his own field of research and expounded with a literary skill and point to which I can make no pretensions. And yet even in England Dr. Maitland's volume of essays on the Canon Law<sup>1</sup> has by no means attracted so much notice amongst Catholics as its importance deserves. This must be my excuse for introducing both the ancient treatise itself and the modern jurist's comments upon it to an American public. Dr. Maitland writes in a spirit of cold aloofness from all religious controversy and even if nothing more were done it would be worth while trying to indicate the exact bearing of his conclusions upon the vital questions which now divide the churches. But there are also other topics interesting to us as Catholics which it did not fall within his scope to touch upon. These though less important belong to the subject and may be used, as far as space permits, to form a kind of supplement to the main concern of this paper.

I may say, then, that my object is to give an account of the teaching of the English Church on various points of dogma and practice, just one hundred years before the Reformation. That teaching is set forth in a collection of synodal decrees, compiled and glossed by one William Lyndwood, for many years the chief "official" in the Court of the Archbishops of Canterbury and afterwards himself bishop of St. David's. If I have ventured to describe his authoritative work as a "pre-Reformation manual of Anglicanism," it is not I trust without adequate justification, although

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<sup>1</sup> The volume referred to is entitled *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, by F. W. Maitland, M. A., LL. D. (Methuen & Co., London, 1898). It may be worth while to note for the benefit of my American readers that in the matter of English historical jurisprudence Dr. Maitland speaks with an authority which is absolutely unquestioned, and which belongs to no other living writer. He is Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge, and the *History of English Law before Edward I.*, which, in conjunction with Sir Frederick Pollock, who holds a corresponding professorship at Oxford, he published a few years since, is universally regarded as the most important English work of its class which this century has seen. Like Dr. Maitland's numerous contributions to the Record Series, and to the publications of the Pipe Roll and Seldon Societies, the book is a monument of erudition and of painstaking research. As for the volume of *Essays on the Canon Law*, it is no exaggeration to say that it deals a more destructive blow to the theories of English Church History now in favor with Anglicans, than any work which has hitherto appeared.

the Anglicanism is of a rather different type from what we now commonly understand by that term.

Lyndwood's treatise is in the first place a text-book written exclusively for the use of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, the Church of England. It could have no possible interest outside England, for it is altogether occupied with the decrees of English synods, which had force of law in the Province of Canterbury and nowhere else. It must not be supposed of course that Lyndwood regarded the Church of England as a distinct entity separate from and opposed to the *Ecclesia Romana*, the Church of Rome. For him and for all his contemporaries the phrase *Ecclesia Anglicana* was not a doctrinal but a geographical expression, a compendious way of referring to that portion of Christ's Church which lay within the dominions of the King of England. It would no more have occurred to him to speak of Anglicanism as a distinct creed than it would occur to a modern English churchman to speak of Cambrianism as a distinct creed, representing the doctrine of the Church of Wales. Hence in using the term "pre-Reformation Anglicanism" I am simply coining a phrase, to represent compendiously the sum of those beliefs and traditions of which Lyndwood makes himself the mouthpiece. But for ascertaining the teaching of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* of that epoch, there is nothing more national, nothing more complete, nothing more authoritative than Lyndwood's Provincials. Lyndwood was the chosen representative of the clergy in the synods held in London to discuss the relations of the spirituality with the Crown in 1419, 1421, 1424, and 1425. In 1425 again he was sent to Oxford by Archbishop Chichele to report upon the orthodoxy of the teaching there, and, if need were, to correct "heretical pravity." In 1426 he was made Dean of Arches, in 1433 Rector of Wimbledon and Archdeacon of Oxford. As a canon lawyer he held the great prize of his profession; as a diplomatist he was repeatedly employed as ambassador by the King of England in special missions to foreign courts;<sup>2</sup> as an ecclesiastic he was made Bishop of St. David's, while retaining at the same time the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal. It is sufficiently obvious therefore that he was no mere bookworm or ascetical enthusiast. It may be added that for his private char-

<sup>2</sup> As early as 1417 Lynwood took part in the negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy at Calais. In 1422 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Portugal. In 1423 he was appointed to be of the Privy Council of the young king, Henry VI., while sojourning in France. He helped to arrange the truce with Spain in 1430, and presided over the negotiations with the Duke of Brittany in 1433. Later on he played a most important part in arranging commercial treaties with Flanders, Holland and various States of Germany. Hardly any name occurs more frequently than his in the *Proceedings of the Privy Council* in the reign of Henry VI., published by Sir Harris Nicolas. Vols. III., IV., V.



acter he seems to have held a very high place in the esteem of his contemporaries, and he was recommended for a bishopric to Eugenius IV by his own sovereign in terms of the highest eulogy. His body is believed to have been discovered roughly embalmed and incorrupt in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1852. As for his great work, the gloss upon the Provincial Constitutions,<sup>1</sup> it seems to have been accepted during his lifetime and after his death as of absolute and almost unique authority. It appeared under the direct sanction of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom it was dedicated. It was one of the first works printed at Oxford and among the earliest printed in England, and in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, until the breach with Rome, edition succeeded edition, both of the text separately and of the text and gloss together. If any one ever protested against Lyndwood's doctrine as not being English enough, and as accepting too unreservedly all papal pretensions, history is absolutely silent on the point. For anything now known to us Lyndwood's teaching passed unchallenged, and was accepted as the one authoritative text book, for the hundred years that elapsed between its first appearance and the beginning of the Reformation. It would be impossible therefore to find a work which could claim to be more fully representative of "Anglicanism," i. e., of the contemporary teaching and practice of the English Church at the period with which we are mainly concerned.

It will perhaps seem to some of my readers who may have rather hazy ideas about the Canon Law and the topics with which it deals, that a legal text book is not exactly the source to which one would go for information about religious beliefs. The matter presents no difficulty, however, when the nature of Lyndwood's work and his love of digression are more clearly understood. The Canon Law, it must be remembered, concerns itself with almost every detail of the life and organization of the Church. Not only does it regulate the powers of the various grades of the hierarchy, the jurisdiction and procedure of the Courts Christian, the misdemeanors of clerics, the penalties to be imposed upon them, the payment of tithes, but it deals with the broader features of public worship, the administration of the sacraments, the honor to be paid to relics and images, the festivals of the Church, etc., etc., and above all with the great matter of Faith and Heresy. The very

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<sup>1</sup> The most convenient edition to use is that published at Oxford in 1679, the only one printed since the Reformation. My own notes have been made principally from the edition of F. Brickman, 1926, in which the title runs *Provinciale seu constitutiones annotationibus, politissimis Angliæ, cum summariis atque iustis caracteribus summarum accurations revisas atque impressas.*

first section in Lyndwood's compilation is entitled by him, after the *Corpus Juris, De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*. Of the Supreme Trinity and the Catholic Faith; and in five hundred ways directly and indirectly he sheds the clearest light upon the principles according to which all questions relating to jurisdiction and religious belief were decided in the highest ecclesiastical court of his native land.

It is for this reason that Lyndwood's book seems to me so supremely interesting. It enables us to judge better than any other work with which I am acquainted whether the belief of Englishmen in the Fifteenth Century can in any sense be considered identical with what is now held, or said by a school of High Church writers to be held, by modern Anglicans. In a word, Lyndwood provides us with materials for forming a judgment on the great topic of controversy debated in our day—the Anglican claim to continuity. I am not going to attempt any elaborate discussion of continuity. With the best will in the world to understand the Anglican position, I have found it a very elusive conception, and it is by no means easy to form a clear idea of what precisely is claimed under that name. The upholders of continuity will hardly be content to base their contention upon what has been nicknamed "cuckoo continuity;" the succession of the intruding bird who by force has turned out the rightful proprietors and settled himself comfortably in their place. Their aim is to show that at least in one most important point which divides the Church of England from the Church of Rome, the English Church of the Fifteenth Century thought with them and not with us. It seems to me that this is almost the only definite issue to which it is possible to narrow the debate. What with attributing to the modern Church of England an almost indefinite comprehensiveness, so that in a sense not contemplated by the catechism she indeed "teaches all doctrine," and what with attributing to the pre-Reformation church an almost indefinite vagueness which committed her to nothing very positive beyond the Nicene Creed, until the Council of Trent cleared up her ideas, it is easy to sketch out two nebulous forms which resemble each other very closely. The main difficulty lies in the question of Papal supremacy and there the verdict of history, we are assured, cannot be doubtful. The pre-Reformation church assumed that the recognition of the papal claims was a purely optional matter, and maintained "that papal law was not binding in England even in questions of faith and morals unless it had been accepted by the National authorities."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, 1803. Vol. I., p. xviii.*

So the *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission* of 1883, which numbered amongst its members such eminent students as Bishop Stubbs and Professor E. A. Freeman, and was largely inspired by their reading of history, in drawing up its report, proclaimed that: "The Canon law of Rome although always regarded as of great authority in England was not held to be binding on the Courts,"<sup>5</sup> and added that the commentators "on the provincial decrees introduced into their notes large extracts from, and references to, both the Canon and civil law of Rome but they were not a part of authoritative jurisprudence." Similarly Mr. Ingram<sup>6</sup> has even ventured to apply to the state of things in the Fifteenth Century the language of convocation in 1534 to the effect that "the Pope of Rome was possessed of no greater jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop." But perhaps I can find no better passage to illustrate the point of view with which we are now concerned than the following paragraph from the recent and very popular *History of the Church of England* by Mr. H. D. Wakeman, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. Speaking of the change of religion in the Sixteenth Century, he says: "An apostasy so universal is in itself incredible. "There is one theory and one theory only, on which the Church "of England can be said to have fallen from the Catholic Faith "in her repudiation of the authority of the Pope. It is the modern "ultra-montane theory of the Papacy, which looks upon the Pope "as the source and fountain of all true ecclesiastical authority. "No archbishop or bishop has, according to this theory, rightful "jurisdiction, unless he exercises it under the direction of the Pope. "It is obvious that if this theory is true, the Church of England "which proceeded avowedly on the exactly opposite theory, must "fall. But the theory is one which was unknown in the primitive "ages, unrecognized by the undivided Church, strongly protested "against in the Middle Ages, unacknowledged to this day by the "orthodox Churches of the East, and unaccepted even by the "Church of Rome in its fulness until the Vatican Council of 1870. "If the Church of England is to be condemned on a theory like this, "she is content to remain condemned in company with the vast "majority of saints and doctors and confessors of the Church in "all ages."

It does not seem an unfair inference to draw from this passage, that if the "modern ultramontane theory" of papal jurisdiction so far from being unknown was held by the Church in the Fifteenth Century as a law which no man could dream of questioning, then

<sup>5</sup> *England and Rome*. I have for the moment mislaid the exact reference.

<sup>6</sup> Wakeman's *History of the Church of England*. pp. 226-227.

<sup>7</sup> Preface, p. vi.

we are justified in thinking that the Church of England did "fall from the Catholic Faith in her repudiation of the authority of the Pope."

In the volume of Professor Maitland to which I have already referred, this question of papal jurisdiction is taken up and dealt with in the light of Lyndwood's teaching, and that of the English canonists. Professor Maitland holds no brief for any religious creed and is careful to tell us so in his preface.

"At a time," he says, "when the perennial stream of Anglo-Roman controversy has burst its accustomed channels and invaded the daily papers, the assumption will be readily made that anyone who writes about those matters of which I have here written is an advocate of one of two churches, the English or the Roman. Therefore, it may be expedient for me to say that I am a dissenter from both and from other churches."<sup>8</sup>

The question he puts to himself is whether the Canon Law of Rome, in other words, the decrees and answers of the Popes, were looked upon as claiming the *obedience* of English churchmen or only their *respect*, whether they were held as merely of high authority, as English judges would now regard a verdict on a point of fact arrived at by some court of law in the United States or Ireland, or whether they were conceived of as absolutely binding statute law. Professor Maitland's answer is most unequivocal.

"I have been unable to find any passage in which John of Ayton<sup>9</sup> or Lyndwood denies, disputes, or even debates the binding force of any decretal.<sup>10</sup> Of course there are portions of the Canon law which, as a matter of fact, are not being enforced in England, because the temporal power will not suffer their enforcement. But that is quite a different matter. Here we are speaking of the law which our courts Christian applied whenever the temporal power left them free to hear and decide a cause, and I have looked in vain for any suggestion that an English judge or advocate ever called in question the statutory power of a text that was contained in any of the three papal law books."<sup>11</sup>

Again, to come to specific instances, Prof. Maitland points out that John of Ayton is committed to the proposition that "the Pope is *dominus* of all the churches in the world so that he can take

<sup>8</sup> L. C., pp. 8-9.

<sup>9</sup> John of Ayton was another English Canonist, we might almost say the only other English canonist whose work has been preserved to us. He was a canon of Lincoln, a friend of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and he wrote his gloss upon the legatine constitutions of Otho and Otoboni between 1338 and 1348. He lived consequently about a century before Lyndwood's time.

<sup>10</sup> A "decretal" (*epistola decretalis*) is an authoritative reply given by the Pope to any question of law submitted to him by some one of the bishops of Christendom. The *corpus juris canonici* is largely made up of such decretals.

from one and give to another;" that Lyndwood holds, that "no general council can be summoned without the authority of the Apostolic See," that "he cites with approval," even on the eve of the Council of Basel, "the opinion of those doctors who maintain that the Pope is above a general council." But, however that may be, Lyndwood is clear that "the Pope is above the law;" that "to dispute the authority of a decretal is to be guilty of heresy, at a time when deliberate heresy is a capital crime."<sup>12</sup>

"The last," Dr. Maitland continues, "is no private opinion of a glossator, it is a principle to which archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury have adhered by solemn words. Any one who calls in question the authority of a decretum, a decretal, or of a provincial or synodal constitution is a heretic and unless he will recant and abjure must be burnt alive."

But though the authority of a decretal and of a synodal constitution are there seemingly placed upon an equal footing there is nothing which is more clearly emphasised by Lyndwood than the subordination of one to the other. The whole plan of his book in fact proceeds upon the recognition of this principle. It is not a complete treatise of Canon law that our author is providing in his compilation of provincial constitutions and his gloss. It is only a supplement to the *jus commune* of the Church at large; the *jus commune* in ecclesiastical Latin, as Prof. Maitland reminds us, not being contradistinguished against statute law but against the constitutions which were limited in their application to a particular province or diocese. These decrees were essentially "bye laws" in the modern sense of the term. "Lyndwood's position in glossing the canons of the English synods is that of a lawyer commenting on the edicts issued by a non-sovereign legislator." Hence he may always raise the question concerning any of these English decrees whether it be not *ultra vires statuentis*. If it conflicts with the common law of the Church, i. e., with the papal decretals, the legislation is void; and Lyndwood in several instances picks holes in the canons that he is interpreting and shows that they have been rendered nugatory either by the pre-existing text of the *decretum* or by subsequent papal pronouncements. To take a matter of minor importance for the sake of its brevity, a constitution of Archbishop Peckham while strictly prohibiting nuns under pain of excommunication to remain outside their cloisters contemplates at the same time certain exceptions. What Peckham lays down is that under no circumstances may a nun be absent from her convent for more than 6 days altogether, nor spend more than 3 days

<sup>12</sup> L' C., pp. 13, 14, 17, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Lyndwood Bk. III., Tit *De Statu Regul., cap., Sanctioniales*, ad v. *cum sociis*.

with her family *recreationis causa*. To this measure of indulgence Lyndwood demurs: "Whatever the statute may say," he remarks, "the common law is that nuns ought to remain perpetually in cloister and ought not to go out for any cause except the two laid down in the Sext., and therefore this constitution (of Peckham's) has but little authority (*modicam vim obtinet*) as against the common law which cannot be abrogated by the constitution of an inferior."<sup>18</sup>

The inferior of course is the Archbishop of Canterbury as contrasted with the Pope.

I do not follow up the further comments which Prof. Maitland finds occasion to make on this constitution, but it may be worth while to note in passing that while Lyndwood admits that in practice its observance was much neglected and throws the blame upon the bishops he also clearly makes a distinction between two different classes of nuns—those that are under the rule of religious, and those subject to the bishops. The former, he tells us, for the most part are enclosed, and, as he obviously implies, keep their enclosure.

Again, there was a constitution of Archbishop Richard which forbade the consecration of pewter chalices. Commenting on this Lyndwood remarks that this edict must be understood *secundum canonem De consecrat. dist. 1., Et calix* which allows even pewter chalices to be consecrated in cases of extreme poverty.

Similarly in the title *De Locato et conducto* cap *Licet bonae* we find some sweeping enactments of a council held under John Stratford about putting out benefices to farm; Lyndwood tones down, qualifies and limits these enactments, saying in substance, we are forced to limit and understand them so, otherwise the constitution would be void and of none effect, contradicting the common law, "against which can prevail no decree emanating from an inferior (i. e., the Archbishop of Canterbury) who is powerless to set aside the legislation of his superior."

I have been making these statements largely in the words of Professor Maitland because the eminence of one who is avowedly the highest authority in England on mediaeval law is a guarantee of their accuracy. At the same time I have myself made notes of almost all the passages he refers to and many others, at a time when his essay was inaccessible to me. Moreover it must be remembered that the Professor's conclusions are very far from being

<sup>18</sup> A still more striking instance taken from Lyndwood Tit. *de Praebendis*, cap. *Audistis Fratres*, ad v. *nos misericordiam* is discussed by Dr. Maitland, pp. 20-24. It is too long and intricate to summarize here. cf. Tit. *de cler non resid.*, cap. *Præstere*, ad v. *Praedical verbum*, fol. 970.

based upon Lyndwood's manual alone. There are five hundred facts and records of English history which point in the same direction. The great collections of documents connected with the Church of England published by Wilkins under the title of the *Concilia Angliae*, bears upon almost every page, it seems to me, the imprint of Papal supremacy. In this and similar collections we find Archbishop Peckham telling Edward I<sup>14</sup> that "the Emperor of all has given authority to the decrees of the Popes, and that all men, all kings are bound by those decrees." We find an Archbishop of Canterbury writing with all his suffragans a joint letter to the Pope and telling him that all bishops derived their authority from him as rivulets from the fountain head;<sup>15</sup> we find the Pope carving out a big slice from the jurisdiction of English bishoprics as in the case of the Abbey of St. Albans or Bury St. Edmunds and making it absolutely and entirely exempt from every form of episcopal authority; we find the very kings who are supposed by their statutes of provisors and praemunire to have shaken off all allegiance to Rome begging the Sovereign Pontiff in most respectful language to issue letters of provision or bulls of confirmation in favor of such and such an ecclesiastic who enjoys the royal favor. Thus as Professor Maitland himself has shown in other essays, which I am not here dealing with, not only did the Pope claim and obtain recognition of his right to take into his own hands the judgment of every ecclesiastical cause over the heads of the bishop, but it was largely through the questions and appeals of English Bishops to Rome asking for decisions that the fabric of Roman canon law was built up.<sup>16</sup> The most independent of English prelates, and those who ranked highest in personal holiness, while they frequently in vigorous terms denounced the abuse of Papal power, as did St. Bernard and many other saints at other times and in other countries, never questioned for a moment the reality or the rightfulness of the power so abused. No name has been more in honor with our Anglican friends than that of the famous Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossteste, on account of his supposed resistance to the Papal supremacy, but it is Professor Maitland who reminds us that this great Bishop had proclaimed in the strongest terms his belief in the plenitude of the Papal power. "I know," he had said, "and I affirm without any reserve that there "belongs to our lord, the Pope, and the Holy Roman Church, the "power of disposing freely of all ecclesiastical benefices;" and again, "in respect of our lord, the Pope, all other prelates are like the

<sup>14</sup>Wilkin's, *Concilia*. Vol. II. pp. 64-65.

<sup>15</sup> See Mr. Baijant's *Winchester Episcopal Registers*, Sandale, pp. 90-93.

<sup>16</sup> Maitland, *Canon Law in Ireland*, pp. 53, 66, etc.

"moon and stars, receiving from him whatever powers they have to illuminate and fructify the Church." In Professor Maitland's paraphrase: "The bishop shines with a reflected light which will pale and vanish whenever the Papal sun arises." So Grossteste speaks of our lord, the Pope, "who has received the plenitude of power from Jesus Christ whose place he holds,"<sup>17</sup> and Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury in a constitution published to all the English Church under his primatial jurisdiction, long after the time of Provisors and Premunire describes the papal decrees as duly emanating from him who bears the keys of eternal life and death, who supplies the place on earth not of a simple man but of the true God, and to whom God Himself has entrusted all the rights of heavenly empire."

I say that we turn from this language and these facts which may or may not be rhetorical or exceptional, to examine for ourselves in the text-book of canon law used in all the ecclesiastical courts of England what light Lyndwood the sober-minded jurist and man of affairs can throw upon actual practice. Perhaps the English Church held one language in public pronouncements and quite another when it came to deciding causes in the courts of Christianity. There interests of native prelates were by no means identical with those of the Pope. There Rome was only a far off shadow, while the jealous eyes of the king's officials were close at hand and watched very narrowly for any fancied encroachment on the royal prerogative.

The Ecclesiastical Courts Commissioners echoing the ideas of their most trusted adviser, Bishop Stubbs, and with them Mr. Wakeman, Mr. Ingram, Dr. Creighton, the present Bishop of London, and many more, all assure us in chorus that the Canon Law of Rome was not binding upon the ecclesiastical judges of England. But what says the expert, the Professor of Jurisprudence, who has really studied that Canon Law, and the working of those courts.<sup>18</sup> "It seems to me," writes Professor Maitland, "that

<sup>17</sup> That Professor Maitland does not stand alone in his interpretation of the authority of the Canon Law in the ecclesiastical courts may be seen from the criticism of his book published in the *English Historical Review* for January. The author of the notice is the Rev. H. Rashdall an Anglican clergyman, a University preacher and a first rate authority on mediæval history. He writes: "There is not a trace (in Lyndwood) of the theory that the English Church enjoyed any mysterious exemption from the law of the Catholic Church of which it was a part. There were, as Lyndwood hints, parts of the law which could not practically be enforced in England, owing to the attitude of the English Parliament and the English courts. But the same was the case all over Europe, except, perhaps, in places more or less directly under the temporal government of ecclesiastics. Not only is the theory in question (that of Bishop Stubbs, Wakeman and the rest) one which is refuted by well-known and easily accessible facts but there is literally not a vestige of evidence in its favor." p. 145.

<sup>18</sup> L. C., p. 45.



if Lyndwood had been asked whether the Canon Law of Rome was binding upon him and the other ecclesiastical judges in England, he would in the first place have taken exception to the form of the question. He would have said something of this kind.

"I do not quite understand what you mean by the 'canon law of Rome.' If you mean thereby any rules which relate only to the 'diocese of which the Pope is bishop, or to the province of which the Pope is metropolitan, then it is obvious enough that we in England have not to administer the Canon Law of Rome. But even if this be your meaning, you must be careful to avoid a mistake. I, whatever else I may be, am the official of a papal legate; the archiepiscopal court, over which I preside, is the court of a papal legate. It is the duty of a legatine court to copy as nearly as may be the procedure of a Roman court. The *mos et stylus Curiae Romanae* are my models. They are my excuse, or rather my warrant, if, for example, I cite any of the archbishop's *subditi* to appear before him, 'wheresoever he shall be within his province' without naming any particular place for their appearance. In so doing, I am exercising a legatine and Roman privilege, and am administering specifically Roman rules. However I very much fear that this is not your meaning, that what you call the canon law of Rome, is what I call the *jus commune* of the Church, and that you are hinting that I am not bound by the statutes that the Popes have decreed for all the faithful. If that be so, I must tell you that your hint is not only erroneous but heretical. That you will withdraw it I hope and believe, for otherwise, though we are sincerely sorry when we are driven to extremities, the archbishop may feel it his painful duty to relinquish you to the lay arm, and you know what follows relinquishment. Your case, though sad, is not unprecedented. The test that I must exact of you and others suspected of Lollardy has been already formulated. It is this: you must declare that every Christian is bound to obey all the constitutions and ordinances contained in the Decretum, the Decretals, the Sext, and the Clementines, in such wise as obedience is demanded for them by the Roman Church."

The question of Papal supremacy naturally comes in for the greatest share of attention, when we look critically with modern eyes into this manual of Anglicanism, as Anglicanism was known to our forefathers. If one could imagine even the highest of High Church Bishops reading steadily through the pages of Lyndwood and calling attention with a red pencil to all the propositions to which he could not assent, there would hardly remain a page, I

think, that would not be scored and ensanguined out of all recognition. There is papalism in every line of it. At a very rough calculation we may say that there are twenty-five thousand quotations in the 500 odd pages of Lyndwood and John of Ayton together. I doubt if one per cent of them comes from any English source. The authority of the Roman canons and the Continental canonists was, in the eyes of these English officials, supreme and unquestioned. To the civil law of England, to the customs enforced by the authority of the king or parliament there are but scanty references, and if Lyndwood ever for a moment turns aside to notice such matters it is nearly always to stigmatise them as abuses, or to imply that they have obtained that tacit recognition of the Apostolic See which alone justifies their observance.

I have said in an earlier part of this paper that our Anglican friends whose position requires them to show that the Church of England of the present day is the twin sister of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* of Lyndwood's time, find it necessary to soften many features in the latter portrait and to represent that earlier Church as a sort of vague and embryonic protoplasm which only took definite form in the Council of Trent. I have not much space to develop this part of my subject but I should like to dwell a little upon some of the many doctrinal matters which Lyndwood introduces, and to bring them into relation with the authoritative teaching of the Church of England by law established as expressed in its formularies—the Articles, the Prayer-Book and the Homilies. Let us begin with the thorny question of Indulgences.

In two of the archiepiscopal constitutions issued by Peckham the word *Indulgentiae* is to be found occurring. On both occasions Lyndwood takes occasion to write a little dissertation on the subject, and I may say that I do not anywhere know a better treatment of this question in equally compendious form. I should like to translate it and to place it in the hands of every convert as a statement of the doctrine of Indulgences authoritatively put forth by the *Ecclesia Anglicana* more than a century before the Council of Trent.

Lyndwood begins his dissertation in proper scholastic form with a series of difficulties. It may be objected, he says, that an inferior cannot relax or diminish a punishment imposed by a superior, for instance if a penance is imposed upon anyone by the Pope, no bishop can commute it, and if a penance be imposed by a bishop it is useless for the culprit to apply for a remedy to any inferior prelate. Hence if God in forgiving us our sins appoints a certain atonement required by His justice it would seem that no human power can grant any relaxation of such a penalty. This is only

a specimen of several of the plausible objections which our canonist raises, including amongst the rest the difficulty caused by the absence of any reference to Indulgences in Holy Scripture, and that of the presumably deleterious effect of Indulgences in encouraging rather than diminishing sin and crime. "From all which," as he finally concludes, "it seems to follow that Indulgences are contrary to the sovereign rights of Almighty God and to the sacred canons and laws." "On the other side, however," he continues, "in favour of the validity of such indulgences, we have to take into account the fact that all theologians admit them, as is clear from their writings, similarly all the canonists, as appears in such and such sections of the *corpus juris*. Moreover this has been the practice of the Church from a time beyond which the memory of man knoweth not the contrary. And blessed Gregory, who was a saint, observed the practice; neither can we believe that the whole Church has fallen into error. For it was said to Peter as the representative of the whole Church 'I have made supplication for thee that thy faith may not fail.' Further this is proved by the privilege given to Peter and his successors 'Whatever thou shalt bind, etc.' Again in Exodus we read of the indulgences or remissions granted in the year of Jubilee . . . Moreover the most fundamental ground which establishes the validity of such indulgences is the unity of the Church, which is the mystical body of Christ, in which many holy men have performed (supererogaverunt) works of piety and mercy over and above the measure of their own transgressions, patiently enduring scorn and contumely and infinite sufferings and torments which they have not deserved. These do not cease to pray for us and the Church pours forth prayers to them that they may intercede for us, as we see in the Litanies. Moreover, leaving all these out of account the merit of the Death and Passion and Bloodshedding of Christ worketh the remission of sins. For He offered Himself as a victim for sin, and that pain and martyrdom which He unjustly bore, nay even the least drop of His blood was sufficient for the washing away of all our offences. Communicating, therefore, to us His merits and those of His saints, he gave the power of binding and loosing to Peter and his successors. Accordingly this remission of the penalty to be inflicted for sins is granted to all who are truly penitent and who have made their confession, is a reward which the holy martyrs have won for us, as thoroughly solvent debtors, who by making satisfaction in our place set us free also from our penalties. And the dispensing of these merits by which we may be set free from the penalties due to our sins, Christ, as I have said, entrusted to Peter and his successors, who also in

"turn committed such powers to the Bishops, that have been called "to share a portion of their solicitude; and they (the Popes) have "likewise entrusted to the Bishops other similar powers.<sup>19</sup>

I cannot, I think, exaggerate the importance of these words as an illustration of Lyndwood's whole attitude towards the papacy. "The Pope," he says again, a little further on, "who has supreme power and in whose person the Church is represented, in granting an indulgence, communicates to us as it were the good works of the saints and of the Passion of Christ, and so satisfies and discharges the penalty which must be imposed on the sinner for his sin." In more than one place does Lyndwood draw a distinction between the power of order and the power of jurisdiction. The power of order is given in the rite by which a man is raised to the dignity of the priesthood, but the power of jurisdiction is not bestowed upon all, and in this matter of indulgences at least is communicated, as Lyndwood plainly teaches, only through the Sovereign Pontiff. "It is true," he says, "that this faculty of binding and loosing belongs fundamentally to every priest in virtue of the sacred order which he has received, but it is not all priests who have the use of this faculty for they lack the power of jurisdiction which supplies the requisite matter,"<sup>20</sup> the matter that is, for the exercise of those powers. If the comparison may be used without irreverence, in Lyndwood's idea a priest without jurisdiction is like a man with a gun and a gun license, but without any game of his own. He has everything that he needs for a successful day's sport except something to shoot at. None the less he is not free to invade another man's property and kill his birds. Lyndwood's teaching is identical with that now everywhere received in the Catholic Church, which finds its practical importance in the question of faculties for confession. Our Ritualist friends absolutely ignore the point which to Lyndwood and to every Catholic priest seems of all matters most fundamental. To him the first question to be asked of a priest who proposed to set up in any church his *sedem confessionalem*, the tribunal wherein he sits in judgment on the penitents who present themselves, would be: what jurisdiction does he possess? } Who has commissioned him, and for whom? Thus he lays down that only the parish priest has faculties to hear confessions *ipso jure* and that only for his own parishioners. All others need to be specially licensed to that purpose. The Pope, he says, may give faculties to any priest anywhere, and in Lyndwood's day the confessors of religious orders derived their faculties not from the bishop but from the Pope alone. A papal legate

<sup>19</sup> *De Poenit.*, c. *Cum Salubriter*, s. o. *Claribus*.

<sup>20</sup> *Tit. De Poeniten.*, cap. *in confessione*, ad v. *legatus*, fol. 238a.

similarly may give faculties to any priest throughout his province, a bishop only in his own diocese. But even these faculties are limited. It is not only Lyndwood but a Provincial constitution passed by St. Edmund of Canterbury and his suffragans, which lays down that "there are cases in which no man but the Pope alone, or his legate has power to absolve," and Lyndwood in his gloss appealing to two decretals in the *corpus juris* points out that the legate thus referred to, does not mean any ordinary *legatus natus* such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, but only a legate *a latere* specially sent from Rome.<sup>21</sup> In other words if any culprit, *sua dente diabolo*, inflicted grievous bodily harm upon a cleric or a religious, or forged or tampered with apostolic bull, or did a good many other things enumerated by Lyndwood there was no man in the length and breadth of England who, ordinarily speaking, had powers to absolve him. If he wished to be reconciled with God and Holy Church there was nothing for it but to set off on a pilgrimage to Rome. Repeatedly again does Lyndwood assert that for sundry irregularities *solus Papa dispensat* the Pope alone can dispense, as for instance the case of a man twice married who wants to take orders. So again when our author lays down that in those constitutions which impose excommunication as a penalty, the penalty is not incurred where there is ignorance of the law imposing it, he is careful to point out that papal decrees are on quite a different footing.<sup>22</sup> "This is true enough," he says, "as far as regards the constitutions of those who are the Pope's inferiors," such as the Archbishop of Canterbury (it is a decree of Peckham's he is discussing), "but a papal constitution, when two months have elapsed from its publication made in general form in consistory binds even those who are ignorant of it."<sup>23</sup>

It would be interesting to go into detail upon Lyndwood's doctrine of the sacraments, but space fails us. Let me say, in brief, that as far as I have been able to study it his teaching is as clear

<sup>21</sup> Again, in a long note about the deanery of St. Martin's le grande, which was held, it seems, absolutely by the King's appointment without any institution from the Bishop, Lyndwood is trying to determine whether such an incumbency is technically to be regarded as a benefice or not, and he supposes as one solution that the king may be held to base his right to appoint on the authority of the Holy See. In such a case Lyndwood seems to hold there is no difficulty about the absence of episcopal institution. "If the king makes such an investiture by the privilege or authority of the Pope, I take it for granted (*pono pro expedito*)," says Lyndwood, "that even without the consent of the Bishop this suffices for a canonical title, and the investiture by the king takes the place of canonical institution," and he goes on: "For it would be a kind of sacrilege to doubt whether that man be worthy whom the Pope has chosen especially if he act from his own certain knowledge." "*Instar namque sacrilegii est dubitare an is sit dignus quem papa elegerit, maxime si hoc fiat ex certa scientia.*" Lyndwood, *De Cohab Mul*, cap. *Ut Clericalis* s. v. *Beneficiati*, fol. 92 vo.

<sup>22</sup> *De Officio Archidiaconi*, cap. *Eisdem*, s. v. *Excom'n*, fol. 37 vo.

<sup>23</sup> *Tit. De Sacrament. iterand. cap. Ignorantia ad v. poenitentia.*

and positive as such teaching can be and it is in accurate agreement with the Council of Trent and with what every Catholic priest now holds and explains to his flock. Compare such utterances as the following with the pronouncements of the Bishops of the Established Church at any period of her history. "Penance is the sacrament of those who return to God, and it is the only means of salvation (*est de necessitate salutis*) for all who have fallen under the empire of sin."<sup>24</sup> Or again:

"A man who is in mortal sin ought not to celebrate mass without "previous confession (under pain of incurring fresh mortal sin). "This confession must be made by word of mouth in the tribunal "of the sacrament of penance, for although before Christ's incarnation mental confession made to God alone was sufficient, now "since God has become man, confession by word of mouth must "be made to man who stands in the place of Christ."

So we find our author quite clear in his own mind about the doctrine of *intention*. A constitution of Archbishop Walter requires that the words of consecration are to be pronounced by the priest "with the utmost devotion of mind" (*cum summa animi devotione*), on which the author comments "that is to say the intention of the mind must be firmly fixed on God and on the uttering of the words. For intention is always necessary, "whether it be a special intention or a general intention and not "only must there be the intention of the consecrator, but also the "intention of Him who instituted the sacrament. Hence if a priest "stood up in the market place and pronounced the form of the "words of consecration over all the bread there exposed for sale, "even though he had the intention of consecrating, there would "be no transubstantiation in such a case, and this would not be "from any lack of power in the words, but from the lack of that "intention which was in the mind of Him who instituted the sacrament, who did not intend that consecration should take place "with such mockery and folly, but only for the utility or need of "the Church in general or particular." Lyndwood then discusses an adverse view as to the validity of such a consecration of loaves in the market place but he appeals to the authority of two other schoolmen, adding: "A priest can consecrate any required amount of matter provided he intends to consecrate for the use and nourishment of the faithful. But without this intention he cannot, for there is wanting the intention of doing what the Church does."<sup>25</sup>

So I should like to quote much of what Lyndwood says about

<sup>24</sup> Tit. *De Celeb. Nuisarum* cap. *Lintheamina*, ad v. *devotione*

<sup>25</sup> Book V., Tit *De Haeret.*, cap. *Reverendissime*, s. v. *declarentur*, fol. 211 vo.

heresy and the Catholic faith. Englishman as he was, the highest legal functionary in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he dedicates his work, before he himself was made an English bishop, it is the *Ecclesia Romana* to which he invariably refers when there is any question of doctrine, not the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. What has the English Church, *quâ* English Church, to do with doctrine?

"I say," he tells us, "that if any man implicitly holds and follows, what the holy Roman Church teaches and proclaims, even though he may err in explaining his faith still he will stand excused." Or again, "for I repeat, that man is most absolutely to be accounted a heretic who does not hold what the Holy Roman Church teaches and follows;" or again, "he also is called a heretic who out of contempt of the Roman Church scorns to observe those things which the Roman Church has determined, and also he who despises and neglects to observe the decretals (the decisions of the Pope) on the plea that they seem to run counter to the keys."

Or again, "he also is called a heretic who tries to wrest the privilege of the Roman Church from *the supreme head of (all) Churches*" (*summo capiti Ecclesiarum*).<sup>26</sup> These things Lyndwood draws from the utterances of the *Corpus Juris*, and there is not a syllable to show that he for a moment dreams of questioning any one of them. This is the *law*, the Church law made for all Christendom, which the English Church constitutions may supplement but not derogate from.

And if on the one hand Lyndwood is strong in vindicating what Mr. Wakeman would call "the modern ultramontane doctrine of papal supremacy," he is equally strong in repudiating from his religious system those abuses which were charged against the Church by the reformers a century later. Penance and indulgences and the other sacraments demand, as he insists, for their primary condition the sincere repentance of the penitent. If a man is out of charity with God, he explains, none of the good deeds which he may do avail anything for an eternal reward. He is not indeed to be driven away from confession even if he be not properly penitent, for he can be counselled and exhorted to do such good works as he will. The good works may move God to grant him in the end the grace of a true conversion and they may help to atone for his sins, and to diminish the power which the devil has over him.<sup>27</sup> Again, Lyndwood's doctrine of the secrecy of confession is exactly what is taught in our own day. Suppose, he asks, a man makes

<sup>26</sup> Tit. *De Poenit.* cap. *sacerdos*, and cap. *prebemus*, fol. 240, 241.

<sup>27</sup> Tit. *De Poenit.* cap. *prohibemus*, etc., fol. 241 seq.

confession of some crime not already committed but to be committed, say a plot to assassinate somebody, declaring that the temptation is greater than he can resist, is the priest bound to keep it secret? The common teaching of theologians, he replies, is that he ought by all means to keep it secret and not to disclose it. The priest should do what he can to prevent the evil without betraying the penitent, but, unless the penitent give his consent, no information can be given of the intended design. This, it will be remembered, was the exact doctrine which cost Father Garnet his life in the matter of the Gunpowder Plot nearly two centuries later. If in such a case, Lyndwood goes on, a judge should question the priest as to his knowledge of the conspiracy and the priest cannot evade the question, he may answer that he knows nothing of it, because the words "as a man" are understood; or he may even say roundly I know nothing of it in confession, because the words are understood: "Nothing that I can reveal to thee." And then Lyndwood appeals to the passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew (c. xviii) where Christ, our Lord, says: "Of that day (of judgment) no one knoweth, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son," in which we must understand," says Lyndwood, "that the Son knows nothing that He can reveal to us."<sup>28</sup>

Again I wish I had time to analyse the admirably clear and satisfactory little disquisition of our author on the adoration of the cross and the honors paid to relics and images, but what has gone before must suffice as illustrations of the excursions which our canonist constantly makes into matters theological. I must confess that the fact that such views, especially those relating to the papal supremacy, prevailed in Lyndwood's time, seems to me not only incontestible in itself but very hard to reconcile with current Anglican theories. The line of defence taken by such popular writers as Messrs. Wakeman and Ingram, does not in my humble judgment meet the facts fairly. It is impossible at the tail end of a paper like the present to indicate all the misconceptions which seem to me to underlie their presentment of the case, but one or two words must be said upon the subject before concluding.

If I have insisted a good deal upon the representative character of Lyndwood's work—the high position of the writer, the unique

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<sup>28</sup> The question of *Provisors* and *Premunire* is much too intricate to be discussed here, but I may refer my readers to the extremely able discussion of the subject by the Right Rev. Mgr. Moyes, in the *London Tablet* for December 2, 1893. Mgr. Moyes calls my attention to the fact that the act of Provisors professed to be passed in the interest of the Pope to protect him from the importunities of Rome runners. The real motive which underlay this legislation was not any rebellion against papal supremacy, but the wish to safeguard the interests of the patrons of livings, who were, of course, strongly represented in the English Parliament, and who suffered by the papal "Provisions."



authority attributed to it, during a hundred years, down to the time when the Reformation changed everything, the number of editions published and so on—it is because our opponents are willing to admit the existence of an extravagant papalism in individuals or on exceptional occasions, but deny that the English Church as a whole is to be identified with such views. There were constant protests, they tell us, against certain papal claims. The acts of *provisors* and *premunire*<sup>20</sup> alone were a most effectual bar to any interference from Rome with the internal concerns of the National Church. But I reply, and here again the impartial authority of Professor Maitland and Mr. Rushdall is entirely with us, these facts in themselves mean nothing until we have ascertained (1) from whom the anti-papal opposition came, (2) what was the manner of it, (3) what was the scope of it.

1. Did the *Provisors* and *Premunire* legislation originate with the Church or with the State? Surely the action of the crown even when supported by the authority of parliament is not to be taken as expressing the voice of the Church except upon some supposition of a National Church, which seems to me in the present case to involve a *petitio principii*. The same writers who tell us that we must interpret the statutes of provisors and premunire as a rejection by the English Church of Roman supremacy will be horrified at our want of candor if we identify the creed of Anglicans in our own day with the Gorham judgment and the solemnization of marriage between divorced persons. But the opposition implied in *premunire* and the rest is only the resistance which the Church has encountered from the secular power in every age and country, and during the Middle Ages quite as much in France, Germany or Italy as in England; would any one argue that French or Austrian Catholics no longer regard marriage as a sacrament and deny papal supremacy because the law of France and Austria recognises a purely civil ceremony and claims all jurisdiction over marriage cases for the secular courts. All through her history the Church has had to yield repeatedly to *force majeure* and to be thankful for small mercies in the way of concessions.

2. Again, the manner in which English protests against Roman claims were made is a matter of most vital importance. Mr. Wake-man divides these papal claims into three categories, temporal, administrative and spiritual.

a. Those of a temporal nature, e. g., the so-called deposing power. The existence and nature of such claims were always a matter of dispute among theologians. Rome herself has now practically surrendered them.

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<sup>20</sup> *Concilia Angliæ*. Vol. II., p. 539 seq.

4. Administrative. "These," says Mr. Wakeman, "included rights of appointing bishops, appointing and sending legates, granting of the pall, appointing to benefices by provision, granting and refusing bulls for the consecration of bishops," etc.

"These claims," according to the same authority, "never formed part of the law or custom of the constitution in England and their successful exercise depended upon the connivance of the king." The last phrase is noteworthy.

Now we may admit that these administrative claims first specified were much interfered with and protested against in mediaeval England as in all other countries. But on what ground? When we look at the text of the documents we see very clearly how the matter stood. It is not that the king or parliament are striking a blow for a free National Church. The idea of a headless church independent of the Pope entered into the minds of none but a few wild dreamers. No, the reason alleged was very different. The fact is that the line which separated these temporal and administrative claims was exceedingly narrow. The kings and their justices and the officials of the secular power, not without much excuse, affected to be unable in many instances to discern it. They declared that the papal bulls, requisitions, etc., interfered, not with the liberty of the Church, but with the royal prerogative, they derogated from the temporal authority of the sovereign. Hence they were justified in resisting them.

Let us take one or two illustrations of what this "connivance" of the king amounted to. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that we might cite hundred of examples similar in tendency though not so extreme in form.

In 1327, at the beginning of the reign of Edward III, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Reynolds, died, and the Christ Church monks duly and canonically elected Simon Mepham in his room. The choice commended itself to the king, and he on Jan. 6, 1328, wrote to the Pope in most respectful terms extolling the virtues of the Archbishop-elect, and asking the pontiff to confirm the choice that had been made, and not to set it aside on any plea of reservation or provision for any candidate of his own. Two days before this the king addressed a letter to *each* of the Cardinals at the Court of Avignon, asking them to use their influence that the election might not be quashed. On the 12th of January the chapter wrote to the Pope recommending Simon Mepham in similar terms. On the 25th of March as nothing apparently had yet been heard, the king wrote to the Pope again, again humbly praying that he would give speedy effect to the election held. On the same day he again dispatched letters to each of the Cardinals to

ask their support for his urgent request. Later on the king wrote a third time to the Pope in the same sense begging that the matter might be dispatched. The Queen Mother Isabel of Castile likewise addressed a letter to the Holy See using what influence she possessed, and finally the "*magnates Angliae*," a phrase which I take to mean Parliament, wrote a collective epistle to urge the matter from their point of view. All these letters are printed at length in Wilkins,<sup>80</sup> and all of them contain what is equivalently a full recognition of the Pope's right to set aside the election and appoint some one else if he chose. The last letter, written by the king himself, in fact concludes as follows: "But if, most holy Father, which I trust will not be the case, it should happen that the election be invalidated because justice so requires it, and if it should seem good to your Benignity to provide some other person to the See, then I would pray you to remember the recommendation which I have on another occasion addressed to you in favour of Henry, Bishop of Lincoln." The claim to appoint bishops was one of those which Mr. Wakeman tells us "depended upon the connivance of the king." I hope I shall not seem to speak flippantly if I say that this seems indeed to be connivance with a vengeance.

And now let me give another curious illustration of the way in which this repudiation of Roman supremacy manifested itself. It is the more interesting because it has reference to our friend Lyndwood, whose book we have been discussing throughout. When in 1438 Henry VI or his advisers convinced themselves that Lyndwood would make an excellent bishop—what an odd thing by the way that a man who had expressed in his book such extreme papalist views should be promoted to a bishopric not at the instance of the Pope, but of the king whose prerogative, according to all Anglican theories, he had been so constantly attacking—when, I repeat, Henry VI's advisers desired to make Lyndwood a bishop how did they set about it? Strange to say, although they denied the Pope's right to appoint bishops and although papal provisions were illegal and the man who obtained them had to sue out a pardon, they nevertheless decided that the best thing to do was to write to the Pope and to ask him to appoint Lyndwood to the bishopric of Hereford. The Bishop of Hereford, as the King's letter itself states, had obtained the Pope's leave to resign his See on account of extreme old age, and the king most respectfully begs of the Pope to name Lyndwood as his successor. "He is "the keeper of our privy seal," the king says, "and we know him "for a man of most eminent learning, of great prudence, and ex-

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<sup>80</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, Vol. III., p. 538.

"perience in weighty affairs, of upright and most pure life, a man "so chaste, humble and modest and inflexibly just, that into what- "ever place he comes, he purifies all things by the integrity of his "conduct; moreover we know him to be so completely a stranger "to all ambition that he would much rather never be made bishop "at all than ever solicit such a dignity or contribute to it by any "action of his own or to the prejudice of any one else. . . . This "is the man, most blessed and clement Father, whom we humbly "and very earnestly beseech your Beatitude, not so much in his "own interest as in the interest of the said bishopric, graciously and "favourably to adopt for this charge."<sup>87</sup>

And here I think I had better stop, I have not said a tithe of what might be said and should be said in answer to the objections raised against the mediaeval doctrine of papal supremacy, but it is impossible in one short paper to treat adequately a subject so complicated.

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## THE MEDIAEVAL CHORUS MUSIC OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: ITS STYLE, DEVELOPMENT, AND DEVOTIONAL IDEAL.

THE development of the music of the Christian Church has passed through three typical phases, each complete in itself, bounded by clearly marked lines, corresponding quite closely in respect to time divisions with the three major epochs into which the history of the Western Church may be divided. These phases of ecclesiastical song are so far from being mutually exclusive that both the first and the second persisted after the introduction of new methods, so that at the present day at least two of the three forms are in use in well nigh every Catholic congregation, and in many church centers all of them are cultivated side by side, although they never meet on precisely equal terms.

I. The period in which the unison chant was the only form of ritual music extends from the founding of the Congregation of Rome to about the year 1100, and corresponds with the centuries of missionary activity among the northern and western nations, when the Roman liturgy was triumphantly asserting its authority

over the various local uses. The unison chant grew and diffused itself over Europe with the growth and dissemination of the liturgy of which it was the inseparable associate, and like the liturgy it attained its fulness of growth and its characteristic expression in the early centuries of the Christian era, mainly under the fostering care of the monastic orders.<sup>1</sup>

II. The period of the unaccompanied contrapuntal chorus, based on the mediaeval ("Gregorian") key and melodic system, covering the era of the European sovereignty of the Catholic Church, and including the epoch of the Counter-Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. This phase of art, like the liturgical chant, reached its culmination by regular unchecked evolution, underwent no decline or dissolution, and gave way at last to a style in sharp contrast with it only when it had gained an impregnable historic position.

III. The period of the forms now dominant in the church at large, viz., mixed solo and chorus music with free instrumental accompaniment, tending toward the homophonic as distinct from the polyphonic method of structure, and based on the modern and minor transposing scales. This style arose early in the Seventeenth Century, as the latest outcome of the Renaissance secularization of art; it was not a development from the preceding style but was a forcing into the Church of external and originally alien elements; it was taken up by the Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican bodies, and in all of these was the sign and result of the great European impulse toward an individual and comprehensive expression in literature and art, and was moulded into its present forms and characteristic types of style under the influence of the opera and instrumental concert music.

The unison chant and the mediaeval *a capella* chorus are each essentially homogeneous, each the manifest token of the surrender of individual impulse to a generalized ecclesiastical standard of devotional expression, in which the voice of the separate personality in the worshippers is lost in the comprehensive ideal utterance of an exalted and universal institution. The modern church music, on the other hand, is heterogeneous, because in it, as in secular music (although in less degree) the law of conformity to an authoritative standard is relaxed and the demand for a subjective, vivid and definite manifestation of feeling asserts its claims. These successive changes in the ideal and form of church music were normal and inevitable, because they were the spontaneous outcome of conceptions which lay in the very heart of the human element

<sup>1</sup> See "The American Catholic Quarterly Review, Jan., 1898; Music in the Early Church, and Music, Dec., 1897; Jan. and Feb., 1898. The Ritual Chant in the History of the Catholic Church.

in the religious institution itself. They were the result of the adaptation of the liturgic standards of church art to the shifting aesthetic as well as religious demands of the time.

The second of these periods—the subject of the present sketch—is in many respects the most attractive of the three to the student of ecclesiastical music. Modern church music, by virtue of its variety, splendor, and dramatic pathos, seems to be tinged with the hues of earthliness which belie the strictest conception of ecclesiastical art. It partakes of the doubt and turmoil of a skeptical and rebellious age, it is the music of impassioned longing in which are mingled echoes of worldly allurements, it is, not the chastened tone of pious assurance and self-abnegation. The choral song developed in the ages of faith is pervaded by the accents of that calm ecstasy of trust and celestial anticipation which give to mediaeval art that exquisite charm of naïveté and sincerity never again to be realized through the same medium, because it is the unconscious expression of an unquestioning simplicity of conviction which seems to have passed away forever from the higher manifestations of the human creative intellect.

Such pathetic suggestion clings to the religious music of the Middle Ages no less palpably than to the sculpture, painting, and hymnody of the same era, and combines with its singular artistic perfection and loftiness of tone to render it perhaps the most typical and lovely of all the forms of Catholic art. And yet to the generality of students of church and art history it is of all the products of the Middle Ages the least familiar. Any intellectual man whom we might select would not think of calling himself educated if he had no acquaintance with mediaeval architecture, poetry, and plastic art; yet he would probably not feel at all ashamed to confess total ignorance of that vast store of liturgic music which in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries filled the incense-laden air of those very cathedrals and chapels in which his reverent feet so love to wander. The miracles of mediaeval architecture, the achievements of the Gothic sculptors and the religious painters of Florence, Cologne, and Flanders are familiar to him, but the musical craftsmen of the Low Countries, Paris, Rome, and Venice, who clothed every prayer, hymn, and Scripture lesson of the Catholic ritual with strains of unique beauty and tenderness, are only names, if indeed their names are known to him at all. Yet in sheer bulk their works would doubtless be found to equal the whole amount of the music of every kind that has been written in the three centuries following their age; while in technical mastery and adaptation to its special end this school is not unworthy of comparison with the more brilliant and versatile art of the present day.

The period from the Twelfth to the close of the Sixteenth Century was one of extraordinary musical activity. The thousands of cathedrals, chapels, parish churches, and convents were increasing in their demands for new settings of the multifarious members of the Mass and offices. Until the art of printing was applied to musical notes about the year 1500, followed by the foundation of musical publishing houses, there was but little duplication or exchange of musical compositions, and thus every important ecclesiastical establishment must be provided with its own corps of composers and copyists. The religious enthusiasm and the vigorous intellectual activity of the Middle Ages found as free a channel of discharge in song as in any other means of embellishment of the church ceremonial. These conditions, together with the absence of an operatic stage, a concert system, or a musical public, turned the fertile musical impulses of the period to the benefit of the Church. The ecclesiastical musicians also set to music vast numbers of madrigals, chansons, villanellas, and the like, for the entertainment of aristocratic patrons, but this was but an incidental deflection from their more serious duties as ritual composers. In quality as well as quantity the mediaeval clerical music was not unworthy of comparison with the architectural, sculptural, pictorial, and textile products which were created in the same epoch and under the same auspices. The world has never witnessed a more absorbed devotion to a single artistic idea, neither has there existed since the golden age of Greek sculpture another art form so lofty in expression and so perfect in workmanship as the polyphonic church chorus in the years of its maturity. That style of musical art that was brought to fruition by such men as Joaquin des Prés, Orlando di Lasso, Willaert, Palestrina, Vittoria, Anerio, the Gabriellis, and Lotti is not unworthy to be compared with the Gothic cathedrals in whose epoch it arose and with the later triumphs of Renaissance painting with which it culminated.

Of this remarkable achievement of genius the typical educated man above mentioned knows little or nothing. How is it possible, he might ask, that a school of art so opulent in results, capable of arousing so much admiration among the initiated, could have dominated all Europe for five such brilliant centuries, and yet have left so little impress upon the consciousness of the modern world if it really possessed the high artistic merits that are claimed for it? The answer is not difficult. For the world at large music exists only as it is performed, and the difficulty and expense of musical performance insure, as a general rule, the neglect of musical works that do not arouse a public demand. Church music is less susceptible than secular to the tyranny of fashion, but even in this

department changing tastes and the politic compromising spirit tend to pay court to novelty and to neglect the antiquated. The revolution in musical taste and practice which occurred early in the Seventeenth Century—a revolution so complete that it metamorphosed the whole conception of the nature and purpose of music—swept all musical production off into new directions, and the complex austere art of the mediaeval church was forgotten under the fascination of the new Italian melody and the vivid rhythm and tone-color of the orchestra. Since then the tide of invention has never paused long enough to enable the world at large to turn its thought to the forsaken treasures of the past. Moreover, only a comparatively minute part of this multitude of old works has ever been printed, much of it has been lost, the greater portion lies buried in the dust of libraries; whatever is accessible must be released from an abstruse and obsolete system of notation, and the methods of performance, which conditioned a large measure of its effect, must be restored under the uncertain guidance of tradition. The usages of chorus singing in the present era do not prepare singers to cope with the peculiar difficulties of the *a capella* style; a special education and a special mode of feeling are required for an appreciation of its appropriateness and beauty. Nevertheless, such is its inherent vitality, so magical is its attraction to one who has come into complete harmony with its spirit, so true is it as an exponent of the mythical submissive type of piety which always tends to re-assert itself in a rationalistic age like the present, that the minds of churchmen are gradually returning to it, and scholars and musical directors are tempting it forth from its seclusion. Societies are founded for its study, choirs in some of the most influential church centers are adding mediaeval works to their repertoires, journals and schools are laboring in its interest, and its influence is insinuating itself into the modern Mass and anthem, lending to the modern forms a more elevated and spiritual quality. Little by little the world of culture is becoming enlightened in respect to the unique beauty and refinement of this form of art, and the more intelligent study of the Middle Ages, which has now taken the place of the former prejudiced misinterpretation of that epoch, is forming an attitude of mind that is capable of a sympathetic response to this most exquisite and characteristic of all the products of mediaeval genius.

In order to seize the full significance of this school of Catholic music in its mature stage in the Sixteenth Century, it will be necessary, as in all similar study, to trace its origin and growth. The higher criticism of the present day rests on the principle that we cannot comprehend works and schools of art unless we know

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their causes and conditions. We shall find as we examine the history of mediaeval choral song, that it arose in response to an instinctive demand for a more expansive form of music than the unison chant. Liturgical necessities can in no wise account for the invention of part singing, for even to-day the Gregorian plain song remains the one officially recognized form of ritual music in the Catholic Church. It was an unconscious impulse, prophesying a richer musical expression which could not at once be realized, — a blind revolt of the European mind against bondage to an antique and restrictive form of expression. For the Gregorian chant by its very nature as unaccompanied melody, rhythmically controlled by prose accent and measure, was incapable of further development, and it was impossible that music should remain at a standstill while all the other arts were continually struggling with higher problems. The movement which elicited the art of choral song from the latent powers of the liturgic chant was identical with the tendency which evolved Gothic and Renaissance architecture, sculpture, and painting out of Roman and Byzantine art. Melody unsupported soon runs its course; harmony, music in parts, with contrast of consonance and dissonance, dynamics, and light and shade, must supplement melody, adding more opulent resources to the simple charm of tone and rhythm. The science of harmony, at least in the modern sense, was unknown in antiquity, and the Gregorian chant was but the projection of the antique usage into the modern world. The history of modern European music, therefore, begins with the first authentic instances of singing in two or more semi-independent parts, these parts being subjected to a definite proportional notation.

A century or so before the science of part writing had taken root in musical practice, a strange barbaric form of music meets our eyes. A manuscript of the Tenth Century, formerly ascribed to Hucbald of St. Armand, who lived, however, a century earlier, gives the first distinct account with rules for performance, of a divergence from the custom of unison singing, by which the voices of the choir, instead of all singing the same notes, move along together separated by octaves and fourths or octaves and fifths; or else a second voice repeats a single note while the first sings the chant melody, the second voice making a slight departure from its monotone near the end of the period. The author of this manuscript makes no claim to the invention of this manner of singing, but alludes to it as something already well known. Much speculation has been expended upon the question of the origin and purpose of the first form of this barbarous Organum or Diaphony, as it was called; some conjecturing that it was suggested by the

sound of the ancient Keltic stringed instrument, *Crowth* or *Crotta*, which was tuned in fifths and had a flat finger-board; others find in it an imitation of the early organ with its several rows of pipes sounding fifths like a modern mixture stop; while others suppose, with some reason, that it was a survival of a fashion practiced among the Greeks and Romans. The importance of the Organum in music history has, however, been greatly overrated, for properly speaking it was not harmony or part singing at all, but only another kind of unison, in which voices of different registers moved along side by side through the chant melody by means of exactly the same order of steps and half-steps, which in true harmony cannot occur. Even the second form of Organum (melody with drone accompaniment) was but little nearer the final goal, for the attendant note series was not free enough to be called an organic element in a harmonic structure. As soon, however, as the accompanying part was allowed ever so little unconstrained life of its own, the first steps in genuine part-writing were taken, and a new epoch in musical art had begun.

The freer and more promising style which issued from the treadmill of the Organum was called in its initial stages *Descant*, and was at first wholly confined to an irregular mixture of octaves, unisons, fifths, and fourths, with an occasional third as a sort of concession to the criticism of the natural ear upon antique theory. At first two parts only were employed. Occasional successions of parallel fifths and fourths, the heritage of the Organum, long survived, but they were gradually eliminated as hollow and unsatisfying, and the principle of contrary motion, which is the very soul of all modern harmony and counterpoint, was slowly established. It must be borne in mind, as the clue to all mediæval music, that the practice of tone-combination involved no idea whatever of chords, as modern theory conceives them. The characteristic principle of the vastly preponderating portion of the music of the last three centuries is harmony, technically so-called, i. e., chords, solid or distributed, out of which melody is primarily evolved. Homophony, monody—one part sustaining the tune while all others serve as the support and, so to speak, the coloring material also—is now the ruling postulate. The chorus music of Europe down to the Seventeenth Century, was, on the other hand, based on melody, the composer never thought of his combination as chords, but worked, we might say, horizontally, weaving together several semi-independent melodies into a flexible and accordant tissue.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This distinction between harmony and counterpoint is fundamental, but no space can be given here to its further elucidation. The point will easily be made clear by comparing an ordinary modern hymn tune with the first section of a fugue.

The transition from Organum to Descant was effected about the year 1100. There was for a time no thought of the invention of the component melodies. Not only the *cantus firmus* (the principal theme) but also the counterpoint (the melodic "running mate"), was borrowed, the second factor being frequently a folk tune altered to fit the chant melody, according to the simple laws of euphony then admitted. In respect to the words the Descant may be divided into two classes: the words might be the same in both parts, or one voice would sing the words of the office of the Church, and the other the words of the secular song from which the accompanying tune was taken. In the Twelfth Century the monkish musicians, stirred to bolder flights by the satisfactory results of their two-part Descant or counterpart, essayed three parts, with results at first childishly awkward, but with growing ease and smoothness. Free invention of the accompanying parts took the place of the custom of borrowing the entire melodic framework, for while two borrowed themes might fit each other, it was practically impossible to find three that would do so without almost complete alteration. But there was never any thought of inventing the *cantus firmus*; this was invariably taken from a ritual book or a popular tune, and the whole art of composition consisted in fabricating melodic figures that would unite with it in an agreeable synthesis. These contrapuntal devices, at first simple and often harsh, under the inevitable law of evolution became more free and mellifluous at the same time that they became more complex. The primitive Descant was one note against one note (hence the term "counterpoint," *punctum contra punctum*); later the accompanying part was allowed to sing several notes against one of the *cantus firmus*. Another early form consisted of notes interrupted by rests. In the Twelfth Century such progress had been made that thirds and sixths were abundantly admitted, dissonant intervals were made to resolve upon consonances, consecutive fifths were avoided, passing notes and embellishments were used in the accompanying voices, and the beginnings of double counterpoint and imitation appeared. Little advance was made in the Thirteenth Century, music was still chiefly a matter of scholastic theory, a mechanical handicraft. Considerable dexterity had been attained in the handling of three simultaneous, independent parts; contrary and parallel motion alternating for variety's sake, contrast of consonance and dissonance, a system of notation by which time values as well as differences of pitch could be indicated, together with a recognition of the importance of rhythm as an ingredient in musical effect,—all this foreshadowed the time when the material of tonal art would be plastic in the composer's hand, and he would

be able to mould it into forms of fluent grace, pregnant with meaning. This final goal was still far away; the dull, plodding round of apprenticeship must go on through the Fourteenth Century also, and the whole conscious aim of effort must be directed to the invention of scientific combinations which might ultimately provide a vehicle for the freer action of the imagination.

The period from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Centuries was, therefore, not one of expressive art work, but rather of slow and arduous experiment. The problem was so to adjust the semi-independent melodious parts that an unimpeded life might be preserved in all the voices and yet the combined effect be at any instant pure and beautiful. The larger the number of parts the greater the skill required to weave them together into a varied, rich and euphonious pattern. Any one of these parts might for the moment, hold the place of the leading part which the others were constrained to follow through the mazes of the design. Hence the term polyphonic, i. e., many-voiced. Although each voice part was as important as any other in this living, musical texture, yet each section took its cue from a single melody—a fragment of a Gregorian chant or a folk tune and called the *cantus firmus*, and also known as the tenor, from *teneo*, to hold—and the voice that gave out this melody came to be called the tenor voice. In the later phases of this art the first utterance of the theme was assigned indifferently to any one of the voice parts.

After confidence had been gained in devising two or more parts to be sung simultaneously, the next step was to bring in one part after another. Some method of securing unity amid variety (the basic principle of all art) was now necessary, and this was found in the contrivance known as "imitation," by which one voice follows another through the same or approximate intervals, the part first sounded acting as a model for a short distance, then perhaps another taking up the leadership with a new melodic figure, the intricate network of parts thus revealing itself as a coherent organism rather than a fortuitous conjunction of notes, the composer's invention and the hearers' impression controlled by a conscious plan to which each melodic part is tributary.

When a number of semi-independent parts came to be used together, the need of fixing the pitch and length of notes with precision became imperative. So out of the antique mnemonic signs which had done useful service during the exclusive regime of the unison chant there was gradually developed a system of square-headed notes, together with a staff of lines and spaces. But instead of simplicity a bewildering complexity reigned for centuries. Many clefs were used, shifting their place on the staff in

order to keep the notes within the lines; subtleties, many and deep, were introduced, and the matter of rhythm, key relations, contrapuntal structure, and method of singing became a thing abstruse and recondite. Composition was more like algebraic calculation than free art; symbolisms of trinity and unity, of perfect and imperfect, were entangled in the notation, to the delight of the ingenious monkish intellect and the despair of the neophyte and the modern student of mediaeval manuscript. Progress was slowest at the beginning. It seemed an interminable task to learn how to put a number of parts together with any degree of ease, and for many generations after it was first attempted the results were harsh and uncouth. After tribulations manifold, a thousand experiments that came to nothing, a logical system of musical science was evolved and composers obtained at least a knowledge of the nature of the tools with which they were to work.

The noble art of counterpoint, evolved by means of innumerable experiments, finally codified its laws, and with the opening of the Fifteenth Century compositions worthy to be called artistic were produced. These were hardly yet beautiful according to modern standards, certainly they had little or no characteristic expression, but they had begun to be pliable and smoth-sounding, showing that the notes had come under the composer's control and that he was no longer a clumsy apprentice. From the opening of the Fifteenth Century we date the epoch of artistic polyphony, which advanced in purity and dignity until it culminated in the perfect creations of the Sixteenth Century. This method of combining a number of melodious parts into a compact yet flexible harmonic texture was essentially the work of the musicians of northern France, the Low Countries, and England. So large a proportion of the fathers and high priests of mediaeval counterpoint belong to the districts now included in Northern France, Belgium, and Holland, that the epoch bounded by the years 1300 and 1550 is known in music history as "the age of the Netherlanders." The peculiar genius of the race which conceived the grandiose designs and the opulent detail of the Gothic architecture seems to have been especially adapted to create what may be called, without a violent stretch of analogy, a counterpart in musical structure. With a patience and ingenuity not less admirable than was shown in the labors of the cathedral builders, the French and Netherlandish musical artificers applied themselves with infinite zeal to the problems of counterpoint, producing works enormous in quantity and often of bewildering intricacy. Great numbers of pupils were trained in the convents and chapel schools, becoming masters in their turn, and exercising commanding influence in the churches

and cloisters of all Europe. Complexity in part writing steadily increased, not only in combinations of notes but also in the means of indicating their employment. It often happened that each voice must sing to a measure sign that was different from that provided for the other voices. Double and triple rhythm alternated, the value of notes of the same character varied in different circumstances; a highly sophisticated symbolism was invented, known as "riddle canons," by which adepts were enabled to improvise accompanying parts to the *cantus firmus*, and counterpoint, single and double, augmented and diminished, direct, inverted, and retrograde, became at once the end and the means of musical endeavor. Rhythm was obscured and the words almost hopelessly lost in the web of crossing parts. The *cantus firmus*, often extended into notes of portentous length, lost all expressive quality, and was treated only as a thread upon which this closely woven texture of parts was strung. Composers occupied themselves by preference with the mechanical side of music; quite unimaginative, they were absorbed in solving technical problems; and so they went on piling up difficulties for their fellow-craftsmen to match, making music for the eye rather than for the ear, for the logical faculty rather than for the fancy or the emotion.

It would, however, be an error to suppose that such labored artifice was the sole characteristic of the scientific music of the Fifteenth Century. The same composers who revelled in the exercise of this kind of scholastic subtlety also furnished their choirs with a vast amount of music in four, five, and six parts, complex and difficult indeed from the present point of view, but for the choristers as then trained perfectly available, in which there was a striving for solemn devotional effect, a melodious leading of the voices, and the adjustment of phrases into bolder and more symmetrical outlines. Even among the master fabricators of musical labyrinths we find glimpses of a recognition of the true final aim of music, a soul dwelling in the tangled skeins of their polyphony, a grace and inwardness of expression comparable to the poetic suggestiveness which shines through the naive and often rude forms of the sculptural art of the Gothic period. The growing fondness on the part of the austere church musicians for the setting of secular poems—madrigals, chansons, villanellas, and the like—in polyphonic style gradually brought in a simpler construction, more obvious melody, and a more characteristic and pertinent expression, which reacted upon the Mass and motet in the promotion of a more direct and flexible manner of treatment. The *stile familiare*, in which the song moves note against note, syllable against syllable, suggesting modern chord progression, is no in-

vention of Palestrina, with whose name it is commonly associated, but appears in many episodes in the works of his Netherlandish masters.

The contrapuntal chorus music of the Middle Ages—the most refined as well as the most distinctive of those artistic products with which the Catholic Church has adorned herself as a bride worthy of the Heavenly King—reached its maturity in the middle of the Sixteenth Century. For five hundred years this art had been growing, constantly putting forth new tendrils, which interlaced in luxuriant and ever-extending forms until they overspread all Western Christendom. It was now given to one man, Giovanni Pierluigi Sante, called Palestrina from the place of his birth,<sup>3</sup> to put the finishing touches upon this wonder of mediaeval genius, and to impart to it all of which its peculiar nature was capable in respect to technical completeness, tonal purity and majesty, and elevated devotional expression. Palestrina was more than a flawless artist, more than an Andrea del Sarto; he was so representative of that inner spirit which has uttered itself in the most sincere works of Catholic art that the very heart of the institution to which he devoted his life may be said to find a voice in his music. His is, therefore, no factitious or accidental renown, he was one of those master minds who absorb and formulate guiding principles and characteristic traits of the age in which they live, and one who knows his works has obtained an insight into one phase which must be reckoned with in penetrating the spirit which produced the religious phenomena which appeared on the side of Catholicism in the stormy period of the Sixteenth Century.

This element to which I allude was the profound spirit of piety and devotion to the spiritual interests of the Church, which had been at heart untouched by abuses of administration and local relaxations of discipline. It is a striking fact that the music of the Church up to the middle of the Seventeenth Century was but little affected by the influences which had done so much to make other forms of Italian art ministers to ostentation and sensuous gratification. Music possessed no means of flattering the ambition of an Alexander VI., or the luxurious tastes of a Leo X., or the pride of a Julius II., and it was perforce allowed to develop unconstrained along the line of austere tradition. The period in which mediaeval church music approached perfection was not one of triumph to the

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<sup>3</sup> Palestrina was born probably in 1526 (authority of Haberl), and died in 1594. He spent almost his whole artistic life as director of music in Rome in the service of the popes, being at one time also a singer in the papal chapel. He enriched every portion of the ritual with compositions of unsurpassed depth and finish, his works including no less than ninety-five Masses, and he is universally considered the highest representative of the mediaeval school of choral art.

Catholic Church, but rather one of struggle, confusion, and humiliation. The Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy had rent from the Holy See some of the fairest of its dominions, and those that remained were in a condition of political and intellectual turmoil. That a reform "in head and members" was indeed needed is sufficiently established by the demands of many of the staunchest prelates of the time and by the admissions of unimpeachable Catholic historians, but the assertion that still persists in uninstructed quarters that the Catholic Church was wholly given over to corruption in discipline, formalism in worship, and political ambition in administration, is sufficiently refuted by the sublime manifestation of moral force which issued in the Catholic Reaction and the Counter-Reformation, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the deeds of such moral heroes as Carlo Borromeo, Phillip Neri, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Theresa of Jesus, Francis de Sales, Vincent de Paul, and the founders and leaders of the Capuchins, Theatines, Ursulines, and other beneficent religious orders, whose lives and achievements are the glory not only of Catholicism but of the human race. A tree is known by its fruits. The great Church composers of the Sixteenth Century were kindred to such spirits as these, and the pervading piety of the time found its most adequate symbol in the realm of art in the Masses and hymns of Palestrina and his compeers. These men were nurtured in the cloisters and choirs. The Church was their sole patron, and no higher privilege could be conceived by them than that of lending their powers to the service of that sublime institution into which their lives were absorbed. They were not agitated by the political and doctrinal ferment of the day. No sphere of activity could more completely remove a man from mundane influences than the employment of a church musician of that period. The abstract nature of music as an art, together with the engrossing routine of a liturgic office, kept these men, as it were, close to the inner sanctuary of their religion, where the ecclesiastical traditions were strongest and purest. Art forms, moreover, seemed to be under the control of a law which requires that when once set in motion they must run their course independently of changes in their environment. These two factors, therefore, the compulsion of an advancing art demanding completion, and the uncontaminated springs of piety from which the liturgy and its musical setting drew their life, will explain the splendid achievements of religious music in the hands of the Catholic composers amid the storms that buffeted the Church in the Sixteenth Century.

Under such influences and impelled by a single motive, viz, the glory of God and the honor of the Church, the *a capella* polyphony



of the Netherland school put forth its consummate flower in "the Palestrina style," as it was called in honor of its chief exponent. In the works of this later school (the "Roman school") we may distinguish three modes of treatment: (1) the intricate texture and solidity of Netherlandish work; (2) the "familiar style," in which the voices move apace, step by step, without canonic imitations; and (3) a blending of the two, which may be called the scholastic Netherland polyphony clarified and moulded into more plastic outlines for the attainment of a more refined vehicle of expression. Among Palestrina's works the best known examples of the second order are the *Improperia*, and the plainer portions of the *Stabat Mater*; his mastery of learned technical devices may be seen in the *Kyrie* and *Sanctus* of the Mass of Pope Marcellus, although even here science is held subordinate to beauty and devotional feeling; while the third of these classes gives us the "Palestrina style" strictly so called, and is characteristic of the greater portion of the Masses, motets, and hymns which have given him his unique fame. The loveliness of effect of which this style is capable may be illustrated out of scores of instances by such easily accessible examples as the *Gloria* of the Mass "Assumpta est Maria," the *Gloria* of the Marcellus Mass, the *Sanctus* of the "Missa Brevis," and the hymn "O Crux, Ave."

The marked dissimilarity between the music of the mediaeval school and that of the present era is to a large extent explained by the difference between the key and harmonic systems upon which they are severally based. In the modern system the relationship of notes to the antithetic tone-centers of tonic and dominant, and the freedom of modulations from one key to another by means of the introduction of notes not existing in the first key, give opportunities for effect which are not obtainable in music based upon the Gregorian modes, for the reason that these modes do not differ in the notes employed (since they include only the notes represented by the white keys of the pianoforte plus the B flat) but only in the relation of the intervals to the note which forms the key-note or "final." The conception of music based on the latter system is strictly speaking melodic, not harmonic in the modern technical sense, and the combinations of sounds that occur are not imagined as chords arising from a certain tone assumed as a fundamental, but rather as results of the conjunction of horizontally moving series of single notes. The harmony, therefore, seems both vague and monotonous to the ear trained in accordance with the laws of modern music, for it lacks the stable pivotal points which give symmetry, contrast, and cohesion to modern tone structure. The old system admits chromatic changes

only in order to provide a leading tone in a cadence, or to obviate an objectionable melodic interval such as the tritone. Consequently there is little of what we should call variety or positive color quality. It has no pronounced leading melody to which the other parts are subordinate. The theme consists of a few chant-like notes, speedily taken up by one part after another, controlled by the principle of "imitation." For the same reasons the succession of sections, periods, and phrases, which constitute the architectonic principle of form in modern music, does not appear. Even in the "familiar style" in which all the parts move together like blocks of chords of equal length, the principle is still melodic in all the parts, not tune above and accompaniment underneath, and the progression is not guided by the necessity of revolving about mutually supported tone-centers. The melodious element is like a series of waves; no sooner is the mind fixed upon one than it is lost in the ordered confusion of those that follow. The music seems also to have no definite rhythm. Each single voice part is indeed rhythmical as a sentence of prose may be rhythmical, but as the melodic constituents come in upon different parts of the measure, one culminating at one moment another at another, the parts often crossing each other, so that while the mind may be fixed upon one melody which seems to lead another, which has been coming up from below, strikes in across the field—the result of all this is that the attention is constantly being dislodged from one tonal center and shifted to another, and the whole scheme of design seems without form, a fluctuating mass swayed hither and thither without coherent plan. The music does not lack dynamic change or alteration of speed, but these contrasts are often so subtly graded that it is not apparent where they begin and end. The whole effect is measured, subdued, solemn. We are never startled, there is nothing that sets the nerves throbbing. But as we hear this music again and again, analyzing its properties, shutting out all preconceptions, little by little there steal over us sensations of surprise, then of wonder, then of admiration. These delicately shaded harmonies develop unimagined beauties. Without sharp contrast of dissonance and consonance they are yet full of shifting lights and hues, like a meadow under breeze and sunshine, which to the careless eye seems only a mass of unvarying green, but which reveals to the keener sense infinite modulation of the scale of color. No melody lies conspicuous upon the surface, but the whole harmonic substance is full of undulating melody, each voice pursuing its easy, unfretted motion amid the ingenious complexity of which it is a constituent part.

In considering further the technical methods and the final tech-

nical aims of this marvelous style, we find in its culminating period that the crown of the mediaeval contrapuntal art upon its aesthetic side lies in the attainment of beauty of tone effect in and of itself—the gratification of the sensuous ear, rich and subtly modulated sound quality not in the individual boys' and men's voices, but in the distribution and combination of voices of different *timbre*. That mastery toward which orchestral composers have been striving during the past one hundred years—the unison and contrast of stringed and wind instruments for the production of impressions upon the ear analogous to those produced upon the eye by the color of a Rembrandt or a Titian—this was also sought and, so far as the slender means went, achieved in a wonderful degree by the tone-masters of the Roman and Venetian schools. The chorus, we must remind ourselves, sang without accompaniment and sensuous beauty of tone must, therefore, depend not merely upon the individual quality of the voices, but still more upon the manner in which the notes were grouped. The distribution of the components of a chord in order to produce the greatest sonority; the alteration of the lower voices with the higher; the elimination of voices as a section approached its close, until the harmony was reduced at the last syllable to two higher voices in *pianissimo*, as though the strain were vanishing into the upper air; the resolution of tangled polyphony into a sun-burst of open golden chords; the subtle intrusion of veiled dissonances into the fluent gleaming concord; the skillful blending of the vocal registers for the production of exquisite contrasts of light and shade—these and many other devices were employed for the attainment of delicate and lustrous effects of sound tints, with results to which modern chorus writing affords no parallel. The culmination of this tendency could not be reached until the art of interweaving voices according to regular but infinitely flexible patterns had been fully mastered, and composers had learned to lead their parts with the confidence with which the engraver traces his lines to shape them into designs of beauty.

Notwithstanding the unique charm which this form of music exercises upon those who have entered into its spirit, it is evident, when one considers the matter, that it is not its chaste and ethical expression or the learning and cleverness displayed in its construction that will account for its survival, or for the enthusiasm which it has excited in an age so remote as our own. The aesthetic impression which it arouses can never be divorced from its religious and historic associations. Only the devout Catholic can feel its full import, for to him it shares the sanctity of the liturgy—it is not simply ear-pleasing harmony but prayer, not merely a decora-

tion of the holy ceremony but an integral part of the sacrifice of praise and supplication. One who apprehends it from the artistic point of view only will miss its real significance, and will probably disparage it in comparison with the far more varied, brilliant, and individually impressive homophonic instrumental style of the subsequent period. In order to appreciate the place which it holds in the history of religious music one must first seize the idea of ecclesiastical art as conceived by the Catholic Church and must then imaginatively and sympathetically grasp the essential motive of this music as an emanation from the same spirit that has inspired the liturgy and ceremonial of the Church. The distinctive form and purpose of the school of music which we are considering can be understood only as it is perceived as the special creation of the Church for religious ends, and as the appropriate medium for the expression of an ideal of pious emotion especially recognized and fostered by the discipline of the Catholic Church. In other words, it is a distinctive church style, and also peculiarly suited to suggest and promote a spirit of humble reverence. The idea of art as held by the Catholic Church is that it exists not for decoration of the offices of worship (although the appeal to the senses is not considered unworthy as an incidental end) but rather for edification, instruction, and inspiration. Says Jakob:<sup>4</sup> "No branch of art exists for its own sake alone. Art is a servant, and it serves either God or the world, the eternal or the temporal, the spirit or the flesh. Ecclesiastical art must derive its norm and form solely from the church. . . . These rules and determinations (in respect to Church art) are by no means arbitrary, no external accretion, but they have grown up organically, from within outward, from the spirit which guides the Church, out of her views and out of the needs of her worship. And herein lies the justification of symbolism and symbolic expression in ecclesiastical art so long as this holds itself within the limits of tradition. The church of stone must be a speaking manifestation of the living Church and her mysteries. The pictures on the walls and on the altars are not mere adornment for the pleasure of the eye, but for the heart a book full of instruction, a sermon full of truth. And thereby art is raised to be an instrument of edification to the believer, it becomes a profound expositor for thousands, a transmitter and preserver of great ideas for all the centuries." In this conception liturgic music is likewise involved; it is designed to bear in upon the soul of the believer with intensified force the inspired words of Holy Writ and of the liturgy and hymns of the

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<sup>4</sup> *Die Kunst im Dienste der Kirche*, pp. 1 and 3.

Church, and also to blend as an essential element in the offering of prayer to Almighty God. This holy task requires that church music, like the church architecture, vestments, poetic phraseology, and all the artistic accompaniments of worship, should have a style and manner unlike that appropriated to secular and individual ends. Church music, therefore, is one thing, dramatic concert music another. Doubtless the most characteristically exclusive form of church music in this strict liturgic sense is the Gregorian chant, and next to this in these respects is the mediaeval *a capella* chorus, since it was developed from the Plain Song, retaining its peculiar spirit, and in its leading themes has adopted actual melodic phrases from the ritual chant books. It is, therefore, not its gravity and elevation alone which so unmistakably distinguish it from the rhythmical and impassioned modern music, but also this intimate relation to the liturgy.

Furthermore, this music merges itself in the very spiritual life of the Church by reason of its peculiar technical form and emotional appeal. The devotional mood that is especially nurtured under the influence of the Catholic mysteries is peculiarly abstracted, absorbed, and mystical; the devotee strives to withdraw into a retreat within the inner shrine of religious contemplation, where no echoes from the world reverberate, where the soul may be thrilled by the tremulous ecstasy of contact with half-unveiled heavenly glory. In this sanctuary of the heart peace and joy abide, for the soul illumined by faith seems for the time to be set free from its physical tenement; upheld by prayer and purified by love it communes with the Divine, and is transported by glimpses of future blessedness. It is this consciousness of the nearness and reality of the invisible world that lends such a celestial beauty to those creations of Catholic genius in which this ideal has been most directly symbolized, as in certain of the mediaeval Latin hymns, the books of pious exercises, the Gothic sculptures of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, the works of the missal illuminators, and the paintings of Fra Angelico, Giotto, and the school of Cologne. Of this spirit the church music of the Palestrina age is the most subtle and suggestive expression ever realized in art. It is as far removed as possible from profane suggestion; in its ineffable calmness, and an indescribable tone of chastened exultation, pure from every trace of struggle, with which it vibrates, it is the most adequate symbol of that eternal repose toward which the believer yearns.

Objectivity, absence of the stress and stir of individual passion, a comprehensive expression of an exalted spiritualized state of feeling which befits the whole conception of worship—this is the motive

which properly gives to church music its characteristic tone. The music is an element in the office of prayer, and in prayer, as in all liturgic acts and uses, the Church rejects a highly realistic portrayal. The Church in its art subjects the literal to the ideal, the particular to the general, the definitive to the symbolic. In the crucifix, for example, to quote Jakob again, "Christ does not appear in a strained, contorted position, with painfully disfigured countenance, with wrenched arms, with naked writhing body streaming with blood; but his earnest loving face, encircled with the nimbus and crowned with thorns, is in repose, the arms are straight, the body decently clothed, and free from an athletic coarseness as well as from emaciation." "The phrase 'emancipation of the individual from cramping fetters,' says the same writer, "is not heard in the Church. Art history teaches that the Church does not oppose the individual conception, but simply restrains that false freedom which would make art the servant of personal caprice or of fashion." In the same manner ecclesiastical music, according to the mediaeval ideal, is the expression of the whole inner life of the Church directed toward the eternal, not the utterance of single passionate moments or of arbitrary individual determination. As in the pictures produced under the traditions of Catholic art, to employ Winterfield's<sup>5</sup> comparison, no attempt is made to paint a realistic historical scene, but costume, juxtaposition of personages, facial expression, etc., are contrived in such a way as render an idea that is generalized in significance; St. Cecilia stands beside St. Paul, St. John, St. Augustine, and Mary Magdalene, with broken instruments at her feet listening to a choir of angels; St. Sebastian, pierced with arrows, shows no sign of physical suffering. Such pictures are the analogue of the mediaeval contrapuntal music; "in such strains," says Winterfield, "would these saints speak to our ears were they to pour forth their spirits in tones." "As in the case of architecture," says Ambros, "we are able to interpret the older music only after the general categories of the sublime and the graceful, the gloomy and cheerful, the ponderous and delicate, the sumptuous and the simple, while the later form of music finds commensurate tones for the most individual, unstable movements of the life of the emotion. The older music is the praying priest at the altar, expressing the deepest devotion in solemnly measured, rubrically directed actions, whereby the particular is merged in the universal, the individual and personal disappears."<sup>6</sup> It is not true, however, as is often alleged,

<sup>5</sup> Johannes Gabrieli und sein Beitalter; Vol. I., p. 147.

<sup>6</sup> Geschichte der Musik, Vol. III., p. 29.

that the older music altogether lacks characterization, and that the style of *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Crucifixus*, *Resurrexit*, etc., is precisely the same, for the old masters were artists as well as churchmen, and knew how to adopt their somewhat unresponsive material to the more obvious contrasts of the text, and in actual performance a much wider latitude in respect to change of speed and force was permitted than could be indicated in the score. But the very laws of the Gregorian modes and the strict contrapuntal system kept such excursions after expression within narrow bounds, and the traditional view of ecclesiastical art, still remaining in music after it had been largely abrogated in painting, forbade anything like a drastic descriptive literalism.

Finally, the unique impression of this form of music depends largely upon locality and association. It is not music for the concert room. I have read that Allegri *Miserere*, which was written for the most solemn moment of the ceremonies of Good Friday in the Sistine Chapel, made a disappointing impression when performed at a recent concert in New York. And no wonder! To know the power of the music of this school it must be heard in the subdued light of cathedrals and chapels, to the accompaniment of the awe-compelling ceremonies, in the midst of a kneeling multitude. The hearer does not see the source whence this angelic music proceeds. The atmosphere, heavy with the prayers of vanished generations, holds it in suspense. It seems the audible transference of emblazoned windows, cloudy incense, and altar lights. This music, we realize, is not the product of an epoch of apathy and scepticism; it is the voice of the ages of faith, it bears in upon the imagination the traditions of the ancient and venerable mother Church, so wonderful in her history, so tremendous in her claims. Only the devout Catholic can feel the real grandeur of this music, for to him it is the very breath of that sublime institution which is the mediatrix between himself and God, the gateway through which alone he may enter the Celestial City.

The extreme beauty and perfection of the work of Palestrina has served to direct the slight attention which the world now gives to the Sixteenth Century music almost exclusively to him; yet he was but one master among a number whose productions are but slightly inferior to his—*primus inter pares*. Orlando di Lasso in Munich, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice, Nanini, Vittoria, and Anerio in Rome, Tallis in England, are names that do not pale when placed beside that of the "prince of music," and, indeed, the work of the Gabrielis surpasses that of Palestrina in pomp, vigor, and glow of color. Lotti in Venice, Allegri in Rome, and Scarlatti and Leo in Naples carried over into the new era the

grand old traditions hardly abated in their vigor. But at the very moment when this noble art was attaining its heyday of glory, its doom was sealed—a pretender which was soon to win the suffrages of the world was already snatching at its crown. The opera was invented in Italy about the year 1600, and ushered in an era so radically dissimilar in spirit and method from its predecessor that we cannot find elsewhere in art history a parallel to the sweeping character of the changes in ideal and practice which it introduced. This revolution involved the substitution of solo singing for choral, a new key system for the Gregorian, a new harmonic scheme for the contrapuntal, accompanied music for the *a capella* style, secular and dramatic for the ecclesiastical, the support of the aristocracy and the common people for the patronage of the Church. This change in musical culture was the latest outcome of the Renaissance. The self-consciousness of the individual and the recognition of the boundless arena offered to his faculties by the present world—an impulse which had already transformed painting, literature, science, and philosophy—was felt at last in music. Men demanded that music should be made a means of expressing all ranges of feeling that man can experience in his relations to the world and his fellow-men, and be no longer confined to his relations to God and to the Church. As a consequence solo song, the opera, and instrumental music arose, and the volatile, seductive aria assumed the primacy among musical forms previously held by the contrapuntal chorus. Italian melody and Italian vocalism became the reigning European sensation. Not emotional depth was required of a singer, but sensuous tone and brilliancy of technic. Nervous excitement and novelty of effect became the standards by which musical performance was judged.

The new conception of music as the expression of individual feeling and dramatic *motifs*, and the new forms of recitative, aria, and orchestral accompaniment could not be kept out of the church, and they entered the choir gallery with flourish of trumpets, and drove the stately, antiquated polyphony from its ancestral seats. It does not of course follow that the change was necessarily a degradation, but under the conditions of the time it became so. The Church could not resist the invasion of the new effects and the new idea of devotional expression; neither could she hold back the frivolous tendencies that soon began to assert themselves. The Church of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries was not the Church of the Counter-Reformation and the Reaction. Perhaps in any case it would not have been a wise policy to exclude the new art. The Catholic Church has never insisted upon a standard of music above that of the reigning taste. The liturgic chant

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is her official and authorized song, and she has never formally recognized any other style, but has tolerated all. Here, as elsewhere, she has adapted her methods to the circumstances of the time and place, finding an element of strength in deferring to the preferences of her disciples, so far as she can do so without compromising her essential principle. And so, when the beautiful Italian melody, perfected by the opera composers, took the whole world captive, the Church could consistently employ it for her own purposes also, lest the allegiance of her adherents should be weakened by a counter-charm that was entirely worldly. The theoretical distinction between church music and concert and dramatic music was accordingly undermined, and the third historic form of Mass and motet, viz., the mixed solo and chorus accompanied form, succeeded the unison chant and the contrapuntal *a capella* chorus. The former severe learned style gave way to melody, often florid, sometimes flippant. The personnel of choirs was soon altered, and women took the place of boys and male sopranos. Opera singers were invited into the choir loft, and their seductive tunes, their melting cadences, brilliant runs and trills, attended by the highly colored and sharply rhythmical music of orchestra and organ, transformed the whole conception and method of ecclesiastical song. No longer a means of impressing the solemn import of the liturgic text or instilling a rapt devotional mood, the choir music was sought for its aesthetic charm, and text and ceremony became to a large extent subordinate in the thought of the pleasure loving laity to brilliant musical display. The change was precisely similar to that which passed over religious painting from the epoch of the pietistic artists of the Fourteenth Century to that of Correggio and Titian, when the natural Italian love of elegance of outline, splendor of color, and sumptuousness of decoration overcame the earlier austerity of treatment and effected a combination of Christian tradition and pagan sensuousness which quite belied the fundamental purpose of religious art in the endeavor to serve a feast for the eye and the luxurious fancy.

These tendencies ran their course unchecked in the Eighteenth century, but in the Nineteenth there has come a reaction which promises to restore the ancient distinction of style and loftiness of aim in church music. To trace the causes and determine the significance and the goal of this unmistakable upward tendency would exceed the proper scope of this article. It is enough to say that the ideal of the old Italian masters, in view of which they kept the atmosphere of the sanctuary free from profane intermixture and held their artistic genius to stern account before the tribunal

of their piety, promises to be the guide and monitor of the religious art of the future. An intellectual stress apparent in both religious and secular art, appears to be enfolding the music of the Church, and the best composers and executants are striving after a form of music which, while rejecting all profane suggestion, does not discard the means of emotional appeal which the larger art of music has evolved in the later years, and yet at the same time aims to bring the service of praise into common action with that of prayer. Such a movement as this will find healthful stimulus and practical aid in the study of that form of liturgic music perfected by Palestrina and his contemporaries. It is indeed one of the most hopeful signs of the times that these chiefs of the golden age of Catholic music are now the recipients of an honor which has not been granted them since the opera first dug their graves. The church music of the future need not necessarily imitate the forms and the manner of these ancient worthies; but it can never really advance the purpose for which the Church exists unless its practitioners imbibe the spirit of those consecrated musicians who practiced their art, as Palestrina himself once said, "not merely to produce enjoyment, but to guide and transform the spirits of men." The Catholic Church has much to hope from the revival in its churches and seminaries of the study of the religious music of the Sixteenth Century. Its practical difficulties are not so great as are commonly supposed. A right comprehension of it will infallibly avail to expel from the minds of churchmen all sympathy with whatever is trivial, sensational, and false in the musical expression of the faith of the Church. For I conceive that the admonition of the Council of Trent is still binding upon all loyal Catholics: "Let the bishops take care to exclude from the churches all musical compositions in which anything wanton or corrupt is mingled, that the House of God may both truly appear and be called the House of Prayer."

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## AUTHORITY AND REASON.

IT is often assumed that liberty of the reason is a special prerogative of civilised man; that the savage blindly acquiesces in the dictates of custom or authority, while the educated man conforms his beliefs and actions to the decisions of his reason. Mr. Balfour, in the *Foundations of Belief*, has strenuously pointed to the opposite side of the shield—to the small share that reason has in any civilised community in determining the beliefs which make up the groundwork of life, and the large share which falls to authority.

I venture to make the following suggestions, dealing only with a small portion of a large subject.

The progress of civilisation steadily increases the rational element in the ascertained explanation of the universe; and in the recognised machinery of social life. But such explanations and such machinery are accepted by the individual largely (though not entirely) as authoritative, and as superseding his own free investigation or invention. Thus the increase of the conclusions ascertained by the corporate reason diminishes the sphere left for the free exercise of the individual reason, and multiplies the beliefs determined for it by authority.

In matters of scientific belief this is obvious enough. The ingenious exercises of the reason whereby the Greek philosophers attempted to explain the material world are largely superseded by the authority of modern astronomy and geology. Modern chemistry rules finally out of court Aristotle's view that the ultimate elements are earth, air, fire, and water. But the individual accepts the ruling of science partly or wholly on authority according to his capacities. The most highly gifted reason is not likely to master all the reasoning processes leading to all ascertained conclusions in every department of science. The backward schoolboy—at the opposite pole—accepts nearly the whole on authority.

The same fact holds in simpler matters of practical life. Even where all minds are fairly competent to understand the process whereby the accumulated results of reasoning are reached, those results are actually accepted on authority. The very first steps of civilisation hand over to trustworthy authority matters which in uncivilised countries are left to the laborious devices of individual reason. The American traveller soon came to use the road where his forefather, reasoning laboriously from such rough geographical indications as he could get, and often only by the help

of preternatural quickness in detecting traces of the path pursued by former travellers, found or missed the track across the waste prairie. The modern organisation of society has developed this authoritative groundwork into a rational system of the highest complexity, combining the results of science with the experience of life.

A few instances will remind us of the wide field covered by this action of the social reason. It enables us to commit to authority the care of our money and its productive expenditure which called in our ancestors for much personal reasoning and forethought. So far as we are concerned, investments work automatically, though we may have to use care in choosing them. We have no need for personal investigation or reason. We leave to the authorities of the company or of the bank the employment of our debentures or deposits, but only because of the elaborate co-ordination existing in the rational machinery of the world of finance. The sending of a message to a distant place once meant a large expenditure of planning by the reason. Now the message is given to the telegraph boy, and the result of a great scientific discovery is applied mechanically by a clerk without any scientific culture. The householder had once to take thought as to the obtaining of food, the manufacture of clothing, the carriage from place to place of the necessities of life, which the machinery of modern civilisation has now placed within his reach by the automatic action of authorities, each of which embodies a far more finished reasoning process than the rough-and-ready contrivances of his ancestors. The train brings him his provisions far more safely and expeditiously than the mediaeval mule. The butcher's supply is far more regular than the meat afforded by hunting and hawking. The loom and the spinning wheel have been driven out by the cheapness and speed, if not by the superiority, of modern machinery. A series of post cards sent from a country village to the Army and Navy Stores is purely and simply an appeal to a set of authorities, co-ordinated originally by reason, but now interacting mechanically. They bring automatically bread, meat, clothing, cooking utensils, which for our ancestors were home-made or home-provided by individual ingenuity.

In all these cases it can be said truly that the individuals may trust to the authorities in question without any explicit rational process. But it would be, in most cases, very misleading to describe his trust as non-rational, or as a blind submission to authority. Indeed, the large increase of the rational element in the accepted groundwork of life, although it increases the sphere allotted to authority, correlatively imparts (in most cases) *some*

rational quality to the obedience yielded to it. That obedience is no longer quite similar to the blind deference of the savage to tribal custom. Even where at first sight it looks most mechanical, circumstances may show that there is a latent rational foundation. A youth asks his father whom he should consult as to investing the first considerable sum which has belonged to him. His father writes down the address of his broker. The youth goes to the broker, and continues to go to him for years. He has thought no more of the matter than that his father gave him the broker's name. One day he deposits, by the broker's advice, in an Australian bank. He does so simply on the broker's authority, which is accepted on the father's authority. But, returning home, he hears that the bank is unsafe. This at once reveals to him the rational element underlying his apparently non-rational obedience. He questions the premise, hitherto latent, "a broker in whom my father has confidence is practically sure not to recommend an unsafe bank." The latent reason for his trust is brought to light by the doubt now thrown on the accuracy of the premise.

In the case of scientific discoveries the best intellects can verify the whole process, and thus verify by reason the conclusion of the expert. But there is also a rational trust sufficient for a "working philosophy" which an average mind may have from so far understanding the process as to enable him to see that the expert understands it far better. In various degrees, according to his mental culture and experience, the individual is aware of the reasoning process or rational contrivance in the race which renders the various recognised authorities reliable. Much of the process of education consists in the gradual ascertainment of the rational constitution of the mechanism of social life, which is at first accepted and used simply on the parent's authority. Trust in authority is rationalised by successive stages. Education gradually transfers to the individual that share which the parents or educators have of appreciation of the rational forces which are the real foundation of the authority of human institutions. Doubtless this appreciation must vary largely, and many remain all their life in the position of children. But even for the child there is some rational basis—however inadequate—of much of his trust in authority—namely, his experience that the machinery of the social institutions which he has been taught to use and trust does in practice work.

But while education reveals how largely independent reasoning has been superseded by the authority of the past reasoning of the race, it also discloses the immense number of beliefs, equally instilled by authority, in which the race reasons unceasingly, but is divided, more or less, as to premises and conclusions—the

opinions of religious and social cliques, of literary critics, of art critics, of political parties, of philosophical schools.

But here, again, if the individual reason for the moment regards itself as having an open field in which it may and must reason independently, it soon finds that, up to a certain point, trustworthy authority exists, although reason has to detect *where* it exists and to amend its expression. Underlying the Babel of philosophic discussion in any age, definite lines of advance and common conclusions may be detected. Dr. Brown declared that even Hume and Reid came to a common conclusion in their fundamental controversy. Both believed in an external world, and both agreed that no reason could be given for the belief. The Utilitarian and the Intuitionist may seem at first to be hopelessly at variance, and then discover that the Utilitarian is only advocating utility as the test of what is moral, and the Intuitionist is only contending that "what is right" is not synonymous with "what is beneficent." So again the Evolutionist view of morality is opposed by the orthodox until he extracts the admission that to explain conscience as due to evolution does not necessarily mean that it contains no new element, any more than to explain sight as due to evolution is simply to identify it with touch. In all such cases reason may detect agreement when at first there appears to be divergence. The authority of common consent may unexpectedly emerge.

And again, in the case of literary or artistic criticism, quite enough may be found of agreement among the leaders, and of the extrinsic marks of genius, to convince us that we are in the presence of trustworthy authority, although we cannot quite determine its limits. A man is pretty certain that he will appreciate the Venetian pictures immensely better, by following Ruskin's lead, although he does not feel pledged to accept every opinion in the "Stones of Venice."

What has been called the influence of a "psychological climate" is, from one point of view, the survival in certain spheres of that liability to being influenced by authority which in early childhood is universal. I do not deny its wide operation, and obviously it is, in the case of a developed reason, a usurpation on the part of authority from which, so far as possible, emancipation should be sought, as we emancipate ourselves from the blind trusts of childhood. But this very emancipation must begin by the accurate gauging of the lawful claim of the authority in question—of the qualities or lines of reasoning in virtue of which it has hung together and become a factor in life or thought. Thus even here reason does not act independently of authority, although it may claim superiority to it. There is true philosophy in Mr. Morley's

saying, "We will not refute Christianity, we will explain it." If the influence of Christianity were ultimately that of a psychological climate, permanent emancipation could only be won by first mastering the source of its authority, and then exposing its insufficiency as a rational justification.

The chief work for the individual reason is, then, first to appreciate and share in the reasoning of the community, and secondly to detect its errors and amend its conclusions, thus taking part in the further evolution of the rational knowledge of the race. And this must result in further increasing the sphere of rational authority.

Turning then to the critical question—How can an individual practically ascertain all that he may reasonably believe?—it seems plain that he can only do so by surrendering himself largely to the guidance of Authority. Only thus can he emancipate himself from his own limitations and share the knowledge due to special insight, incommunicable experience, special courses of reasoning or experiment, or special training on the part of others. Only by following the lead of authority can he even make the most of his own capacities. The sum of rational authorities represents the highest attainment of the rational nature of man.

Among the beliefs which we accept in the first instance on authority, and which are largely confirmed by their practical utility, are the religious beliefs of the community. Are these among the beliefs which, as reason grows to maturity, an inquiring mind should place among the acquisitions of the corporate reason of the race? Or should a real philosopher come to regard them as without rational justification—as parallel to those opinions of political parties or social cliques which are due to local or accidental prejudice;—opinions in criticising which he holds that reason should simply emancipate itself from authority? This latter view may well be true if we regard the theological opinions of any particular religious body in their most literal acceptance as the ultimate outcome of the religious beliefs of the community it represents:—for one religious body differs from another.

But it is a different question if we ask—Is there a residuum common to all religions which may be regarded as authoritative? or even if we ask—Can the Church claim to represent the truest development of that residuum? Can it claim to represent more fully the truth which every religion in some degree represents?

Here the answer given will depend partly on the fundamental view as to man's capacities of knowledge.

Mainly it depends on our acceptance or non-acceptance of the initial proposition that all religions *do* represent some truth—that

they evince the existence of some real faculty in man for the apprehension (however dim) of a Reality. The agnostic maintains in Tyndall's words that we have "neither a faculty nor the rudiment of a faculty" for apprehending God. He regards theological controversies as simply so much waste of energy, issuing in nothing, corresponding to no subject matter on which the human mind can have any knowledge.

The position maintained in the present paper is the opposite one—that the rudiment of a faculty is precisely what we have;—that the rational and moral nature of man—the highest development yet reached in that unfolding of the faculties of the sentient being to external Reality, which we can trace step by step from the lowest forms of conscious life,—themselves point to a further evolution in the apprehension of Reality. Religious faiths have all, at the lowest, been attempts to express this initial apprehension. The test of the claim of a rudimentary faculty of knowledge—that it gives an initial apprehension of truth, and is not a mere source of illusions—must be indirect. The faculty does not come to be explicit and fully rational until it has ceased to be rudimentary; therefore, direct rational justification is impossible. If it claims to be the instinctive continuance of an explicitly rational process, like the insight of the scientific discoverer, it must justify its claim by success. If its efforts to realize itself issue in nothing coherent, in no line of development, it fails to justify itself. If its activity, however confused, does show, like rudimentary sight, some coherent though inexact perception, it justifies its reality, though not its accuracy. Accuracy, like direct rational analysis, can only come with full development. I should maintain that in point of fact the intimations of the rudimentary faculty for the apprehension of the ultimate Reality represented by religion, have developed enough to justify its claim, in spite of the largely barren controversies which have accompanied the line of development. In organic evolution immense waste has ever been the concomitant of real advance. The very formula of "the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest" reminds us of the tremendous waste of life which was the condition for the perpetuation of a higher type. It is not in the sight of the struggle that we have the evidence of advance. It is in tracing the successive types which survived, and in which we see a gradual development of sensible endowment, and a growing consistency in the conceptions formed thereby of the phenomenal world. What is rudimentary and indefinite in one stage is developed and coherent in the next.



I suggest then—not as a mere analogy,<sup>1</sup> but as an induction from the laws observable in the process of evolution in the past, as an argument from one stage to another of the single process of ever growing knowledge of reality—that belief in Theism presents features which justify us in regarding it as an approach towards the apprehension of that Reality of which conscience makes human beings more dimly aware.

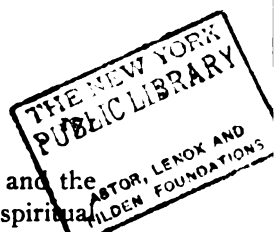
When in the development of sensible perception sight gave new coherence to conceptions of magnitude and distance, which even after the fullest developments of touch would have remained obscure, while it explained the past, it gave the first glimpses at the future ampler revelations of sight itself. The developed eye of the mammal gave in turn some sensible knowledge of that solar system which it needed the whole Copernican theory to explain with any approximate adequacy. The reality of sensible knowledge is more and more confirmed in the course of evolution by the fertility of the field of coherent discovery it opens, and the consistency of the system it reveals.

May it not then be maintained that similarly the rational and moral faculties of man, while they explain lower stages of experience, likewise suggest further and higher stages? that while they explain the past, they forecast the future? that while they explain phenomena of which sensible knowledge by itself gave only an initial apprehension, they give likewise an initial apprehension of a further Reality, full knowledge of which would, in turn, complete their somewhat indefinite intimations? Is not this an intelligible explanation of the appearance, at the highest stage of evolution hitherto reached, of conscience and the religious consciousness? And when—in spite of the theological logomachies which represent partly, as I have said, the waste incident to evolution—men of religious genius one after another give a more coherent account of the Being to whose existence all religions point, have we not that growth in consistency which justifies faith or trust, and is the first test that we are on the track to more systematic knowledge? When the Elohim who created heaven pass into the Jehovah the personal God—yet conceived partly as tribal and not without human passions; and the Jehovah Himself becomes more definitely moral in the teaching of the Prophets, until he passes into the Christian God clearly conceived as the embodiment of holiness; and that conception itself becomes gradually more de-

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<sup>1</sup> I say this lest anyone should suppose that I accept as arguments the analogies used by Professor Drummond. The argument in the text is an extension and application of that used by Dr. Martineau in his *Types of Ethical Theory* (voll. ii. pp. 384-406).

### *Authority and Reason.*



finite as the content of the moral law is more clearly seen and the remnant of anthropomorphism is driven out by a more spiritual conception, have we not, in this definite line of advance, good cause for believing that we are witnessing a further unfolding of knowledge, an advance in the perceptions of the race, and not merely bitter wrangling over a fantastic illusion of the brain—an ironical reversal of the development of the sentient and rational nature towards wider knowledge?

And when the Christian revelation comes to us ultimately on the authority of One who lays claim to a supernatural inspiration, to an actual experience of the spiritual world, which ordinary man has not, are we not justified in accepting His teaching by at least two of the tests which guide us in accepting, in the course of the evolution of scientific knowledge, a great unifying hypothesis framed by genius, (1) because it develops further what our own moral faculties suggested, and thus gives us trust in the insight and veracity of the teaching authority, (2) because it is found to work in practice as affording a basis for moral action? Descartes included in his *morale par provision*—the rules he followed while his methodic doubt was in process of being resolved by philosophy—adherence on authority to the religion of his birth. I maintain the philosophical value of this view over and above its ethical convenience. For only by its acceptance can we find whether the religion in question does or does not supply the clue to the normal development of the transcendental intimations contained in ethical experience.

I submit, then, that while the ground for trust in the authority of the Christian Church is not similar to the ground for trusting a scientific teacher which is supplied by an elaborated discovery to a mind which is capable of verifying it in detail, it has a real similarity to that ground which is regarded as an adequate working philosophy by a man of average intelligence, who can sufficiently understand the discovery, to trust in the discoverer's higher knowledge, and whose trust is practically confirmed by finding that the discoverer's hypothesis explains the facts of experience.

And the claim of revelation that it appeals to faith rather than to scientific knowledge, and that we see "through a glass darkly," is, at all events, an evidence that there has been throughout in the exponents of Christianity themselves a latent recognition of this element of rational trust as distinguished from complete reasoning, which separates the motive assignable for our acceptance of religious truths from the grounds producible by mankind for accepting the truths of science. No one denies that a knowledge of the Reality or Realities represented by religion far more logically ex-

PLICIT than we possess is conceivable, and we should be very glad to have it. The question is which is the greater paradox, to deny that the highest development of the rational and moral nature is pointing to a truth at all, or to assume that it must be, and acting on that assumption to adopt the best clue we can find towards its further explanation.

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## WAGES AND THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE.

1. The title which heads this article brings us face to face with the most important problem of the social question. It is, we may say, the pivot on which a sound system of economics turns, and is in fact the cause of the existence of a social question at all. The strikes with which we are all familiar, during the last few years, arose from the unsatisfactory condition of the wage-earner, and it is the aim of all reformers to readjust in some way the unstable condition of the toiler. Whether their efforts are rightly directed or opportune, it is beyond the scope of this paper to inquire. We shall merely consider wages from the standpoint of justice, leaving aside all minor issues that properly belong to the domain of the Economist.<sup>1</sup> Neither is it our intention to discuss the fluctuations to which wages are subject, nor to establish a law, which might be calculated to determine the amount which the labourer is entitled to in the different phases of the labour market, which the economist is bound to face; but by a study of the stable principles of justice, it will be our aim to formulate some conclusions which these principles abundantly justify.

2. The question of wages may be approached in two ways; for it is one thing to consider what is expedient for the welfare of society and its individual members, another what, according to the principles of strict justice, is due to the labourer for the work he does for his employer. An essay on wages studied under the latter aspect, must be more or less abstract, but as the principles of justice are stable and permanent, much useful and practical knowledge may be derived from a thorough mastery of them in their relations

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of wages we shall take the term in its widest signification, and it shall include industrial and non-industrial wages and all those other divisions which economists make use of for the sake of clearness. It shall also include what is commonly called salary, as distinguished from wages, and we may define this broad acceptation of wages—The remuneration received by him who hires out his services, of whatever kind, to an employer who is willing to pay a just recompense.

with wages. We shall take the principles of justice as expounded by S. Thomas, and shall not broach any conclusion that does not follow logically from their enunciation.

Wages, according to S. Thomas, are "A due recompense for a service rendered,"<sup>2</sup> or in other words, wages are the recompense to which the labourer is entitled for services which he places at the disposal of his employer. If we analyze this definition it is clear that wages are not to be determined by the probable dividend that the industry in which the labour is expended yields, but by the principles of strict justice to which the toiler has an inalienable right, which remains intact, whether the industry fail or prosper. If a workman were forced to accept wages altogether incommensurate with his labour, or an employer to pay a wage in excess of the work done, in both cases the principles of justice are violated. In the first case the wage is inadequate, in the second, it is excessive.

In order to avoid ambiguity we must have recourse to the old distinction, formulated by Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> adopted by S. Thomas and all theologians, of *commutative* and *distributive* justice, which has its foundations in the very nature of society. There is a species of justice, says S. Thomas,<sup>4</sup> which the individuals of society must observe, in their relations one with another, and this is called *commutative* justice; and there is also another kind of justice which society, as a moral unit, is bound to observe in transactions with the individual members of which it is composed, and this is called *distributive* justice. To discuss adequately the labour problem, we must study it in its relations to both commutative and distributive justice; for we can conceive—and in fact it happens—a workman tendering his services freely for a sum insufficient to supply his own wants, and incommensurate with the energies he expends and the amount of work he does: though we should have here a material injustice, because the recompense is not in proportion to the work—it is not a due recompense—yet we cannot say there is in the relations of the employer and the workman any formal injustice, since the latter entered into a free and formal contract. It is manifest that in such a case commutative justice is at fault, and no extension of its principles will enable us to wipe out the material injustice to which the labourer is subjected.

3. As we said commutative justice governs the mutual transactions of the individual members of society, and the object of justice is equality. "That," says S. Thomas, "is said to be just in our transactions with another which corresponds in the relation of equality, as a due recompense for a service rendered,"<sup>5</sup> and the just

<sup>2</sup> 2a. 2ae. q. 57, a. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Eth. I. 5, c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 2a. 2ae. q. 61, a. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 2a. 2ae. q. 57, a. 1, c.

mean at which commutative justice arises is equality or proportion, not moral nor geometrical, but arithmetical proportion.<sup>6</sup> Each of the contracting parties should receive what is his due, as much as he has given away, or as much as has been taken from him: if he has received less than he has given, justice is violated, because equality has disappeared and the object and the mean of justice are no longer observed.

It is evident that the question of wages is a question principally of justice,<sup>7</sup> as it is primarily concerned with buying and selling transactions, from which every kind of exchange originates. Two individual members of society are brought into relation in some exchange transaction; one desires to sell, the other wishes to buy; the labourer hires out his energy and skill to the employer, for a definite purpose, at a fixed sum, which the employer binds himself to pay when the work is executed. Here we have an exchange transaction, and it has all the elements of a commutative and bilateral contract: there is on the one hand the labourer who sells what belongs to him—his energies and skill—freely, for a definite sum, and on the other the employer who accepts his conditions and promises to pay the sum stipulated for, when the work shall be completed. The contract which is entered into between the employer and the labourer justifies the latter in exacting only the sum that was agreed upon, but it by no means settles the amount of wages to which the labourer is entitled in strict justice. Free will entering into a contract makes it a *formally* just transaction, while *materially* its elements may be altogether inconsistent with the principles of commutative justice. It is well to keep this distinction in mind, as its neglect is often the fruitful source of error and misunderstanding. If strict justice is to be observed, it is not sufficient that the labourer receive wages, it is besides absolutely necessary that these shall not fall below a certain standard. Though in practice, it is very difficult to determine this standard and complications arise on every side, still, in theory, the principles on which wages are based are comparatively clear.

4. What then is the supreme criterion which shall act as a guide in determining the amount of wages to which the labourer is entitled, and which the employer, objectively speaking, is in strict justice bound to pay? In other words according to the principles of commutative justice, what is the supreme criterion which is to guide

<sup>6</sup> Accipitur medium in commutationis justitia secundum arithmetican proportionem, 2a. 2ae. q. 61, a. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Wages, in the opinion of S. Thomas, are so evidently connected with justice, that he mentions them as a typical example in treating of the object of justice, 2a. 2ae. q. 57, a. 1.

the employer and the labourer as such in their relations one with another? As we have already said, commutative justice strikes a medium or equality not moral but arithmetical. "But the just," says Aristotle, "which exists in transactions is something equal, and the unjust something unequal; but not according to geometrical but arithmetical proportion."<sup>8</sup> And since the just is found in the medium, the guiding light in all labour contracts is to be looked for in the mean of commutative justice, or, in more explicit terms, in the equality which exists between the energy expended and the wages received, between the value of the one and that of the other. Whatever the labourer receives above what he has a strict right to cannot be called wages; it must be classed under some such heading as liberality, since it is, accurately speaking, an act of liberality on the part of the employer; and in the same way, if the labourer ceded to the employer a portion of what is justly the labourer's due, the transaction passes from the domain of justice to that of liberality; for although liberality is considered by some a potential part of justice, it is not a species of justice. "Liberality," says S. Thomas, "is not a species of justice, because justice gives to another what is his, while liberality gives what belongs to the giver."<sup>9</sup>

Just wages then are those that are in strict equality with the value of the work done. Now the question arises, how are we to determine the value of labour. Here economists confront us with an endless array of laws—formulated to guide the inquirer in solving this difficult question.<sup>10</sup> It is not our intention to discuss them, since the almost infinite fluctuations to which values are subject present a difficulty which it is not easy to grapple with, and which it is not always easy even to determine. There is, however, a value arising from the very nature of things, that is more stable, and which suffices for our present purpose—not a value which may actually exist, but a value which should exist. Every human being is bound by the law of labour, and it is the source from which the means of preserving life are derived directly or indirectly; hence we are justified on *a priori* grounds in holding that labour has a value, independently of the enactments of society, that is commensurate with the needs of man. We must remember in defending this doc-

<sup>8</sup> Eth. i. 5, c. 4. Cf. S. Thom. in hunc loc.

<sup>9</sup> 2a. 2ae. q. 117, a. 5, c., Aristotle, Eth. b. 4, c. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Following Adam Smith, economists distinguish between value in use and value in exchange. Air has great value in use, but none in exchange, while precious stones have great value in exchange, but little in use. Marx is of opinion that value in exchange is not value strictly speaking, and value in use should rather be called utility; but as we are living in a society whose transactions are carried on by exchange, it is only through exchange that we can form an exact idea of the nature of value. See Rae, Contemporary Socialism, p. 161. Devas—Political Economy, b. 1, pp. 4, 5, 117, 192.

trine that the political and economic aspect of the social question can never be separated from the moral aspect, as Leo XIII, in his Encyclical on Labour, has clearly pointed out; they are interdependent one on the other and the summary dismissal of one means the ruin of the other.

5. If labour were always paid in labour, it would be comparatively easy to settle the labour question, but this primitive and patriarchal mode of exchange has long since disappeared, and now work is paid in money, which, though in itself unstable as a standard of value, is more likely to remain stationary than any other commodity, and is more convenient as a means of exchange. S. Thomas defines economic value, "The quantity of a thing which serves for man's use, measured by the price which is given for it, and which is expressed in money."<sup>11</sup> From this definition we can gather that the value of a thing, according to the Angelic Doctor, depends on its utility, and this is expressed more forcibly by him where he says that, "the price of saleable commodities is not considered according to the grade of their nature, since a horse is sometimes sold at a higher price than a slave, but according to the measure in which they are useful to man."<sup>12</sup> S. Thomas, in estimating value, avoids the subjective hypothesis into which so many, following the subjectivism of Kant, fall. He lays aside human dignity altogether, takes the question on its own merits and solves it according to the sound principles of economics. If we examine this statement of S. Thomas carefully, we shall find that it contains, in theory at least, the key to the solution of the wage problem. When we compare the work done by a horse in a day with that executed by a man, it at once appears that in point of utility, the latter is far surpassed by the former; and we are inclined to believe that no one will dispute the justice of the comparison, since the *sensus communis* of mankind measures the value of a thing by its utility. In order to avoid misapprehension and confusion of ideas, it is well to distinguish here specific value, from what we shall call individual or numeric value.<sup>13</sup> For instance, the specific value of air and water is very great, while the numeric value is very small, from the fact that every individual has an abundant supply, and hence they are sometimes styled by economists *free goods*, because the facility with which they are procured renders their numeric value scarcely ap-

<sup>11</sup> 2a. 2ae. q. 77, a. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem ad 3, Cf. S. Aug. De Civitate Dei, c. 16.

<sup>13</sup> We understand by specific value, the capacity which anything possesses to be estimated as desirable for the support and continuance of life. It does not follow that everything which has a specific value has an exchange value, but everything that has an exchange value must have some specific value. Numeric or individual value is sometimes called by economists *value in personal use*.

preciable, and their utility is hardly apparent. Value is always in proportion to utility, and though this statement may seem a paradox, yet if we examine it, we shall find that it is perfectly true. The measure of utility itself is the good or gratification it procures the individual, and though things in themselves have scarcely any specific utility, their numeric value may be very great, inasmuch as they procure some gratification which enhances their worth in the estimation of those who desire them. A rare plant has no perceptible specific value, as its objective utility is hardly measurable, but it has a value in the estimation of the botanist who is willing to purchase it at a large sum.

Marx is of opinion that utility should be excluded from the right estimation of value. Exchange value, according to him, is the ratio in which one kind of useful commodity exchanges against another kind of useful commodity; but as he remarks this ratio does not in the least depend on the *usefulness* of the respective commodities or their capacity of gratifying any particular want. He seeks for one attribute which all values possess in common, and that attribute is labour. Diversity thus vanishes, and the labour itself is not discriminated; it is merely human labour in the abstract, incorporated, absorbed, congealed in exchangeable commodities. This labour is measured by the duration of the exertion, and consequently by the time expended in producing it. Marx accordingly defines value to be an immanent relation of a commodity to time of labour, and the secret of exchange is that, "a day's labour of given length always turns out a product of the same value." Such is the theory of value which Marx proposes: but strange to say though he excludes all consideration of utility from his notion of value, he introduces it, as Rae remarks,<sup>14</sup> under a disguised form. If value is independent of utility and dependent on time, the value of the output, be this great or small, is still the same, though one workman may turn out five times as much as another in a given space. Marx makes several distinctions, strikes averages, distinguishes value and price, to defend his theory, but he is compelled in the end to introduce utility as the principal element in determining value. Hence we are not surprised to find him saying that, "Nothing can have value without being useful." Value then is not the inherent relation of a commodity to labour; it is rather a social estimate of the relative importance of commodities to the society that uses them, and this estimate is determined precisely by their utility.<sup>15</sup>

6. These principles are of great service in ascertaining the eco-

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<sup>14</sup> Contemporary Socialism, p. 162.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Rae, Contemporary Socialism, *passim*.



conomic value of labour. It does not matter what energy is expended nor what time is spent, if the labour is not productive of utility, its value is very small, for it is not the time, the energy, nor the skill employed that gives commodities their economic value, but the utility and benefits they procure, either for the labourer or the employer.

What then is the utility of human labour? If we consider labour in its widest sense it is evident that it is of immense value, and combined with the gifts of the Creator, is the universal source from which proceed all riches and material prosperity, and it has moreover *a priori* claims to be considered as the principal factor in the production of wealth. It is of its nature remunerative and should repay its agent for the expenditure of the energies employed in its production. If a machine has cost \$200, it is natural to suppose, if we are to escape the law of diminishing returns, that the output of which it is capable shall compensate the buyer for his outlay; shall recoup him for the incidental expenses necessary to keep it in a state of efficiency, and supply the wages of those employed in driving it. The same economic law applies when there is question of what is frequently too truly called the human machine, for man surely should not be in a worse position than a mere mechanical contrivance. His lot is cast upon the earth through no fault of his; the Creator has made him a social being with all the wants of a rational creature; he requires society, food, clothing and all those other necessities that become his high dignity as the noblest creature on earth; his labours should repay him for all the initial expenses required for his years of apprenticeship, which was necessary for the right production of labour, should provide his keep, supply him with clothing, and enable him to exercise all his rights as a member of society. From these principles based on the natural constitution of man, it is but just to conclude that the utility of his labour should be respectively equal and proportioned to his support and dignity.<sup>18</sup> This law of equality between the utility and consequently value of labour and the requirements of the labourer is a fundamental law, prior to the existence of society, universal and founded on the principles of our nature. The Creator has supplied every other creature with the necessities of life, the means of propagating and preserving their several kinds, and we must neces-

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<sup>18</sup> In speaking of human dignity we would not be understood to mean that the value of labour is to be estimated according to the dignity of its agent. Human labour has in itself a moral value far superior to that of any other creature in as much as man leaves the impress of his mind on whatever he does, and his work is thereby enhanced in the eyes of the Christian and the Philosopher; but this is a seductive theory which can be traced to the erroneous doctrine of subjectivism, which makes man the source and measure of all truth. In speaking of value we must set aside, to a certain extent, man's dignity and examine his work solely from the point of its utility.

sarily infer that man is created in a no worse condition than they. The fact that man has fulfilled the command of his Creator—"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"—proves abundantly that labour is remunerative, since he was placed on the earth without any other resource than labour, and he has increased and multiplied and filled the earth, in spite of every opposing influence he has had to contend against; while from this fact we are further authorized in supposing that the remuneration of labor must be sufficient to supplying all his needs.

7. As we said above man is a social being,<sup>17</sup> and there devolves upon him the office of propagating the human species—*crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram*—consequently he has the right independently of all social institutions, of bringing up a family which, by his labour, he is bound to nourish and support; and hence the fruits of his toil should be adequate to the due fulfilment of this office. In solving the wage problem we must not consider man in the abstract, nor separate him from those to whom, in accordance with a law of nature, he has united himself, but as he is in reality—in *rerum naturae*. The law of labour is binding on every individual of the human species, but we must not infer from the principles we have been enunciating that the wages of the labourer should be sufficient to support the whole family, if the conclusion is to contain only what the premises warrants. In propagating the human species both man and woman are employed, and their conjoint labour should, in strict justice, be sufficient to supply their own needs and those of their children, at least during the years that these are unable to work for themselves: for since there has been imposed on man an office, it is but lawful to infer that the means of fulfilling it have not been denied him.—"Quod dat alicui aliquod principale, dat eidam omnia quas consequuntur ad illud."<sup>18</sup> We shall speak of this point more fully in treating of wages in their relation to distributive justice. This conclusion founded on the utility which nature has given to labour rests upon two foundations already pointed out. The first is the equality between labour, which has *a priori* claims to utility, and the cost of its production, and this cost is estimated at as much as is necessary for the support of life and strength, and for the provision of all those accessories that are in keeping with human dignity. The second is the law of labour imposed on the human species in its struggle for existence and propagation—*Crescite et multiplicamini . . . In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. S. Thom. De reg. Princip. l. 1, c. 1.

<sup>18</sup> S. Thom. Cont. Gent. l. 3, c. 59.

Though this doctrine is based on a solid foundation, it does not follow that it is realized in fact; for it often happens that the wage is altogether insufficient for personal needs, and wholly inadequate for the maintenance of the family: while on the other hand it is sometimes in excess of personal and even family wants, and not only supplies a competency, but even enables the earner to accumulate riches, though the work is comparatively easy and the amount of energy expended is reduced to a minimum. The theory of utility explains this fact; for the recovery of health by medical skill—to use an apposite illustration—or success in litigation through the ability of an eminent lawyer, are generally considered as of maximum utility, without a violation of justice, a recompense out of all proportion, and consequently doctors and lawyers can demand, without a violation of justice, a recompense out of all proportion with the labour which their actual efforts entail.<sup>19</sup> The supreme criterion then of wages which can be approximately traced, from the aspect of commutative justice is that, the wages shall equal the utility and the advantages which the work procures.

As things have a utility and consequently a value, antecedently to the existence of any exchange transaction whatever, there must be some objective standard to which every contract should conform, if it is to be in itself just. S. Thomas seems to refer to this object standard when he says, "If the price exceeds the quantity of the value, or conversely if the commodity exceeds the price, the equality of justice disappears."<sup>20</sup> But as this objective value is fluctuating, a certain latitude is allowed to the buyer and the seller to fix the conditions of their exchange transaction by a contract which should be shaped, however, in accordance with the objective criterion formulated above. The employer is not bound to give wages in excess of the certain or probable profits which the labourer's work is likely to realize, or, as Walker expresses it, "It is the value of the product such as it is likely to prove which determines the amount of the wages that are to be paid."<sup>21</sup> To avoid an error into which socialists fall, we must distinguish between the profits of labour as such, and the profits of the total enterprise, which includes the capital, the time, anxieties and abilities of the employer, since

<sup>19</sup> *Advocato licet vendere justum patrociniū, medico consilium sanitatis et magistro officium doctrinae.*—22. 222. q. 100, a. 2, ad 3.

<sup>20</sup> 22. 222. q. 78, a. c.

<sup>21</sup> *Political Economy*, p. 88. Rae in his splendid work on *Contemporary Socialism* says, that value in every object is constituted by its possession of two qualities—a, its social utility, and b, that it costs labour or trouble to procure it. Every object that lacks either of these two characteristics has no value, and no commodity which possesses them lacks value. The social utility of any commodity turns on two considerations, first the importance of the want the commodity satisfies, and secondly the number of persons who share the want. See pp. 165 and 166.

it would be absurd to suppose that labour, though it is an important factor in the production of wealth, is the complete cause of it. Wages are therefore not to be reckoned by the profits of the whole enterprise, but by the profits of the labour as such.

8. So far we have considered the principles on which fair wages are based from an objective standpoint; we shall now briefly consider them in their subjective aspect. As we hinted in the beginning of this paper, wages can be just in two ways, objectively and subjectively—*secundum aequalitatem rei*, and *ex libera acceptatione dantis*. If a contract be unjust it must be against the will of either of the contracting parties, because "*nullus patitur injustum nisi nolens*."<sup>22</sup> If the labourer consents to work for a remuneration incommensurate with the work he does, since its utility is in excess of the wage, his acceptance of the terms by no means renders the contract unjust: but it would be in case the employer deceived him, or in case he entered into the contract through ignorance of the utility of his work, and consequently stipulated for a sum under the measure of its true value. An ordinary cause of wage-depression is the abundant supply of labour, and employers not unfrequently take advantage of this position to lower the wages of those they employ. This is clearly an injustice. Labour in itself has a high specific utility, and where the employer finds a market for its productions, he does the labourer an injustice, if the work done is paid below its true value: for since labour has a high specific utility, its value is rather enhanced than diminished by its abundance. The capital of the employer is rendered productive by the exertions of the workman, and the former pockets the returns of the industrial capital plus the amount of which he defrauds the latter. Here equality is destroyed and commutative justice violated. There is another cause of wage-depression—the superabundant supply of labour on the one hand, and on the other a proportionate scarcity of employment, due to trade depression or some other cause. In this case the labour of the individual becomes less useful; for though its specific value is not diminished, its numeric or individual value decreases, since from the superabundance of proffered labour, the work of the individual loses in utility in relation to the employer, who is not bound in justice, no matter what number of men he employs, to pay a wage in excess of the aggregate of utility which their labour produces, and if he takes advantage of the congested state of the labour market to pay a lower wage, he violates no principle of justice, nor would he be, in any way, bound to restitution. We can conceive a third case of wage-depression, which is the free accept-

<sup>22</sup> 2a. 2ae. q. 59, a. 3, c.

ance by the labourer of the conditions of the employer, in order to obtain the preference, in a congested state of labour. Here there can be no formal justice, as the employer is not bound to consult the interests of those he does not employ, nor is he the cause of the conditions from which he gains the advantage. The wages he pays, though materially unjust, are just formally, according to the recognised principle, *scienti et volenti non fit injuria*.

9. It would be an error to suppose that an employer is justified in making the most of this state of things we have been describing. There is a minimum wage below which he cannot go. This doctrine is clearly laid down by Leo XIII, in his encyclical on labour, in which he states that there is a natural limit to the lowering of wages, even with the consent of the labourer, and this limit the toiler himself has no right to overstep. Every man is bound to provide for his personal wants, and also to fulfil his personal obligations; when therefore there is the accomplishment of a rigorous duty dependent on his reception of a fair and just wage, he is strictly bound as far as it is in his power to enforce its payment. A father is bound to support his children in their tender years; this is a law of nature that he may not transgress, and if by omitting lawful means, he cedes to the employer a portion of the wages to which he is justly entitled, he violates a law of nature and sins against justice. S. Thomas does not hesitate to condemn an alms given to those who are in great need, if this act of liberality entailed a serious personal injury to the giver. "If," he says, "any one, in case of necessity, having only sufficient wherewith to support himself, his children and those dependent on him, should give an alms, he would take away his own life and the lives of those he is bound to support."<sup>28</sup> If the employer knowing the circumstances in which the labourer is placed and the obligations he is bound to fulfil, should accept his services at a price far below their true value, he would be strictly bound to restitution—*secundum aequalitatem rei*.

These remarks suggest another possible case. Let us suppose the employer, in order to avoid the payment of a fair wage to labourers, on whom needy families are dependent, hires others who have no such obligation to meet, and who are willing to work for a wage inferior to the value of their labour, either because they have some other source of income or have their domestic wants supplied by their families. Examining this hypothesis by the principles of commutative justice, it does not appear that the employer is bound to restitution, however he may offend against charity; for on the one hand he owes nothing to those who do not work for him, and

<sup>28</sup> 2d. 2d. q. 32, a. 6, c.

on the other those who do work for him, in the given case, have a right to sell their labour at a figure below its true value, and the preference they obtain compensates them for the low wages. Such conduct on the part of an employer, should be stigmatized. It is prompted by avarice, and is opposed to every law of charity, and since great enterprises are rendered possible only by an abundance of proffered labour, such a selection would sooner or later render industry on an extensive scale impossible.

10. It is a strange fact that employers and labourers persist in pursuing a short sighted policy one with the other. The labourer is determined that he shall do as little as he can, while the employer is as determined that he shall have as much as he can out of the labourer at the lowest possible cost. Present advantage blinds both of them to prospective gain. If the labourer would only realize the fact that the greater his output, the greater in the end will be his remuneration, and that by limiting the general rate of production he reduces the general rate of wages, he would be acting most wisely for himself and his class generally. In labour requiring physical strength, as that in which navvies are engaged an extra dollar or two will make a material difference in the output, as better food can be procured, and a state of efficiency and fitness maintained. When a workman has a prospect of a decent remuneration for his labour, he works with greater cheerfulness and requires less superintendence; he is in a better condition to develop his intelligence and resourcefulness and consequently his efficiency increases, and this will be, generally speaking, in precise ratio with the comfort his wages procure. It can hardly be expected that men can take an interest in their work when they live from hand to mouth, when they are unable to provide any of those enjoyments on which habits of intelligence, in a great measure, depend, or to participate in the culture that is going on around them. If the sordid greed of capitalists were less and Christian charity greater, the wage problem would be well on the way to a satisfactory solution.

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## EPISTOLA SANCTI PATRIS.

LEO XIII AD AMERICANOS.

TRACTAT DE OPINIONIBUS NOVIS, DE VIRTUTE, NATURA ET GRATIA,  
DE VITA RELIGIOSA NONNULLA ETIAM DE  
"AMERICANISMO."*Dilecto Filio Nostro Iacobo Tit. Sanctae Mariae Trans Tiberim S. R. E.  
Presbytero Cardinali Gibbons Archiepiscopo Baltimorensi*

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI NOSTER,  
SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTONEM.

**T**ESTEM benevolentiae Nostrae hanc ad te epistolam mittimus, eius nempe benevolentiae, quam, diuturno Pontificatus Nostri cursu, tibi et Episcopis collegis tuis ac populo Americae universo profiteri nunquam destitimus, occasionem omnem libenter a vobis recteque gestis ad catholicorum rationes tutandas et evendendas. Quin imo saepe etiam accidit egregiam in gente vestra indolem suspicere et admirari ad praeclara quaeque expectant, atque ad ea proseguenda, quae humanitatem omnem iuvant splendoremque civitatis. Quamvis autem non eo nunc spectet epistola ut alias saepe tributas laudes confirmet, sed ut nonnulla potius cavenda et corrigenda significet; quia tamen eadem apostolica caritate conscripta est, qua vos et prosequuti semper et alloquuti saepe fuimus, iure expectamus, ut hanc pariter amoris Nostri argumentum censeatis; idque eo magis futurum confidimus quod apta nataque ea sit ad contentiones quasdam extinguendas, quae, exortae nuper in vobis, etsi non omnium, at multorum certe animos, haud mediocri pacis detrimento, perturbant.

Compertum tibi est, dilecte Fili Noster, librum de vita *Isaaci Thomae Hecker*, eorum praesertim opera, qui aliena lingua edendum vel interpretandum susceperunt, controversias excitasse non modicas ob invectas quasdam de ratione christiane vivendi opiniones. Nos igitur, ut integritati fidei, pro supremo Apostolatus munere, prospiciamus et fidelium securitati caveamus, volumus de re universa fusiori sermone ad te scribere.

Novarum igitur, quas diximus, opinionum id fere constituitur fundamentum: quo facilius qui dissident ad catholicam sapientiam traducantur, debere Ecclesiam ad adulti saeculi humanita-

tem aliquanto propius accedere, ac, veteri relaxata severitate, recens investis populorum placitis ac rationibus indulgere. Id autem non de vivendi solum disciplina, sed de doctrinis etiam, quibus *fidei depositum* continetur, intelligendum esse multi arbitrantur. Opportunum enim esse contendunt, ad voluntates discordium alligandas, si quaedam doctrinae capita, quasi levioris momenti, praetermittantur, aut molliantur ita, ut non eumdem retineant sensum quem constanter tenuit Ecclesia. Id porro, dilecte Fili Noster, quam improbando sit consilio excogitatum, haud longo sermone indiget; si modo doctrinae ratio atque origo repetatur, quam tradit Ecclesia. Ad rem Vaticana Synodus: "Neque enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tamquam divinum depositum Christi Sponsae tradita fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. \* \* \* Is sensus sacrorum dogmatum perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu altioris intelligentiae specie et nomine recedendum."<sup>1</sup>

Neque omnino vacare culpa censendum est silentium illud, quo catholicae doctrinae principia quaedam consulto praetereuntur ac veluti oblivione obscurantur. Veritatum namque omnium, quotquot christiana disciplina complectitur, unus atque idem auctor est et magister, *Unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris*.<sup>2</sup> Easdem vero ad aetates quaslibet ac gentes accommodatas esse, perspicue ex verbis colligitur, quibus ipse Christus apostolos est alloquutus: *Euntes docete omnes gentes \* \* \* docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis; et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem saeculi*.<sup>3</sup> Quapropter idem Vaticanum Concilium: "Fide divina, inquit, et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt, quae in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab Ecclesia, sive solemni iudicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio, tamquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur."<sup>4</sup> Absit igitur ut de tradita divinitus doctrina quidpiam quis detrahat vel consilio quovis praetereat; id enim qui faxit, potius catholicos seiungere ab Ecclesia, quam qui dissident ad Ecclesiam transferre volet. Redeant, nil enim Nobis optatius, redeant universi, quicumque ab ovili Christi vagantur longius; non alio tamen itinere, quam quod Christus ipse monstravit.

Disciplina autem vivendi, quae catholicis hominibus datur, non eiusmodi est, quae, pro temporum et locorum varietate, temperationem omnem reiiciat. Habet profecto Ecclesia, inditum ab Auctore suo, clemens ingenium et misericors; quam ob causam, inde a sui exordio, id praestitit libens, quod Paulus Apostolus de se

<sup>1</sup> Const. de Fid. cath. c. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. XXVIII, 19 s.

<sup>3</sup> Ioann. I, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Const. de Fid. cath. c. III.



profitebatur: *Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem salvos.*<sup>5</sup> Aetatum vero praeteritarum omnium historia testis est, Sedem hanc Apostolicam, cui, non magisterium modo, sed supremum etiam regimen totius Ecclesiae tributum est, constanter quidem *in eodem dogmate eodem sensu eademque sententia*<sup>6</sup> haesisse; at vivendi disciplinam ita semper moderari consuevisse, ut, divino incolumi iure, diversarum adeo gentium, quas amplectitur, mores et rationes nunquam neglexerit. Id si postulet animorum salus, nunc etiam facturam quis dubitet? Non hoc tamen privatorum hominum arbitrio definiendum, qui fere specie recti decipiuntur; sed Ecclesiae iudicium esse oportet: in eoque acquiescere omnes necesse est, quicumque Pii VI decessoris Nostri reprehensionem cavere malunt. Qui quidem propositionem LXXVIII synodi Pistoriensis "Ecclesiae ac Spiritui Dei quo ipsa regitur iniuriosam *edixit*, quatenus examini subiiciat disciplinam ab Ecclesia constitutam et probatam, quasi Ecclesia disciplinam constituere possit inutilem et onerosiorem quam libertas christiana patiatur."

In causa tamen de qua loquimur, dilecte Fili Noster, plus affert periculi estque magis catholicae doctrinae disciplinaeque infestum consilium illud, quo rerum novarum sectatores arbitrantur libertatem quandam in Ecclesiam esse inducendam, ut, constricta quodammodo potestatis vi ac vigilantia, liceat fidelibus suo cuiusque ingenio actuosaeque virtuti largius aliquanto indulgere. Hoc nimirum requiri affirmant ad libertatis eius exemplum, quae, recentius invecta, civilis fere communitatis ius modo ac fundamentum est. De qua Nos fuse admodum loquuti sumus in iis Litteris, quas de civitatum constitutione ad Episcopos dedimus universos; ubi etiam ostendimus, quid inter Ecclesiam, quae iure divino est, intersit ceterasque consociationes omnes, quae libera hominum voluntate vigent. Praestat igitur quandam potius notare opinionem, quae quasi argumentum affertur ad hanc catholicis libertatem suadendam. Aiunt enim, de Romani Pontificis infallibili magisterio, post solemne iudicium de ipso latum in Vaticana Synodo, nihil iam oportere esse sollicitos; quam ob rem, eo iam in tuto collocato, posse nunc ampliorem cuivis ad cogitandum atque agendum patere campum. Praeposterum sane arguendi genus: si quid enim ex magisterio Ecclesiae infallibili suadet ratio, hoc certe est, ut ab eo ne quis velit discedere, imo omnes eidem se penitus imbuedos ac moderandos dent, quo facilius a privato quovis errore serventur immunes. Accedit, ut ii, qui sic arguunt, a providentis Dei sapientia discedant admodum; quae, quum Sedis Apostolicae auctoritatem et magisterium affirmata solemniore iudicio voluit, idcirco

<sup>5</sup> I Cor. ix, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Conc. Vatic. Ibid. c. iv.

voluit maxime, ut pericula praesentium temporum animis catholicorum efficacius caveret. Licentia quae passim cum libertate confunditur; quidvis loquendi obloquendique libido; facultas denique quidlibet sentiendi litterarumque formis exprimendi, tenebras tam alte mentibus obfuderunt, ut maior nunc quam ante sit magisterii usus et necessitas, ne a conscientia quis officioque abstrahatur. Abest profecto a Nobis ut quaecumque horum temporum ingenium parit, omnia repudiemus; quin potius quidquid indagando veri aut enitendo boni attingitur, ad patrimonium doctrinae augendum publicaeque prosperitatis fines proferendos, libentibus sane Nobis, accedit. Id tamen omne, ne solidae utilitatis sit experts, esse ac vigere nequaquam debet, Ecclesiae auctoritate sapientiaeque posthabita.

Sequitur ut ad ea veniamus quae ex his, quas attigimus, opinionibus consecraria veluti proferuntur; in quibus si mens, ut credimus, non mala, at certe res carere suspicione minime videbuntur. Principio enim externum magisterium omne ab iis, qui christianae perfectioni adipiscendae studere velint, tamquam superfluum, immo etiam minus utile, reicitur: ampliora, aiunt, atque uberiora nunc quam elapsis temporibus, in animos fidelium Spiritus Sanctus influit charismata, eosque, medio nemine, docet arcano quodam instinctu atque agit. Non levis profecto temeritatis est velle modum metiri, quo Deus cum hominibus communicet; id enim unice ex eius voluntate pendet, estque ipse munerum suorum liberrimus dispensator. *Spiritus ubi vult spirat.*<sup>7</sup> *Unicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi.*<sup>8</sup> Ecquis autem repetens Apostolorum historiam, exordientis Ecclesiae fidem, fortissimorum martyrum certamina et caedes, veteres denique plerasque aetates sanctissimorum hominum foecundissimas, audeat priora tempora praesentibus componere eaque affirmare minore Spiritus Sancti effusione donata? Sed, his omissis, Spiritum Sanctum secreto illapsu in animis iustorum agere eosque admonitionibus et impulsione excitare, nullus est qui ambigat; id ni foret, externum quodvis praesidium et magisterium inane esset. "Si quis \* \* \* salutari, id est evangelicae praedicationi consentire posse confirmat, absque illuminatione Spiritus Sancti, qui dat omnibus suavitatem in consentiendo et credendo veritati, haeretico fallitur spiritu."<sup>9</sup> \* \* \* Verum, quod etiam experiendo novimus, hae Sancti Spiritus admonitiones et impulsiones plerumque, non sine quodam externi magisterii adiumento ac veluti comparatione, persentiuntur. "Ipse, ad rem Augustinus, in bonis arboribus cooperatur fructum, qui et forinsecus rigat atque excolit per quemlibet

<sup>7</sup> Ioann. iii, 8.<sup>8</sup> Eph. iv, 7.<sup>9</sup> Conc. Arausic. ii, can. vii.

ministrum, et per se dat intrinsecus incrementum.”<sup>10</sup> Scilicet ad communem legem id pertinet, qua Deus providentissimus, uti homines plerumque fere per homines salvandos decrevit, ita illos, quos ad praestantiorē sanctimoniae gradum advocat, per homines eo perducendos constituit, “ut nimirum, quemadmodum Chrysostomus ait, per homines a Deo discamus.”<sup>11</sup> Praeclarum eius rei exemplum, ipso Ecclesiae exordio, positum habemus: quamvis enim Saulus, *spirans minarum et caedis*,<sup>12</sup> Christi ipsius vocem audivisset ab eoque quaesivisset: *Domine quid me vis facere*; Damascum tamen ad Ananiam missus est: *Ingrederere civitatem, et ibi dicitur tibi quid te oporteat facere*. Accedit praeterea, quod qui perfectiora sectantur, hoc ipso quod ineunt intentatam plerisque viam, sunt magis errori obnoxii, ideoque magis quam ceteri doctore ac duce indigent. Atque haec agendi ratio iugiter in Ecclesia obtinuit; hanc ad unum omnes doctrinam professi sunt, quotquot, decursu saeculorum, sapientia ac sanctitate floruerunt; quam qui respuant, temere profecto ac periculose respuunt.

Rem tamen bene penitus consideranti, sublato etiam externo quovis moderatore, vix apparet in novatorum sententia quorsum pertinere debeat uberior ille Spiritus Sancti influxus, quem adeo extollunt. Profecto maxime in excolendis virtutibus Spiritus Sancti praesidio opus est omnino: verum qui nova sectari adamant, naturales virtutes prater modum efferunt, quasi hae praesentis aetatis moribus ac necessitatibus respondeant aptius, iisque exornari praestet, quod hominem paratiorē ad agendum ac strenuiorem faciant. Difficile quidem intellectu est, eos, qui christiana sapientia imbuantur, posse naturales virtutes supernaturalibus anteferre, maioremque illis efficacitatem ac foecunditatem tribuere.—Ergone natura, accedente gratia, infirmior erit, quam si suis ipsa viribus permittatur? Num vero homines sanctissimi, quos Ecclesia observat palamque colit, imbecillos se atque ineptos in naturae ordine probavere quod christianis virtutibus excelluerunt? Atqui, etsi naturalium virtutum praeclaros quandoque actus mirari licet, quotus tamen quisque est inter homines qui naturalium virtutum habitu reapse polleat? Quis enim est, qui animi perturbationibus, iisque vehementibus non incitetur? Quibus constanter superandis, sicut etiam universae legi in ipso naturae ordine servandae, divino quodam subsidio iuvare hominem necesse est. Singulares vero actus, quos supra innuimus, saepe, si intimius perspiciantur, speciem potius virtutis quam veritatem prae se ferunt. Sed demus tamen esse: si *currere in vacuum* quis nolit aeternamque oblivisci beatitatem, cui nos benigne destinat Deus, ecquid naturales virtutes

<sup>10</sup> De Grat. Christi c. xix.<sup>11</sup> Hom. i, in Inscr. altar.<sup>12</sup> Act. Ap. c: ix.

habent utilitatis, nisi divinae gratiae munus ac robur accedat? Apte quidem Augustinus: "Magnae vires et cursus celerrimus, sed praeter viam."<sup>13</sup> Sicut enim praesidio gratiae natura hominum, quae, ob communem noxam, in vitium ac dedecus prolapsa erat, erigitur novaque nobilitate evehitur ac roboratur; ita etiam virtutes, quae non solis naturae viribus, sed eiusdem ope gratiae exercentur, et foecundae fiunt beatitatis perpetuo mansurae et solidiores ac firmiores existunt.

Cum hac de naturalibus virtutibus sententia, alia cohaeret admodum, qua christianae virtutes universae in duo quasi genera dispartiu[n]t, in *passivas*, ut aiunt, atque *activas*; adduntque, illas in elapsis aetatibus convenisse melius, has cum praesenti magis congruere. De qua quidem divisione virtutum quid sentiendum sit, res est in medio posita; virtus enim, quae vere *passiva* sit, nec est nec esse potest. "Virtus, sic sanctus Thomas, nominat quandam potentiae perfectionem; finis autem potentiae actus est; et nihil est aliud actus virtutis, quam bonus usus liberi arbitrii;"<sup>14</sup> adiuvante utique Dei gratia, si virtutis actus supernaturalis sit. Christianas autem virtutes, alias temporibus aliis accommodatas esse, is solum velit, qui Apostoli verba non meminerit: *Quos praescivit, hos et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui.*<sup>15</sup> Magister et exemplar sanctitatis omnis Christus est; ad cuius regulam aptari omnes necesse est, quotquot avent beatorum sedibus inseri. Iamvero, haud mutatur Christus progredientibus saeculis; sed *idem heri et hodie et in saecula.*<sup>16</sup> Ad omnium igitur aetatum homines pertinet illud: *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde;*<sup>17</sup> nulloque non tempore Christus se nobis exhibet *factum obedientem usque ad mortem;*<sup>18</sup> valetque quavis aetate Apostoli sententia: *Qui sunt Christi carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis suis.*<sup>19</sup> Quas utinam virtutes multo nunc plures sic colerent, ut homines sanctissimi praeteritorum temporum! Qui demissione animi, obedientia, abstinentia, *potentes fuerunt opere et sermone*, emolumento maximo nedum religiosae rei sed publicae ac civilis.

Ex quo virtutum evangelicarum veluti contemptu, quae perperam *passivae* appellantur, pronum erat sequi, ut religiosae etiam vitae despectus sensim per animos pervaderet. Atque id novarum opinionum fautoribus commune esse, coniciamus ex eorum sententiis quibusdam circa vota quae Ordines religiosi nuncupant. Aiunt enim, illa ab ingenio aetatis nostrae dissidere plurimum, utpote quae humanae libertatis fines coerceant; esseque ad infirmos animos magis quam ad fortes apta; nec admodum valere ad christianam perfectionem humanaeque consociationis bonum, quin potius

<sup>13</sup> In Ps. xxxi, 4.<sup>14</sup> I. II. a. 1.<sup>15</sup> Rom. xiii, 29.<sup>16</sup> Hebr. xiii, 8.<sup>17</sup> Matth. xi, 29.<sup>18</sup> Philip. ii, 8.<sup>19</sup> Galat. v, 24.

utriusque rei obstare atque officere. Verum haec quam falso dicantur, ex usu doctrinaque Ecclesiae facile patet, cui religiosum vivendi genus maxime semper probatum est. Nec sane immerito: nam qui, a Deo vocati, illud sponte sua amplectantur, non contenti communibus praeceptorum officiis, in evangelica euntes consilia, Christo se milites strenuos paratosque ostendunt. Hocne debilius esse animorum putabimus? aut ad perfectiorem vitae modum inutile aut noxium? Qui ita se votorum religione obstringunt, adeo sunt a libertatis iactura remoti, ut multo plenius ac nobilior fruuntur, ea nempe *qua Christus nos liberavit*.<sup>20</sup>

Quod autem addunt, religiosam vivendi rationem aut non omnino aut parum Ecclesiae iuvandae esse, praeter quamquod religiosi Ordinibus invidiosum est, nemo unus certe sentiet, qui Ecclesiae annales evolverit. Ipsae vestrae foederatae civitates num non ab alumnis religiosarum familiarum fidei pariter atque humanitatis initia habuerunt? quorum uni nuper, quod plane vobis laudi fuit, statum publice ponendam decrevistis. Nunc vero, hoc ipso tempore, quam alacrem, quam frugiferam catholicae rei religiosi coetus, ubicumque ii sunt, navant operam! Quam pergunt multi novas oras Evangelico imbui et humanitatis fines propagare; idque per summam animi contentionem summaque pericula! Ex ipsis, haud minus quam e clero cetero, plebs christiana verbi Dei praecones conscientiaeque moderatores, iuventus institutores habet, Ecclesia, denique omnis sanctitatis exempla. Nec discrimen est laudis inter eos qui actuosum vitae genus sequuntur, atque illos, qui, recessu delectati, orando afflictandoque corpori vacant. Quam hi etiam praeclare de hominum societate meruerint, mereant, ii norunt profecto qui, quid ad placandum conciliandumque Numen posset *deprecatio iusti assidua*,<sup>21</sup> minime ignorant, ea maxime quae cum afflictatione corporis coniuncta est.

Si qui igitur hoc magis adamant, nullo votorum vinculo, in coetum unum coalescere, quod malint, faxint; nec novum id in Ecclesia nec improbabile institutum. Caveant tamen ne illud prae religiosi Ordinibus extollant; quin potius, cum modo ad fruendum voluptatibus proclivius, quam ante, sit hominum genus, longe pluris ii sunt habendi, qui, *relictis omnibus, sequuti sunt Christum*.

Postremo, ne nimis moremur, via quoque et ratio, qua catholici adhuc sunt usi ad dissidentes revocandos, deserenda edicitur aliaque in posterum adhibenda. Qua in re hoc sufficit advertisse, non prudenter, dilecte Fili Noster, id negligi quod diu experiendo antiquitas comprobavit, apostolicis etiam documentis erudita. Ex Dei verbo habemus,<sup>22</sup> omnium officium esse proximorum saluti iuvandae

<sup>20</sup> Iac. v, 16.<sup>21</sup> Galat. iv, 31.<sup>22</sup> Eccli. xvii, 4.

operam dare, ordine graduque quem quisque obtinet. Fideles quidem hoc sibi a Deo assignatum munus utillime exequentur morum integritate, christianae caritatis operibus, instante ad Deum ipsum assiduaque prece. At qui e clero sunt idipsum praestent oportet sapienti Evangelii praedicatione, sacrorum gravitate et splendore, praecipue autem eam in se formam doctrinae exprimentes, quam Tito ac Timotheo Apostolus tradidit. Quod si, e diversis rationibus verbi Dei eloquendi, ea quandoque praeferenda videatur, qua ad dissidentes non in templis dicant sed privato quovis honesto loco, nec ut qui disputent sed ut qui amice colloquantur; res quidem reprehensione caret: modo tamen ad id muneris auctoritate Episcoporum ii destinentur, qui scientiam integritatemque suam antea ipsis probaverint. Nam plurimos apud vos arbitramur esse, qui ignorance magis quam voluntate a catholicis dissident; quos ad unum Christi ovile facilius forte adducet, qui veritatem illis proponat amico quodam familiarique sermone.

Ex his igitur, quae huc usque disseruimus, patet, dilecte Fili Noster, non posse Nobis opiniones illas probari, quarum summam *Americanismi* nomine nonnulli indicant. Quo si quidem nomine peculiaria animi ornamenta, quae, sicut alia nationes alias, Americae populos decorant, significare velint; item si statum vestrarum civitatum, si leges moresque quibus utimini, non est profecto cur ipsum reiiciendum censeamus. At si illud usurpandum ideo est, ut doctrinae superius allatae, non indicentur modo, immo vero etiam cohonestentur; quodnam est dubium, quim Venerabiles Fratres Nostri Episcopi Americae, ante ceteros, repudiaturi ac damnaturi sint utpote ipsis totique eorum genti quam maxime iniuriosum? Suspicionem enim id inicit esse apud vos, qui Ecclesiam in America aliam effingant et velint, quam quae in universis regionibus est. Una, unitate doctrinae sicut unitate regiminis, eaque catholica est Ecclesia: cuius quoniam Deus in Cathedra Beati Petri centrum ac fundamentum esse statuit, iure Romana dicitur; *ubi enim Petrus, ibi Ecclesia.*<sup>23</sup> Quam ob rem quicumque catholico nomine censi vult, is verba Hieronymi ad Damasum Pontificem usurpare ex veritate debet: "Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum, sequens, beatitudini tuae, idest Cathedrae Petri communionem consocior: super illam petram aedificatam Ecclesiam scio; quicumque tecum non colligit, spargit."

Haec, dilecte Fili Noster, quae, singularibus litteris, officio muneris ad te damus, ceteris etiam foederatarum civitatum Episcopis communicanda curabimus; caritatem iterum testantes, qua gentem vestram universam complectimur: quae sicut elapsis temporibus

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<sup>23</sup> S. Ambr. in Ps. xi, 57.

multa pro religione gessit, maiora etiam in posterum, Deo feliciter opitulante, praestituram portendit. Tibi autem et fidelibus Americae omnibus Apostolicam benedictionem, divinorum subsidiorum auspicem, amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxii mensis Ianuarii MDCCCXCIX, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

## TRANSLATION OF LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER.

### LEO XIII TO AMERICANS.

CONCERNING NEW OPINIONS, VIRTUE, NATURE AND GRACE,  
WITH REGARD TO "AMERICANISM."

*To Our Beloved Son, James, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal Priest of the Title Sancta Maria, Beyond the Tiber, Archbishop of Baltimore:*

*LEO XIII, Pope—Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Blessing:* We send to you by this letter a renewed expression of that good will which we have not failed during the course of our pontificate to manifest frequently to you and to your colleagues in the episcopate and to the whole American people, availing ourselves of every opportunity offered us by the progress of your church or whatever you have done for safeguarding and promoting Catholic interests. Moreover, we have often considered and admired the noble gifts of your nation which enable the American people to be alive to every good work which promotes the good of humanity and the splendor of civilization. Although this letter is not intended, as preceding ones, to repeat the words of praise so often spoken, but rather to call attention to some things to be avoided and corrected; still because it is conceived in that same spirit of apostolic charity which has inspired all our letters, we shall expect that you will take it as another proof of our love; the more so because it is intended to suppress certain contentions which have arisen lately among you to the detriment of the peace of many souls.

It is known to you, beloved son, that the biography of Isaac Thomas Hecker, especially through the action of those who undertook to translate or interpret it in a foreign language, has excited not a little controversy, on account of certain opinions brought forward concerning the way of leading Christian life.

We, therefore, on account of our apostolic office, having to guard the integrity of the faith and the security of the faithful, are desirous of writing to you more at length concerning this whole matter.

The underlying principle of these new opinions is that, in order to more easily attract those who differ from her, the Church should shape her teachings more in accord with the spirit of the age and relax some of her ancient severity and make some concessions to new opinions. Many think that these concessions should be made not only in regard to ways of living, but even in regard to doctrines which belong to the deposit of the faith. They contend that it would be opportune, in order to gain those who differ from us, to omit certain points of her teaching which are of lesser importance, and to tone down the meaning which the Church has always attached to them. It does not need many words, beloved son, to prove the falsity of these ideas if the nature and origin of the doctrine which the Church proposes are recalled to mind. The Vatican Council says concerning this point: "For the doctrine of faith which God has revealed has not been proposed, like a philosophical invention to be perfected by human ingenuity, but has been delivered as a divine deposit to the Spouse of Christ to be faithfully kept and infallibly declared. Hence that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained which our Holy Mother, the Church, has once declared, nor is that meaning ever to be departed from under the pretense or pretext of a deeper comprehension of them."—*Constitutio de Fide Catholica*, Chapter iv.

We cannot consider as altogether blameless the silence which purposely leads to the omission or neglect of some of the principles of Christian doctrine, for all the principles come from the same Author and Master, "the Only Begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father."—John i, 18. They are adapted to all times and all nations, as is clearly seen from the words of our Lord to His apostles: "Going, therefore, teach all nations; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world."—Matt. xxviii, 19. Concerning this point the Vatican Council says: "All those things are to be believed with divine and catholic faith which are contained in the Word of God, written or handed down, and which the Church, either by a solemn judgment or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, proposes for belief as having been divinely revealed."—*Const. de fide*, Chapter iii.

Let it be far from anyone's mind to suppress for any reason any doctrine that has been handed down. Such a policy would tend rather to separate Catholics from the Church than to bring in those who differ. There is nothing closer to our heart than to have those who are separated from the fold of Christ return to it, but in no other way than the way pointed out by Christ.

The rule of life laid down for Catholics is not of such a nature



that it cannot accommodate itself to the exigencies of various times and places. The Church has, guided by her Divine Master, a kind and merciful spirit, for which reason from the very beginning she has been what St. Paul said of himself: "I became all things to all men that I might save all."

History proves clearly that the Apostolic See, to which has been intrusted the mission not only of teaching but of governing the whole Church, has continued "in one and the same doctrine, one and the same sense, and one and the same judgment,"—Const. de fide, Chapter iv.

But in regard to ways of living she has been accustomed to so yield that, the divine principle of morals being kept intact, she has never neglected to accommodate herself to the character and genius of the nations which she embraces.

Who can doubt that she will act in this same spirit again if the salvation of souls requires it? In this matter the Church must be the judge, not private men who are often deceived by the appearance of right. In this, all who wish to escape the blame of our predecessor, Pius the Sixth, must concur. He condemned as injurious to the Church and the spirit of God who guides her the doctrine contained in proposition lxxviii of the Synod of Pistoia, "that the discipline made and approved by the Church should be submitted to examination, as if the Church could frame a code of laws useless or heavier than human liberty can bear."

But, beloved son, in this present matter of which we are speaking, there is even a greater danger and a more manifest opposition to Catholic doctrine and discipline in that opinion of the lovers of novelty, according to which they hold such liberty should be allowed in the Church, that her supervision and watchfulness being in some sense lessened, allowance be granted the faithful, each one to follow out more freely the leading of his own mind and the trend of his own proper activity. They are of opinion that such liberty has its counterpart in the newly given civil freedom which is now the right and the foundation of almost every secular state.

In the apostolic letters concerning the constitution of states, addressed by us to the bishops of the whole Church, we discussed this point at length; and there set forth the difference existing between the Church, which is a divine society, and all other social human organizations which depend simply on free will and choice of men.

It is well, then, to particularly direct attention to the opinion which serves as the argument in behalf of this greater liberty sought for and recommended to Catholics.

It is alleged that now the Vatican decree concerning the infallible teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff having been proclaimed

that nothing further on that score can give any solicitude, and accordingly, since that has been safeguarded and put beyond question a wider and freer field both for thought and action lies open to each one. But such reasoning is evidently faulty, since, if we are to come to any conclusion from the infallible teaching authority of the Church, it should rather be that no one should wish to depart from it, and moreover that the minds of all being leavened and directed thereby, greater security from private error would be enjoyed by all. And further, those who avail themselves of such a way of reasoning seem to depart seriously from the over-ruling wisdom of the Most High—which wisdom, since it was pleased to set forth by most solemn decision the authority and supreme teaching rights of this Apostolic See—willed that decision precisely in order to safeguard the minds of the Church's children from the dangers of these present times.

These dangers, viz., the confounding of license with liberty, the passion for discussing and pouring contempt upon any possible subject, the assumed right to hold whatever opinions one pleases upon any subject and to set them forth in print to the world, have so wrapped minds in darkness that there is now a greater need of the Church's teaching office than ever before, lest people become unmindful both of conscience and of duty.

We, indeed, have no thought of rejecting everything that modern industry and study has produced; so far from it that we welcome to the patrimony of truth and to an ever-widening scope of public well-being whatsoever helps toward the progress of learning and virtue. Yet all this, to be of any solid benefit, nay, to have a real existence and growth, can only be on the condition of recognizing the wisdom and authority of the Church.

Coming now to speak of the conclusions which have been deduced from the above opinions, and for them, we readily believe there was no thought of wrong or guile, yet the things themselves certainly merit some degree of suspicion. First, all external guidance is set aside for those souls who are striving after Christian perfection as being superfluous or indeed, not useful in any sense—the contention being that the Holy Spirit pours richer and more abundant graces than formerly upon the souls of the faithful, so that without human intervention He teaches and guides them by some hidden instinct of His own. Yet it is the sign of no small over-confidence to desire to measure and determine the mode of the Divine communication to mankind, since it wholly depends upon His own good pleasure, and He is a most generous dispenser of his own gifts. “The Spirit breatheth whereso He listeth.”—John iii, 8.

"And to each one of us grace is given according to the measure of the giving of Christ."—Eph. iv, 7.

And shall any one who recalls the history of the apostles, the faith of the nascent church, the trials and deaths of the martyrs—and, above all, those olden times, so fruitful in saints—dare to measure our age with these, or affirm that they received less of the divine outpouring from the Spirit of Holiness? Not to dwell upon this point, there is no one who calls in question the truth that the Holy Spirit does work by a secret descent into the souls of the just and that He stirs them alike by warnings and impulses, since unless this were the case all outward defense and authority would be unavailing. "For if any persuades himself that he can give assent to saving, that is, to gospel truth when proclaimed, without any illumination of the Holy Spirit, who gives unto all sweetness both to assent and to hold, such an one is deceived by a heretical spirit."—From the Second Council of Orange, Canon 7.

Moreover, as experience shows, these monitions and impulses of the Holy Spirit are for the most part felt through the medium of the aid and light of an external teaching authority. To quote St. Augustine. "He (the Holy Spirit) co-operates to the fruit gathered from the good trees, since He externally waters and cultivates them by the outward ministry of men, and yet of Himself bestows the inward increase."—*De Gratia Christi*, Chapter xix. This, indeed, belongs to the ordinary law of God's loving providence that as He has decreed that men for the most part shall be saved by the ministry also of men, so has He wished that those whom He calls to the higher planes of holiness should be led thereto by men; hence St. Chrysostom declares we are taught of God through the instrumentality of men.—Homily I in *Inscrib. Altar*. Of this a striking example is given us in the very first days of the Church.

For though Saul, intent upon blood and slaughter, had heard the voice of our Lord Himself and had asked, "What dost Thou wish me to do?" yet he was bidden to enter Damascus and search for Ananias. Acts ix: "Enter the city and it shall be there told to thee what thou must do."

Nor can we leave out of consideration the truth that those who are striving after perfection, since by that fact they walk in no beaten or well-known path, are the most liable to stray, and hence have greater need than others of a teacher and guide. Such guidance has ever obtained in the Church; it has been the universal teaching of those who throughout the ages have been eminent for wisdom and sanctity—and hence to reject it would be to commit one's self to a belief at once rash and dangerous.

A thorough consideration of this point, in the supposition that

no exterior guide is granted such souls, will make us see the difficulty of locating or determining the direction and application of that more abundant influx of the Holy Spirit so greatly extolled by innovators. To practice virtue there is absolute need of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, yet we find those who are fond of novelty giving an unwarranted importance to the *natural* virtues, as though they better responded to the customs and necessities of the times and that having these as his outfit man becomes more ready to act and more strenuous in action. It is not easy to understand how persons possessed of Christian wisdom can either prefer natural to supernatural virtues or attribute to them a greater efficacy and fruitfulness. Can it be that nature conjoined with grace is weaker than when left to herself?

Can it be that those men illustrious for sanctity, whom the Church distinguishes and openly pays homage to, were deficient, came short in the order of nature and its endowments, because they excelled in Christian strength? And although it be allowed at times to wonder at acts worthy of admiration which are the outcome of natural virtue—is there anyone at all endowed simply with an outfit of natural virtue? Is there any one not tried by mental anxiety, and this in no light degree? Yet ever to master such, as also to preserve in its entirety the law of the natural order, requires an assistance from on high. These single notable acts to which we have alluded will frequently upon a closer investigation be found to exhibit the appearance rather than the reality of virtue. Grant that it is virtue, unless we would “run in vain” and be unmindful of that eternal bliss which a good God in his mercy has destined for us, of what avail are natural virtues unless seconded by the gift of divine grace? Hence St. Augustine well says: “Wonderful is the strength, and swift the course, but outside the true path.” For as the nature of man, owing to the primal fault, is inclined to evil and dishonor, yet by the help of grace is raised up, is borne along with a new greatness and strength, so, too, virtue, which is not the product of nature alone, but of grace also, is made fruitful unto everlasting life and takes on a more strong and abiding character.

This overesteem of natural virtue finds a method of expression in assuming to divide all virtues in *active* and *passive*, and it is alleged that whereas passive virtues found better place in past times, our age is to be characterized by the active. That such a division and distinction cannot be maintained is patent—for there is not, nor can there be, merely passive virtue. “Virtue,” says St. Thomas Aquinas, “designates the perfection of some faculty, but the end of such faculty is an act, and an act of virtue is naught

else than the good use of free will," acting, that is to say, under the grace of God if the act be one of supernatural virtue.

He alone could wish that some Christian virtues be adapted to certain times and different ones for other times who is unmindful of the apostle's words: "That those whom He foreknew, He predestined to be made conformable to the image of His Son."—Romans viii, 29. Christ is the teacher and the exemplar of all sanctity, and to His standard must all those conform who wish for eternal life. Nor does Christ know any change as the ages pass, "for He is yesterday and to-day and the same forever."—Hebrews xiii, 8. To the men of all ages was the precept given: "Learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart."—Matt. xi, 29.

To every age has He been made manifest to us as obedient even unto death; in every age the apostle's dictum has its force: "Those who are Christ's have crucified their flesh with its vices and concupiscences." Would to God that more nowadays practiced these virtues in the degree of the saints of past times, who in humility, obedience and self-restraint were powerful "in word and in deed"—to the great advantage not only of religion, but of the state and the public welfare.

e From this disregard of the evangelical virtues, erroneously styled *passive*, the step was a short one to a contempt of the religious life which has in some degree taken hold of minds. That such a value is generally held by the upholders of new views, we infer from certain statements concerning the vows which religious orders take. They say vows are alien to the spirit of our times, in that they limit the bounds of human liberty; that they are more suitable to weak than to strong minds; that so far from making for human perfection and the good of human organization, they are hurtful to both; but that this is as false as possible from the practice and the doctrine of the Church is clear, since she has always given the very highest approval to the religious method of life; nor without good cause, for those who under the divine call have freely embraced that state of life did not content themselves with the observance of precepts, but, going forward to the evangelical counsels, showed themselves ready and valiant soldiers of Christ. Shall we judge this to be a characteristic of weak minds, or shall we say that it is useless or hurtful to a more perfect state of life?

Those who so bind themselves by the vows of religion, far from having suffered a loss of liberty, enjoy that fuller and freer kind, that liberty, namely, by which Christ hath made us free. And this further view of theirs, namely, that the religious life is either entirely useless or of little service to the Church, besides being injurious to the religious orders cannot be the opinion of anyone who

has read the annals of the Church. Did not your country, the United States, derive the beginnings both of faith and of culture from the children of these religious families? to one of whom but very lately, a thing greatly to your praise, you have decreed that a statue be publicly erected. And even at the present time wherever the religious families are found, how speedy and yet how fruitful a harvest of good works do they not bring forth! How very many leave home and seek strange lands to impart the truth of the gospel and to widen the bounds of civilization; and this they do with the greatest cheerfulness amid manifold dangers! Out of their number not less, indeed, than from the rest of the clergy, the Christian world finds the preachers of God's word, the directors of conscience, the teachers of youth and the Church itself the examples of all sanctity.

Nor should any difference of praise be made between those who follow the active state of life and those others who, charmed with solitude, give themselves to prayer and bodily mortification. And how much, indeed, of good report these have merited, and do merit, is known surely to all who do not forget that the "continual prayer of the just man" avails to placate and to bring down the blessings of heaven when to such prayers bodily mortification is added.

But if there be those who prefer to form one body without the obligation of the vows let them pursue such a course. It is not new in the Church, nor in any wise censurable. Let them be careful, however, not to set forth such a state above that of religious orders. But rather, since mankind are more disposed at the present time to indulge themselves in pleasures, let those be held in greater esteem "who having left all things have followed Christ."

Finally, not to delay too long, it is stated that the way and method hitherto in use among Catholics for bringing back those who have fallen away from the Church should be left aside and another one chosen, in which matter it will suffice to note that it is not the part of prudence to neglect that which antiquity in its long experience has approved and which is also taught by apostolic authority. The scriptures teach us that it is the duty of all to be solicitous for the salvation of one's neighbor, according to the power and position of each. The faithful do this by religiously discharging the duties of their state of life, by the uprightness of their conduct, by their works of Christian charity and by earnest and continuous prayer to God. On the other hand, those who belong to the clergy should do this by an enlightened fulfillment of their preaching ministry, by the pomp and splendor of ceremonies especially by setting forth that sound form of doctrine which Saint Paul inculcated upon Titus and Timothy. But if, among the different ways of preaching the

word of God that one sometimes seems to be preferable, which is directed to non-Catholics, not in churches, but in some suitable place, in such wise that controversy is not sought, but friendly conference, such a method is certainly without fault. But let those who undertake such ministry be set apart by the authority of the bishops and let them be men whose science and virtue has been previously ascertained. For we think that there are many in your country who are separated from Catholic truth more by ignorance than by ill-will, who might perchance more easily be drawn to the one fold of Christ if this truth be set forth to them in a friendly and familiar way.

From the foregoing it is manifest, beloved son, that we are not able to give approval to those views which, in their collective sense, are called by some "Americanism." But if by this name are to be understood certain endowments of mind which belong to the American people, just as other characteristics belong to various other nations, and if, moreover, by it is designated your political condition and the laws and customs by which you are governed, there is no reason to take exception to the name. But if this is to be so understood that the doctrines which have been adverted to above are not only indicated, but exalted, there can be no manner of doubt that our venerable brethren, the bishops of America, would be the first to repudiate and condemn it as being most injurious to themselves and to their country. For it would give rise to the suspicion that there are among you some who conceive and would have the Church in America to be different from what it is in the rest of the world.

But the true church is one, as by unity of doctrine, so by unity of government, and she is catholic also. Since God has placed the centre and foundation of unity in the chair of Blessed Peter, she is rightly called the Roman Church, for "where Peter is, there is the church." Wherefore, if anybody wishes to be considered a real Catholic, he ought to be able to say from his heart the self-same words which Jerome addressed to Pope Damasus: "I, acknowledging no other leader than Christ, am bound in fellowship with Your Holiness; that is, with the chair of Peter. I know that the church was built upon him as its rock, and that whosoever gathereth not with you, scattereth."

We having thought it fitting, beloved son, in view of your high office, that this letter should be addressed specially to you. It will also be our care to see that copies are sent to the bishops of the United States, testifying again that love by which we embrace your whole country, a country which in past times has done so much for the cause of religion, and which will by the Divine assist-

ance continue to do still greater things. To you, and to all the faithful of America, we grant most lovingly, as a pledge of Divine assistance, our apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, the 22d day of January, 1899, and the thirty-first of our pontificate.

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LEO XIII.

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## Book Reviews.

**LEHRBUCH DER PHILOSOPHIE AUF ARISTOKLISCHE-SCHOLASTISCHE GRUNDLAGE.** Von *Alfons Lehman*, S. J. I. Band. Herder, Freiburg (St. Louis, Mo.), 1899; pp. xv., 444; pr. \$1.90.

Scholastic philosophy feels itself more at ease in German than in English. This is one reason, though there are other reasons and deeper, why the literature grows apace in the former soil but remains comparatively unadvancing in the latter. Another handbook has just been added to those of Stöckl, Hagemann, Gutberlet, Grimmich, Braig and the rest. Father Lehman has the wants of two classes of readers in view. First, students in college and university wherein Catholic philosophy is taught through the German medium. Second, the general reader who needs and will take guidance through the labyrinth of philosophical opinions and systems. Both classes will find the book well adapted to their purpose. The ground covered in the present volume embraces Dialectics, Critics and Ontology. The matter and method correspond to what is found in the average Latin manual of Catholic philosophy. Another volume to contain the three departments of Special Metaphysics is promised for the end of this year. A feature of the mechanism that will specially commend the book is the list of theses covering Critics and Ontology. The pithy comprehensive propositions, strung in a consecutive chain, put the student at once in sight of the cardinal doctrines and general development of the whole subject.

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**ORGANIC EVOLUTION CROSS-EXAMINED; or, Some Suggestions on the Great Secret of Biology.** By the *Duke of Argyll, K. G.*, etc. London: John Murray, 1898; pp. vi. 201.

Of writers who have contributed most to generalize and at the same time popularize the evolutionary hypothesis no one ranks so high as Mr. Herbert Spencer. Taking the old, universally recognized fact of development and lending it the semblance of the novelty that goes with a new—or at least newly applied—appella-



tive, *Evolution*, he has carried the idea, into which the fact of *development* has been made to pass, into every department of phenomena. Under the searching light of an evolutionary conception he has seen the homogeneous mass of the original "fiery cloud" slowly unfold through an ever increasing complexity into heterogeneous combinations—nuclei and revolving masses—until the planetary and the stellar world stood out in the spatial universe. By means of the same luminous idea he has watched the disintegration and redistribution of the inanimate molecules into the simplest forms of life, and thence onwards through the ascending scale of plant and animal organisms into the marvellously complex structure—*homo sapiens*—and thence still forwards and upwards throughout all the spheres of man's intellectual, moral, religious, social and industrial activity. One need not be a disciple of Mr. Spencer to appreciate the indefatigable research, unsurpassed industry, far reaching mastery of facts, unparalleled skill and ingenuity in organization of material that were needed to rear so colossal a structure as the *Synthetic Philosophy*. That there are flaws here and there in the immense edifice might have been taken for granted, and it has been no wonderful feat in the critics to have discovered and pointed them out. But what if the whole fabric rests on a theory that a deeper insight shall show to be but a bed of sand and crumbling rock which is steadily being loosened and carried away under the elemental action of scientific research and philosophical criticism? What if the majestic castle that lifts itself with such fair proportions on the intellectual heights be found on closer approach to be after all but the airy fabric of a dream, a thing of no substantial consistency, a creation of cloud and sunlight and fancy?

What if the majestic castle that lifts itself with such fair proportions on the intellectual heights be found on closer approach to be after all but the airy fabric of a dream, a thing of no substantial consistency, a creation of cloud and sunlight and fancy?

Warnings as to the weakness of the foundation and the general instability of the *Synthetic Philosophy* have not been lacking of late years in the book and review worlds. Of those who have given utterance to such warnings few, if any, deserve a more attentive hearing than the Duke of Argyll. To a familiarity with scientific data hardly if at all inferior to that of Mr. Spencer, he unites an equal power of philosophical analysis and insight, and if anything a superior mastery of expression. Some two years ago he contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* a critique of Mr. Spencer's evolutionary theory. The three papers in which the criticism was contained are now given a more enduring, and it may be added,

a most readable and attractive shape in the present volume. The work is not, of course, intended as anything like an exhaustive study of the Spencerian philosophy. It is simply an examination of some of Mr. Spencer's principal arguments and general methods of argumentation for organic evolution. This is not the place to follow the critic's strictures. Students interested in the subject will find the work well worth reading. Though it does not contain a great deal that is not to be found in the cognate literature, the author's clear, happy style lends a special force and interest to his polemic. Some remarks on Mr. Spencer's system in general are deserving of quotation: "Mr. Spencer has vehemently denied that his philosophy is materialistic. But he has denied it on the ground that, as between Materialism and Spiritualism, his system is neither the one nor the other. He says expressly of his own reasonings that 'their implications are no more materialistic than they are spiritualistic, and no more spiritualistic than they are materialistic. Any argument which is apparently furnished to either hypothesis is neutralized by as good an argument furnished to the other.' This may be true of the results in his own very subtle mind, but it is certainly not true of the effect of his presentations on the minds of others. Nor is it true in the natural and only legitimate interpretation of a thousand passages" (p. 194).

As an illustration of (at least) implied materialism the author cites and comments on Mr. Spencer's assertion that "what exists in consciousness in the form of feeling is transformable into an equivalent of mechanical motion." (Ib.)

His Grace then concludes: "But even if it were true that Mr. Spencer's writings are as neutral as he asserts them to be, nothing in favour of their reasonings would be gained. A philosophy which is avowedly indifferent on the most fundamental of all questions respecting the interpretation of the Universe, cannot properly be said to be a philosophy at all, still less can it claim to be pre-eminently 'synthetic.' It may have made some—and even large—contributions to philosophy, but the contributions are very far indeed from having been harmonized into any consistent system. On the contrary, very often any close analysis of its language and of its highly artificial phraseology will be found to break it up into incoherent fragments. Such at least has been my experience; and I am glad to think that in a line of interpretation which leads up to no conclusion, and to no verdict, on the one question of deepest interest in science and philosophy—namely, whether the Physical Forces are the masters or the servants of that House in which we live—no man is ever likely to succeed where Mr. Herbert Spencer has broken down" (p. 200).

F. P. S.

**SOCIALPOLITIK UND MORAL.** Eine Darstellung ihres Verhältnisses. Von Dr. Franz Walter. Herder, Freiburg (St. Louis, Mo.), 1899; pp. xv 347; pr. \$1.30.

Four years ago the author of this work published an essay—crowned by the Munich University—on Property according to the teaching of St. Thomas and Socialism. The burden of the argumentation therein lay upon the ethical bases of property-right. In the present work those bases are proved to be the deepest support of the entire economical order. The German compound *Socialpolitik* is by no means an unequivocal term. There is practically no undisputed definition to be found; each writer on the general subject formulating his meaning from his individual viewpoint. Indeed, as Sombart, complains, the vogue is nowadays to write whole books on *Socialpolitik* without furnishing a clear conception of the term's supposition. Dr. Walter, after going over a number of the proposed definitions, adopts as his own—"the content of governmental measures (Innbegriff der staatlichen Masznahmen) that concern the organization of economical life" within the body politic. The formula is not dazzlingly luminous. Somewhat recast it may mean the aggregate of governmental functions relating to the promotion of industry. Thus taken it would stand for things objective. Subjectively it would imply the science or systematized truths expressing the said functions. The trend throughout modern scientific classification is to divorce more and more the unity;" the successsion of the intruding bird who by force has settled sciences that centre in man from ethics, and ethics is to be studied without any theological "implications"—just as psychology has come to be constructed "without a soul." One of the most noteworthy advocates of the divulsion of *Social-politics*, in the sense above given, indeed of all economics, from ethical considerations is Sombart, whose recent work *Die Ideale der Socialpolitik* is a brief for such a divorce. The primary plea is based on the "Ideals" of the two orders—the ethical and the economical. Ethics should aim at right conduct and concern the interior man. Economics should aim at production of wealth and concern the business—the exterior—man. Patently there is and must be a *logical distinction* between the two orders and the two sciences, but a *real separation* implies at once a false psychology—the sundering of the unity of man's personality—and a false, or rather no, theology, the swerving aside of industrial activity to other ends than that to which the whole finite order is essentially related, i. e., to God.

Dr. Walter has selected Sombart's work for criticism, but his purpose is mainly positive, i. e., to demonstrate the necessarily ethical foundations of Economics, Sociology and the Science of Government. The work is written in a style that adapts it to the

general reader but it will be found especially helpful to the serious student both of ethics and of the social sciences, by reason of its abundant references to the modern literature—particularly German—pertinent to the two departments of moral science. F. P. S.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE MORALIS GENERALIS. Auctore G. Bernardo Tepe, S. J. Vol. I., pp. 361. Vol. II., pp. 412. Parisus: P. Lethielleux, Via "Cassete," 10, 1899.

Students of theology will be interested in finding that Fr. Tepe has added to his Institutes of Dogmatics the present work on General Moral Theology. In the voluminous *Carsus* built by the great Catholic divines of a century and more ago on the basis of the mediaeval *Summae*, Dogmatics and Morals are generally united. The subsequent separation of the two branches has had its advantages, but the coordination of truths into a scientific system and the development of a full theological habit are best subserved by their union, especially when the two departments are combined by a hand having the mastery of both such as is controlled by the writer of these Institutes. Moral subjects do not yield themselves so readily as dogmatic to rigidly scientific moulding, but in the present work they are brought into a shape as clear cut and as methodically arranged as are their sister truths in the author's preceding work on Dogma. The formulation of the leading thoughts and their unbroken sequence from first to last are almost mathematical. If theology can be made easy, the author has here given an object lesson of the process. The work can be called "easy," however, only to such as bring to its reading a training in its groundwork—scholastic philosophy. The student thus trained will find it most satisfactory. The matter covered in the first volume embraces "human acts" and laws; in the second, sin, the virtues, the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and in an appendix, "the spiritual life." The work may be called the theological philosophy of the moral life, and as such is the crown of the preceding work—the theological philosophy of revealed truth. F. P. S.

1. *ARS LIBERALIS SEN RHETORICA POLITICO-SACRA EX PROBATIONIBUS AUCTORIBUS COMPENDIOSE COLLECTA.*

2. *THEOLOGIAE NATURALIS INSTITUTIONES IN COMPENDIUM REDACTAE.* pp. 50.

3. *TRACTATUS DE DEO TRINO PERBREVE COMPENDIUM.* pp. 27.

4. *COMPENDIO DEI PRIMA IV, TRATTATI DELLA THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA.* Vol. II., pp. 186. Vol. III., IV., pp. 129.

*Omnes ad Bern. Skulik, D. D. Senis (Milwaukee, Wis.), 1897-98.*

The author of these theological opuscula, a priest in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is president of the Society *Sedes Sapientiae*, an organi-

zation for the spread of Catholic truth, chiefly by the medium of sound literature, amongst those outside the Church. Besides the good work he is accomplishing through this Society in both hemispheres, he is striving to be helpful as well to the laity by his numerous minor publications in Polish, Italian and German, and to Seminarians preparing for the priesthood by his various theological pamphlets. Four such opuscula are here presented. The first, a compendium of Rhetoric, will be of service in the closing year of the Latin course in preparatory Seminaries and in colleges in which Rhetoric can be studied through a Latin medium. In the seminary it might also be useful as a special preparation for the study of Logic, a number of whose processes it briefly yet clearly explains, and thus initiates the young mind into operations introductory to philosophy.

The second opusculum is a very compact digest of Theodicy. The author has managed to compress in a very small bulk all the leading truths of this department of metaphysics without mutilating or blurring them in the least. The same is true of the third brochure on the mystery of the Bl. Trinity. Of course the value of these compendia will be best appreciated by students who have made some progress in the study of the corresponding subjects in larger works. To them they will serve as aids in reviewing. Readers, whether lay or clerical, who are versed in Italian, will find in the last two opuscula a clear, methodical and suggestive summary of the opening tracts of Dogma. The treatise on the True Religion, the first of the Italian series, was not sent us. It can doubtless be obtained with the others from the author.

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BIOGRAPHICAL CYCLOPEDIA OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1784-1898. By Francis X. Reuss. 8vo, pp. 129. Milwaukee: Wiltzius & Co.

This is an excellent book of reference. It contains the names, with the dates of birth, ordination, appointment, and consecration of all the Bishops, Abbots, and Monsignori, who have lived in this country since 1784. In it one can find answers to those questions which are constantly arising, and which seem simple enough until we need the information. It might be possible to get it from different sources, but the difficulties in the way are greater and more numerous than one would imagine. The writer of this notice recently tried to get information concerning an American Bishop, and he found three historical works disagreeing as to the proper spelling of his name.

A work of this kind requires patience and perseverance: these two qualifications are possessed by Mr. Reuss. He tells us that he spent all his leisure time for eight years in preparing it, and that

he wrote over four thousand letters to different parts of the world. In each instance he quotes his authority, and his book is a valuable contribution to what may be called the "fundamenta" of history.

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**LEGAL FORMULARY**; or, a collection of Forms to be used in the exercise of Voluntary and Contentious Jurisdiction. To which is added an Epitome of the Laws, Decisions and Instructions pertaining thereto. By the Rev. Peter A. Baart, A. M., S. T. L. 12mo, pp. 500. New York: Pustet & Co.

When books like this one come from the press, our first thought is one of surprise that they have not appeared sooner. The Church has grown so rapidly in this country, and is so fast assuming a permanent canonical form that the necessity for transacting the business of the organization in strictly legal form is becoming more urgent each day. This necessity has long existed, and as it is practically impossible for busy men engaged in the active work of the ministry to prepare the proper forms for transacting their ecclesiastical business quickly and correctly, and equally impossible for them to search through foreign works for the information that they require, they must hail with delight Father Baart's book. It gives to us all necessary forms for the conduct of diocesan affairs in so far as they pertain to bishops and priests, and to their official relations. It gives them to us in the language of the country and the language of the Church. In preparing the work the Reverend Author has searched the best authorities, and the results of his labors are founded on them and on the general laws of the Church, especially are they all adapted to the needs of this country.

Father Baart is particularly well fitted for work of this kind, both by learning and by experience. His "Formulary" will expedite business, prevent serious mistakes, and in some instances validate acts that would be invalid because of irregularity of form.

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**EXPOSITION OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE**; by a Seminary Professor. Intermediate Course. Part II.—Moral. Authorized English version. John Joseph McVey, Philadelphia, Pa., 1899. Price, \$2.25.

This "course of Religious Instruction" aims at imparting a deeper knowledge of Christianity, in its triple aspect of Dogma, Morals and Worship. Clearness, exactness and method are the author's three watchwords, and to secure these ends he employs the catechetical method in the body of each chapter, and adds at the close of the chapter a well digested summary and a clear-cut synopsis (in diagram).

The first eleven chapters are devoted to the General Principles and is already in its second edition. The present volume, *Morals*, is of 617 well-filled pages, clearly printed and elegantly, as well as substantially, bound.

The first eleven chapters are devoted to the General Principals

of Morality, and to the Nature of Virtue and Sin. Then follow thirteen chapters on the Commandments of God and of the Church. The closing section considers, in three well-divided chapters, the Evangelical Counsels and Beatitudes.

The whole work is conceived on broad lines. The mode of treatment aids the pupil by its catechetical form and offers great help to the catechist and advance student by the Summaries and Synopes. It is also a convenient and clear reference book that should have a place in the "religious library" of the Catholic home. There is a slight lack of editing in the chapter on Superstition; physiognomy, phrenology and chiromancy are mentioned in the same category of divination as sorcery and necromancy. The example moreover of *mental restriction* given in the Article on Equivocation is to our thinking an unhappy one. Correction in future editions of oversights of this kind will place the work in the front rank of religious doctrinal literature. H. T. D.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CATECHISM OF RODEZ. Explained in form of sermons. By the *Abbe Lucke*. Translated and adapted to the wants of the American Public by Rev. John Theim, of the Diocese of Cleveland. 8vo, pp. 528. St. Louis: B. Herder & Co.
- CHRISTIANITY AND AGNOSTICISM. By the *Abbe Louis Picard*. Authorized translation. Revised by the Rev. J. G. Macleod, S. J. 8vo, pp. 633. London: Sands & Co. Received from Benziger Brothers, New York.
- THE VENERABLE JULIE BILLIART, Servant of God, Foundress and First Superior General of the Institute of Sisters of Notre Dame. By a member of the same Congregation. Edited by Father Clare, S. J. 8vo, pp. 403. London: Art and Book Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE SCIENCE OF SPIRITUAL LIFE ACCORDING TO THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES. By *Father Clare, S. J.* New and enlarged edition. 12mo, pp. 668. London: Art and Book Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- HARD SAYINGS. A Selection of Meditations and Studies. By *George Tyrrell, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 469. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.
- LIFE OF ST. EDMUND OF ABINGDON, Archbishop of Canterbury. By *Frances de Paravicini*, author of the Early History of Balliol College. 12mo, pp. 290. London, Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- HISTORIC NUNS. By *Bessie R. Belloc*. 12mo, pp. 223. London: Duckworth & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE FOUR GOSPELS, a New Translation from the Greek Text direct, with reference to the Vulgate, and to the ancient Syriac Version. By *Very Rev. Francis Aloysius Spencer, O. P.* Preface by *His Eminence James, Cardinal Gibbons*. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: Wm. H. Young & Co.
- THE SACRED HEART, or Incidents showing how those who honor the Sacred Heart of Jesus are assisted and helped by its power and love; together with lives of B. Margaret Mary, and Venerable P. De La Colombiere. Selected from the German of Rev. Joseph A. Keller, D. D. 12mo, pp. 255. London: R. & T. Washbourne. New York: Benziger Brothers.
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## POPE FORMOSUS AND REORDINATION.

THE student of Church history is often in despair of arriving at any definite conclusion in regard to matters which are vouched for as facts by some of the Church historians. To those who have spent some little time in reading the works or the criticisms of such writers as Labbe, Baronius, Natalis Alexander and Morinus, it is sufficient only to mention these names in order to recall the very opposite conclusion to which one is sometimes driven, the indecision of mind which seems to be the outcome of study a little more profound than usual, the fruitless efforts to put together a consistent account even of some of the more important episodes in the Church's history. If in this state of mind the student is willing to be sent to the original authorities from whom these writers have obtained their material, he may at first be tempted to think that now at last he will discover what are the facts, now he will be able to draw his own inferences. But he will probably find to his dismay that he is well-nigh incapable of following the train of thought of his author; the sense eludes his mental grasp; the conclusions of his premises are in many cases so obviously contradictory that he falls back upon any summary at hand, and is disposed to take as a sufficient guide what before seemed wholly inadequate. But throughout the course of his reading he has at least gained some good; he may remember what the original authorities do not say, or what they cannot consistently say. Indeed, this is a great good; for is it not a fact of almost daily occurrence in controversy that Fathers and Councils and

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standard Catholic writers are quoted to confirm what they really contradict.

It is with the view of examining the evidence in the matter of Formosus that this sketch is written; it is to discover what is really told us about him in the Councils and the pages of those writers who were contemporary with him, or who were the earliest compilers of the history of his time. The subject is interesting, for it is closely allied with the teaching of the Church on the validity of ordinations; the manner of its treatment by various writers is also interesting on account of the opposite conclusions which have been drawn.

But it might seem unnecessary to discuss the question, since we can always appeal to the unerring guidance of the Church. Still, as has been done in so many other cases where the reasons for the Church's infallibility are either not understood or not accepted, so in this present case our plain course must be to test conclusions by the force of the evidence of history and language. Needless to say, the case of Pope Formosus, which has presented difficulties where no difficulty ought to arise, if only the true doctrine of infallibility were rightly understood, is one of many pressed into the service of controversy and supposed to disprove the Church's divine mission.

Briefly his career was as follows: He was Bishop of Porto; he was degraded in 876 by Pope John VIII.; he was absolved by Pope Marinus; he was later acclaimed Pope by the Roman people; after his death his body was dragged from the tomb, mutilated and thrown into the Tiber. His memory was, in turn, execrated and held in veneration. His decisions are said to have been reversed by Popes Stephen VI. and Sergius III., and by Councils under these Popes. Priests who were ordained by Formosus are said to have been reordained. On this story has been based a denial of infallibility, of purity of doctrine, of consistency in teaching, in short, of everything that makes the Church fit to direct the consciences of her subjects. We shall see if the conclusion is wholly justified by the premises, and if the premises themselves are true.

Now it has been stated by writers of every shade of belief that the Popes of the ninth and tenth centuries freely degraded and as freely reconsecrated—taking these terms as applying to validity and not to jurisdiction only—the nominees of their predecessors. Therefore, it is concluded, such Popes did not recognize the validity of those ordinations which they condemned; or, what is much worse, if they did consider such ordinations valid, then Popes and Councils have been guilty of grave error. Without com-

bating the distorted view of infallibility held by the Church's adversaries,—although an elementary knowledge of the Catholic doctrine should prevent a man from confounding infallibility with impeccability, the impossibility of erring under certain determined circumstances with the impossibility of sinning,—it will be sufficient for our present purpose to examine all the evidence we can get on the one question of Pope Formosus, in order to see if there was any error at all, not indeed in matters of faith or morals, but in matters of discipline. That there could be no error in matters of faith or morals—in the Catholic understanding of the term—must be here taken for granted since the Church's freedom from error is abundantly demonstrated, and since the point under discussion is altogether outside the scope of infallibility.

"Janus," the author of "The Pope and the Council," may put the objection in its popular form.

"1. During the devastations of Goths and Lombards, there was a collapse of all learning and theology, which distorted the dogmatic tradition. Since the eighth century the ordinations of certain Popes began to be annulled, and bishops and priests ordained them were compelled to be reordained. Constantine II. (769) is a case in point. He obtained the primacy by force of arms. He was deposed and all his ordinations were pronounced invalid."

"2. The strongest case is that of Formosus, whose ordinations were rejected. Popes and Synods decided in glaring contradiction to one another on the question of the validity of the ordinations, and in Rome all sure knowledge on the doctrine was lost.

"3. Since the eighth century ordinations which were valid according to immutable laws had been declared null at Rome.

"4. The increase of simony had given occasion to Popes to annul a number of ordinations at a Roman Synod. This was based on the double error that simony was heresy and that heresy made the ordination invalid."

In answer to these objections Hergenrother says that "reordinations prove nothing against infallibility, because no kind of dogmatic decisions is involved therein, and we do not understand the doctrine as Janus interprets it. The question was for a long time undecided, and many harsh expressions are to be construed only in the sense of illicitness, not of invalidity."

To confirm this last statement one might refer to passages where Popes seem to insist upon the absolute nullity of orders given by heretics. But it would at the same time be necessary to prove that their condemnation extended beyond the mere licitness of such ordinations and the canonical recognition of them as to rank and

exercise, before we could partially agree with Janus. Furthermore, as a reconciliatory rite existed for the purpose of reinstallation into ecclesiastical dignities which had been uncanonically obtained, we must understand this reinstallation in the sense of a bestowal of jurisdiction or a recognition of such orders "in foro Ecclesiæ."

But to return to the case of Formosus. His early history and the manner of his accession to the papacy must be briefly touched upon, because his adversaries, in rejecting his ordinations, appeal to his uncanonical election, and to his vow to refrain from offering himself as a candidate. In the year 873 he was sent as legate by Pope John VIII. into Germany and France; a sufficient testimony to his worth. In 876 a Synod under the same Pope in the basilica S. Dei Genitricis (ad martyres) declared Formosus degraded, excommunicated, anathematised, unless he repented of and amended his course of action. The reason of this, it is asserted, was that having been sent into Bulgaria by Nicolas I. (858-867) he had imposed on King Michael an oath to decline to accept any other bishop from the Holy See; that, furthermore, desirous of getting the papacy, he had won over many adherents by devious methods; that he had deserted his parish without leave, and had engaged in conspiracies against the Emperor Charles. On the 21st of April, in the same year, the French and Germans were apprised of this decision and advised to refrain from intercourse with Formosus. In June another Synod, consisting of twenty-nine bishops, was assembled in the Church of St. Peter. In this Synod Formosus and his partisans were condemned to perpetual excommunication, because they had refused to perform their penance or to show themselves contrite. On the 14th of September a Synod at Troyes confirmed the judgment already passed in the previous Roman Synod, and Formosus, it is said, took an oath never to return to Rome to plead his cause nor in any way to try to regain the position due to his sacred orders. This is the oath to which his adversaries appeal; but it must be observed in passing, that of the nature of this oath or of its occasion our knowledge is at least very doubtful, since it is not certain that any Synod whatsoever exacted it. The Synod which is quoted, or rather the session of the Synod, was not known to have been held until Richter, in 1843, discovered it in the codex of Mersbourg. Jaffé adds that the acts of this session are open to serious doubt. Hefele confirms this by pointing out that the signatures appended to it do not agree with the signatures affixed to the Synod of Troyes; in fact some of them are manifest errors. To quote only a few instances: the signature of Bennon appears instead of that of Otram as Archbishop of

Vienna; that of Heldebold instead of Ingelwins for Paris; that of Bodo instead of Ottulf for Troyes; that of Isaac instead of Anselm for Limoges, and about ten other mistakes in a short list of thirty-five. But what is far more damaging is that some bishops appeared to have signed as bishops who were either raised to their sees some time after the Synod took place or who were actually dead some time before. Thus Erpuin, who died in 871; Alto, in 870, are cited for a Synod in 878. This would seem to show that both the fact and the occasion of the oath are doubtful. Later writers assert that the oath was extorted from Formosus; however this may be, Marinus I. (882-884) released Formosus from whatever oath he had taken, as Auxilius and others tell us: "Out of compassion it was decreed that Formosus should be freed from the oath." Formosus now resumed his episcopal dignity, and became famous for sanctity and influence; so much so that he was the actual consecrator of Pope Stephen V. (885-891), and as his influence increased he was considered worthy of being himself acclaimed as Pope by the majority of the Roman clergy and people, and recognized as such by the most remote nations. Luitprandus asserts that the election was the result of a noisy faction; others condemn Formosus for cupidity and ambition and violence; Auxilius denies this, whilst the "*Insectiva in Romam*" tells us: "Though he (Formosus) resisted thy invitation, O Rome, and though he clung to his altar, Thou didst drag him from it perforce, and with hymns of joy didst enthrone him on the highest of all thrones, the Apostolic seat, showing obeisance to him, blessing whomsoever he blessed and cursing whomsoever he cursed." Luitprandus, however, gives quite another version, for he says that Sergius was to be the new Pope, and that it was he who was dragged from his altar and was expelled from the city. Auxilius seems to be the better authority, for reasons which will appear.

With the actual reign of Formosus (891-896) we have at present nothing to do, nor with the reign of his successor, who survived his election a few weeks only. It is well ascertained that the public and private life of Formosus as Pope was as blameless as his later episcopal life; all except his political rivals agree in extolling his sanctity which, it is said, was confirmed by God himself, who did not disdain to show His pleasure in His servant by working miracles. Flodardus, Pseudo-Luitprandus and Sigebertus are also loud in their praises of Formosus.

But difficulties now arise. We are confronted with a very unfortunate episode in history, if indeed all that has been asserted must be taken without reserve. Successive Popes—Stephen VI,

John IX, Sergius III, undo all that their predecessors had decreed as inviolable. Successive Synods contradicted one another. Acts of Synods were burned; Popes were condemned by Popes; bishops were degraded; the papal throne was as insecure and the lives of its occupants as much in jeopardy as was the case in the most violent periods of secular history. The contention of our adversaries, whether they are of the number of those who do not understand the real question at issue, or of those who confound the real question with one of dogma, is that Popes must surely have been wrong in condemning valid ordinations. But we ask, was all this action due to ignorance of the Church's teaching, or was it due to a want of perception of the difference between licitness and validity? Was the teaching of the Church as explicit then as it is now? But in order to form some idea of the state of the Church, and to see how difficult it is to assent to the conclusions of various writers, it will be well to examine such words of the Popes and Synods and other authorities as bear on the subject.

Pope Stephen VI (896-897) held a Synod at Rome in January, 897, before which the corpse of Formosus, dragged from its tomb, was set up, decked out in episcopal robes, and was put on its trial, a mock one to be sure, for neither the corpse nor its advocates—who remained discreetly dumb—vouchsafed any reply to the leading questions proposed. It was condemned and excommunicated: three of its fingers were cut off and it was thrown into the Tiber. The ordinations, it is said, which Formosus had performed were declared null and void. We have three authorities for these facts. I say three, because I am dealing chiefly with the reordination question, and authorities who are quoted are all reducible to the three, whose words, as we shall see, leave scope for a variety of interpretations. These three are, in order of time and importance:

1. The acts of a Council held under Pope John IX in 898.
2. The writings of Auxilius.
3. The *Antapodosis*, a history of the lives of emperors and kings by Luitprandus.

It might seem ungracious to weaken the force of the testimony of one of these three. However, it is very necessary to premise that where Luitprandus varies from the other two the presumption is not in his favour. Later historians are convinced of this; earlier writers, as Sigebertus, Baronius and Natalis Alexander are so often indebted to this author that they must be examined with care. An author like Dean Milman finds in Luitprandus the material for a tragical presentment of facts; and though he acquaints us with the source of his statements, it is not advisable to attach first rate

importance to everything that Luitprandus says. In confirmation of this attitude towards the author of the *Antapodosis* I may state that Hefele accuses him of serious inaccuracy and of a pronounced tendency to misrepresentation, for Damberger and Duret have proved such to be the case. However, taking Luitprandus as he stands, we shall find that the current conclusions based upon his words have to be modified.

He began his work in 958, about sixty years after the death of Formosus. He says that some time after Formosus had held the papacy he was grievously afflicted by the Romans, and in consequence invited Arnulfus of Germany to Rome, who in revenge for insults offered to the Pope, ordered many of the Romans to be beheaded. Whether Arnulfus was freely admitted into the city or had to lay siege to it is not clear. The party of the Roman people who had tried to elect the deacon Sergius in opposition to Formosus had remained at enmity with the reigning pontiff. Luitprandus then relates the story of the mock tribunal, and concludes, "*cunctosque quos ipse (Formosus) ordinaverat, gradu proprio depositos iterum ordinavit.*" Now it is not easy to determine the exact meaning of the phrase of Luitprandus, for the words, "reduced to their proper rank," or, "degraded from their rank," may be variously interpreted. That he here expresses the fact of real reordination in the strictest sense is not evident. He himself, however, would seem to have considered the orders given by Formosus as strictly valid, and this, observe, in the very heat of the controversy during the time when "all sure knowledge was lost in Rome." That he thought any degradation to be worthy of blame must be clear from his subsequent remarks: "How wicked this action was, you may gather from the fact that those who had received Apostolic benediction from the traitor Judas were not deprived (degraded) even after the betrayal and the suicide, unless indeed their own vicious actions contaminated them; because such benediction, bestowed by Christ's ministers, is not given by the visible but by the invisible priest." Again, at the end of his work on Otho I, Emperor, he tells us that Pope Benedict V, in presence of a Synod held by Leo VIII and Otho, was deprived of his pontifical and priestly rank, but allowed to retain in exile the dignity of his diaconate. Whether the fact be true or not,—for Severinus Binius first of all says that this work is wrongly ascribed to Luitprandus; secondly, that its author is hostile to Benedict; thirdly, that the alleged constitution of this Synod is a fiction,—it remains clear that the author, Luitprandus let it be supposed, could clearly and sharply distinguish between orders in themselves and in their functions. But

whatever may be thought of this pseudo-Luitprandus, the words of the genuine Luitprandus cited above are all important; 'gradu proprio depositos,' a degradation of some kind or other may very well regard the loss of some extrinsic dignity or jurisdiction, for if the bishop or priest had been validly but illicitly ordained and was, therefore, exercising illicit jurisdiction, he might very well be said to be unfrocked or degraded, and the bestowal of licit jurisdiction, especially if accompanied by any rite, might be called, though not strictly, a reordination. Furthermore, in recognizing a benediction given by Judas, and branding as a wicked act any degradation of those previously ordained—unless it was due to their personal demerits—Luitprandus may be considered to mean that Formosus could and did ordain, and that to deprive the priests ordained by him of their title to priestly rank or character is in the highest degree worthy of censure. At the same time, however, his words literally mean that Pope Stephen degraded the Formosan priests, though that such an action necessarily implies a denial of their orders is not immediately evident. Stephen may have intended to deprive these priests of jurisdiction only in order that he himself might sanction their functions.

But even if it be admitted that the action was directed against the validity of orders, it must be manifest that Stephen and his partisans were beside themselves, and if they really did the worst that can be supposed, acted very hastily. It would assuredly be absurd to regard this action of a political enemy as involving any breach in continuity of doctrine or as polluting in any sense the pure stream of tradition. Are we not justified in regarding Stephen as either ignorant of the question at issue or misled by his court? It is not necessary to interpret his deed in its worst possible light.

Before weighing the evidence of our second authority it may be well to glance at the short reign of Theodore in so far as it bears upon the case. In a synod held in 897 it was stated that Pope Theodore restored those priests and bishops, "quos Stephanus secum in ecclesia vestiri prohibuit," the literal meaning of which is, "whom Stephen forbade to officiate or to be clothed, or to wear the sacred vestments along with himself." These are the words reported to us by Auxilius, the champion of the Formosan cause, and therefore we may presume that they are not weakened in their purport in passing through his hands. Now there is not the remotest hint here of Stephen's implying the invalidity of the ordinations which he refused to recognize. As far as words go it may have been a wholly disciplinary measure; such words may, with every propriety of language, be used for a deprivation of juris-

diction. Furthermore, as this Pope Theodore and John, his successor, not only recognized Formosan ordinations but published to the world their esteem of Formosus—for Theodore conveyed the body of Formosus in state to the basilica of St. Peter's and gave it a decent sepulchre, whilst John publicly ratified in a synod those ordinations which Stephen condemned—it is gratuitous to say that all sure knowledge on the matter of orders had departed from Rome. Subsequently, it is true, Sergius III condemned Formosus, but on what grounds it is not easy to discover. In the absence of any more certain evidence than the violent language of compilers it is rash to draw any conclusion. But here again, as in the case of Stephen, the action of Sergius is the action of an inveterate rival and is therefore robbed of any force in establishing a thesis against the Church. Sergius may readily be thought to have been not a whit behind Stephen, who certainly forced several bishops to fix their signatures to his condemnatory synod. This fact is explicitly stated in the capitula of a synod under John IX, for we read that several bishops confessed to having been present at Stephen's synod and to having signed under pressure (*coacte*.) If such a synod were declaring the deliberate and mature judgment of the Church, it is hard to see why any signatures should be extorted.

But to return to our second authority, the Synod under John IX. We wish to find out if the words of this Synod imply that Pope Stephen condemned the ordinations of Formosus as invalid. The first capitulum of John's Synod condemns Stephen's Synod; the words are: "*Synodum tempore piæ recordationis [is this a formula of etiquette?] sexti Stephani papæ celebratam, in quam venerabile corpus Formosi venerandi papæ de sepultura violata per terram tractum est . . . . penitus abdicamus.*" We entirely respect, it says, that Synod which was held under Stephen, of holy memory, and before which the body of Formosus was dragged. This capitulum, it must be observed, does not ascribe the action to Stephen; it does not even imply that he had given orders for the brutal act. The second capitulum extends forgiveness to those who were forced to be present at Stephen's Synod. The third declares that Formosus was translated from Porto to Rome by reason of his virtuous life, but forbids the case to be quoted as a precedent. The fourth restores to their rank and orders all those priests, deacons, subdeacons and others, who having been ordained by Formosus, "*pro quorundam libitu temere defecti sunt*" were rashly degraded at the caprice of some individuals. The words '*defecti sunt*' are all important; they may mean a withdrawal of jurisdiction only. The



fifth capitulum declared that the present Synod adopts the practice of the African Council, which had forbidden reordination, rebaptism and translation. It is noteworthy that after the bare mention of reordination—which is not defined—the rest of the capitulum concerns translation from see to see. Now, when we come to the ninth we have a confirmation of our conclusions based on the first capitulum. It was seen that there the action of exhuming was not ascribed to Stephen; the ninth goes far to exculpate him altogether, for it tells us that the violators of the tomb of Formosus had entered into a conspiracy to seize the treasure and accordingly dragged his body out and cast it into the Tiber.” Not a word about the Synod or how the corpse was brought there! Did Stephen desire to get a hidden treasure? Did he give orders that the body should be thrown into the river? It is hard to say. Have historians perhaps been confounding the action of Stephen—whatever it may have been—with the action of these treasure seekers, and have they imputed to him the guilt of a brutal action of which he was only a passive spectator? The student of this Council will find it hard to draw any conclusion; he will find it impossible to agree with all that is said against Stephen. The main fact certainly stands out clearly enough; the wonder is that if Stephen were guilty of everything that is alleged, the Synod did not more explicitly say so. It would have been a strong argument against him.

We may add to this Synod another held at Ravenna in 898, which confirms what had been decided in the above mentioned Roman Synod; but no additional weight can be given by it to any conclusions. We may observe, however, against “Janus” that this Synod of Ravenna decreed that the Roman Synod should be considered decisive; “perpetualiter stabilita servetur,” it must be held inviolable for ever. This does not favour an absence of sure knowledge in Rome. As a confirmation of the statement of Morinus, that the historians of this period are to be read with caution it is well to call attention to the error of Sigebertus, who, in his chronicle under the year 907, ascribes the action against Formosus to Sergius instead of to Stephen; he was doubtless misled by Luitprandus, who confounds the names though retaining the correct dates. But the story has grown under the touch of the later chronicle, for even the unfortunate corpse is not only dragged out by the Pope’s orders but is beheaded. The indignities become more shocking as time goes on.

Between Sergius III and John IX we have the three short reigns of Benedict IV (900-903), Leo V (903) and Christopher (903-904.) It is necessary to mention these reigns and to examine,

in brief, what is said about Sergius III, to add weight to our contention that affairs were in so unsettled a state as to make it unfair to judge of the Church's persistent teaching in the light of some incidental action of a Pope like Stephen or Sergius. Our conviction will also be strengthened by apparently reliable testimony that Sergius was not so abandoned as he is represented to have been, though in proposing this testimony it is not our present purpose to rehabilitate the character of any Pope, but rather to correct, as far as possible, the hastily formed conclusions of so many writers, who catch at anything and everything that can tend to diminish the Catholic reverence for the papacy. Benedict IV had been massacred, it is said, by the party of Berengarius. Leo V survived his own election by four weeks; he was thrown into prison and was succeeded by the violent Christopher. Six months later he was in his turn cast into prison, where he died. Sergius now seized the chair of Peter, for which he had twice been a candidate, once when Formosus was elected and again at the election of John IX, and had spent seven years in exile. Conflicting accounts have come down to us concerning him, some of them very much to his discredit. But Hefele has shown that some insinuations have no foundation whatever; indeed in this as in many cases where the lives of Popes are in question, the testimony of either side must be carefully weighed. Two examples of favorable testimonies are Flodoardus and the inscription on his tomb. The first states that he had been elected Pope, had been rejected and exiled, but had afterwards returned at the invitation of the Roman people; the second tells us that John IX had ousted Sergius, who after seven years spent in exile, returned to Rome and was invited to be Pope at the urgent request of the people. The concluding words of the epitaph are:

"*Amat pastor agmina cuncta simul,*" the shepherd loves the whole of his flock. This summary review will help us to realize the state of Rome, distracted by political parties, the prize of every powerful emperor, more like its ancient self when the Roman Emperors held it in thralldom than like the centre of peace and unity, which was a feature of its best days and which is a characteristic of its present life.

Our third and last authority is Auxilius. He was ordained by Formosus about 894, and wrote two books in defence of the ordinations of Formosus and one on his cause. The first work is edited by Morinus, who takes a somewhat lenient view of Stephen and Sergius. The theory of ordinations, he says, was in a transition stage, for it was not at all clear then that the rite should not be

repeated. Many of the reasons alleged by Auxilius are beside the point. May not the action of Stephen, he asks, have been the outcome of a too rigorous idea of the Church's discipline and of an excessive zeal for its purity? The controversy, he maintains, does not bear upon faith, but is wholly taken up with the two questions, was the promotion of Formosus canonical, and could a deposed bishop validly ordain? The learned oratorian then proceeds to point out what must be considered as errors of Auxilius. But if he has corrected this author in many particulars and warns us to read him carefully, his own argument on ordinations suffers by the advice, as he bases the whole of his contention on Luitprandus, Sigebertus and Auxilius, whom he generally takes quite literally. We must, therefore, take Auxilius exactly as he is if we quote him in any sense as an authority—that is, of course, after excluding palpable mistakes—and we may not test the accuracy of his words by appealing to any other writer. What precisely we are now seeking is whether from the works of this priest of Formosus, who must surely be considered to have intimately known the facts of his time, we can gather that Pope Stephen regarded Formosan ordinations as absolutely invalid, and whether there was any sure knowledge on the subject of orders during this period. If the testimony of Luitprandus was vague—though it might be quoted, but not with decretorial force for either side, and if the words of John's Synod, though less vague, could with less ease be quoted for the view that Stephen did not regard the validity but the licitness of Formosan ordinations when he condemned them, the third testimony of Auxilius is hostile to the conclusions already drawn. If then we are to take him literally we are driven to say that Stephen must have condemned the Formosan priests to the extent of regarding their ordinations invalid. But after all, this may be regarded as an influence where the weight of evidence varies with the point of view. The opposite inference might be drawn and has been drawn by some. But let us examine the original words, the conclusion notwithstanding. Of course this must always be taken as certainly proved, that the first two testimonies, no less than the third—as we shall see in the investigation—clearly show that there was very definite knowledge on the point amongst a large—probably the larger and more thoughtful—section of bishops, priests and historians; so that the contentions of “Janus” with regard to infallibility and sure knowledge are without any foundation.

In the sixth chapter of his first book Auxilius shows that the Nicene Council in condemning as “*irritum*,” of no avail, void, illicit, invalid(?), the translation from one Church to another of bishop.

presbyter, or deacon, does not touch the ordinations which a translated bishop may have performed. The proof is in the very text of the canon, for it says: "If anyone attempt a translation, *this* shall be considered altogether '*irritum*.'" That is to say, the translation itself is invalid or illicit. In the seventeenth chapter he states that reordination is no less absurd than rebaptism; that, as in the example of Acacius, the ministrations of an unworthy priest do hurt to no one except the priest himself. Consecration is very different from reconciliation. In the twenty-eighth chapter he says that if the ordinations of Formosus were invalid, then Italy was for twenty years without the Christian religion. The '*Invectiva in Romam*,' a work of uncertain authorship, goes yet further in declaring that Constantinople, Sicily, all Italy, Gaul, Germany, cry out against the supposition. The result of this invalidity, if it were a fact, would have been, it states, the loss of the bodies and souls of nearly all the world during a space of thirty years; multitudes of men, countless as the stars of heaven, would have gone to hell. In the twenty-ninth chapter the fault—if there were any—of the ordination of Formosus himself is ascribed to the Roman people, who chose him to be Pope. In the last chapter Auxilius ventures to hope for a general council which may settle the question.

The second book, entitled "*Infensor et defensor*," has for its preface a letter to a bishop, Leo by name, who, like Auxilius, had been ordained by Formosus, and who had been urgently pressed to allow himself to be reordained. Leo, however, after consulting many learned men, determined to stand by his first ordination. In the first chapter Auxilius sets himself the task of proving that the ordinations of Formosus are probably valid and legitimate, even if Formosus himself had not been duly (rite) ordained. In the first sentence of this chapter we find an illustration of that technical language which has more than once been misunderstood, as witness the amusing blunder of Dr. Shirley, which Fr. Bridgett exposed. We are told: "*Formosus propria relicta uxore aliam abstulit*," Formosus deserted his wife and took a second; but Auxilius hastens to explain, "*hoc est, relicto episcopatu*," that is, he abandoned his episcopal see. To establish the validity of the Formosan ordinations, he maintains that this Pope was as capable of ordaining validly as were Acacius, Liberius, Vigilius, Anatolius, Bonosus, whose priests were in some cases admitted without a fresh ordination. Reordination was expressly condemned by Pope Gregory. In the tenth chapter he says that those who submitted to a reordination ought to be excluded from the sacred ministry.

In the twentieth, that Formosus was reconciled by Apostolic authority, for the oath which he had taken had been unjustly extorted from him. In the twenty-first he rehearses the names of many priests who were deposed but were afterwards admitted to reconciliation without a second ordination, as St. John Chrysostom, Marcellus of Ancyra, Cyril of Jerusalem, Photinus. In the twenty-second, that God alone is to judge whether Formosus seized the papacy from cupidity. In the twenty-fifth he quotes Chalcedon as stating that a translation is to be punished by deprivation of communion until the cleric return to his own church. Pope Leo condemned such clerics to the loss of their sees. Formosus, however, was elected Pope for the sake of the Church's welfare. In the twenty-sixth, that when Formosus was enthroned as Pope he did not receive a second episcopal ordination, but only an increase of Apostolic dignity. We asked, says Auxilius, those who were present and they declared that it is falsely alleged that Formosus received an imposition of hands: "We merely led him to the Apostolic See and there enthroned him with fitting supplications." In the twenty-seventh, that the slanderous testimony of the enemies of Formosus is worthless. In the twenty-ninth he rejects the idea that the bishops at the Council of Ravenna were bribed to give their assent to the ordinations of Formosus.

There is another work ascribed to Auxilius, the "Libellus," where the same matter is put into a different form. The following points alone are of any importance:

1. It is incredible that Rome—the embodied wisdom of the whole world—should have elected an excommunicate for her Supreme Head. Therefore, Formosus must have been absolved.
2. Formosus took an oath never to return to Rome. True; but "whether is it better for one man to keep an oath and for the head of the world to be ruined; or that one man should exceed in words and so save his race and country?"
3. If the first of a series of acts is "irritum," illicit, invalid(?), it does not follow that subsequent acts which flow from it are also "irrita," illicit, invalid.
4. If a baptized person does not lose his baptism—even if he be cut off from the Church—how can one who has been consecrated, admitted to orders—even if he be excommunicated—lose the efficacy of his imposition of hands? This is an obscure sentiment of the author. Whether he intends to refer to a bishop's character or to a sacerdotal character alone, it is not easy to determine. From his subsequent words it would seem that he is speaking of priesthood alone. His contention, therefore, is "once a priest al-

ways a priest." Here, therefore, he takes for granted that the Formosan priests were validly ordained and rejects all reordination. If, however, he is speaking of the episcopal character, his conclusion is no less certain, for then he maintains that every bishop retains the power of ordaining which he got at consecration, and the priests of such a bishop are in no case to be reordained.

5. If the gift of baptism, a gift of the Holy Ghost, cannot be destroyed, how can ordination, which is no less a gift of the Holy Ghost, be destroyed? Therefore, as one who has been baptized cannot receive a second baptism, so one who has been consecrated cannot be reconsecrated. Here the author is certainly speaking of priesthood and maintains that reordination is absolutely useless. He takes as proved, therefore, that the ordinations of Formosus were valid, and insinuates that strict reordination had been practised.

6. A heretic does not lose his episcopal "jus" or right—or rather we should say his power—of performing ordinations. How then could Formosus have lost this power?

The argument of the whole book is then summed up by the author thus: Formosus, it is said, was excommunicated. If so, he was certainly absolved. But he could not go from see to see. Granted; but it does not follow that, because the translation was illicit (invalid?), therefore the subsequent acts were also invalid. If Pope Innocent is quoted against Formosus, we on our side can quote Anastasius, Leo and Gregory, who declare that ordinations by heretics are by no means invalid. An objection was raised to the effect that Formosus could not give what he had not received. Against this we have proved that as baptism is not taken from evil-doers, so the gift of the Holy Spirit, which is once given by imposition of hands, is also not taken away from those who err. But more than this; do you not see that one who has been absolved can both consecrate, ordain and perform all his episcopal functions? You admit the baptisms performed by these Formosan priests. Why do you not admit their ordinations, for it is the one sacrament and the one gift of the Holy Ghost? In conclusion, the author uses five modes of the syllogism to prove that every individual bishop has the same power as the whole body of bishops—doubtless in the matter of ordaining.

The last work that is sometimes attributed to Auxilius is the "Invectiva in Romam," an imprecation on Rome for all that she had done against her saintly Pope. The facts and inferences in the main agree with what we have already seen. Though somewhat exaggerated, this short work disposes of the contention of Formosan adversaries that Formosus had nothing and therefore

could give nothing. It is, therefore, mainly engaged in establishing the validity of Formosan ordinations, and bases its chief argument on the fact that the translation in the case of Formosus had abundant precedents and could not invalidate his actions as Pope. Though not explicitly stating that reordination was practised, it does state this fact by implication, for it proves that since Formosus was validly elected Pope, he therefore had the power of really giving whatever he is represented as having given invalidly. Therefore his ordinations were valid. There can be no reasonable doubt that the author thought, with many others, that the validity being once established there was no need for a reordination.

It remains to point out in brief the legitimate conclusions from the above evidence. There are two. First, that the evidence goes to show on the whole that there was an abundance of certain and correct knowledge on the point of dogma involved in ordinations, both in Rome and in various parts of Italy. This must be clear in the first place, from the decided action of Popes Theodore and John IX in restoring Formosan priests, and from the language of the Council held at Rome in 898 and confirmed by the Synod of Ravenna. It is not reasonable to suppose that in spite of an argument deducible from the action of Stephen and Sergius, the knowledge on the question of ordinations was, generally speaking, very vague and immature, and it is as unreasonable to say that the sentiments of two such Popes and a packed Synod represent the sum total of knowledge in Rome, as it would be to maintain that the feeling of the English people and of the English bishops and lawyers was fairly represented by the packed Parliaments of the reformation period and by the small minority of subservient ecclesiastics. Secondly, we have the explicit phrases of Auxilius who wrote about the matter somewhat decisively and lived in the very midst of the controversy. Thirdly, Luitprandus, born about 920, and bishop of Cremona about 962, shows that he understood the matter perfectly. In the fourth place we can appeal to Leo, bishop of Nola, to whom Auxilius wrote the prefatory letter mentioned above; if this bishop had any uncertain knowledge,—which of course is not the least demonstrable, but seems to be taken for granted—he quickly resolved his doubts and stood firm. Fifthly, the men of learning—both Franks and Italians—to whom Leo appealed, spoke with such certainty that he was ready to refuse reordination at the risk of what doubtless must have been great personal inconvenience. Sixthly, both Pseudo-Luitprandus and the author of the “*Invectiva in Romam*” are quite definite in their language, which points to decided views on the matter. In the

seventh place John VIII (872) in his seventy-fifth letter degrades Sergius, an eunuch, who had been uncanonically made bishop by a certain George, "*qui sibi episcopi nomen falso usurpat*," who falsely usurped the title of bishop; in his seventy-ninth letter and in his one hundred and ninety-ninth, when speaking of the absolution of Photius, he clearly shows that he knew what illicit ordinations were. Again, Stylian, bishop of Neocesarea, in a letter to Pope Stephen V (885), speaks of Photius as "*illegitimately ordained by schismatics*." These are sufficient to establish the first conclusion, notwithstanding some few expressions here and there which could imply an opposite sense. May we not say, however, with Hergenrother, that harsh expressions may be construed of illicitness and not of invalidity? But even if this be not granted, we may readily concede that probably some few ordinations were thought to be invalid because bestowed by degraded bishops, just as ordinations bestowed by heretical bishops were not at all times and by everyone looked upon as valid. How does this affect the almost universal conviction that the contrary was the sound doctrine? Should an expression in a private letter of a Pope be construed at all times to represent the general theological knowledge? To give a specimen of a harsh phrase, Formosus himself, in a letter to Stylian (892) says, "*Nil potuit Photius præter damnationem quem habuit, per impositionem obliquæ manus, et damnationem præbuit. Quomodo dignitatem potuit accipere qui particeps factus est condemnato?*" Photius, he says, could bestow nothing but condemnation. How could the accomplice of one who had been condemned receive any dignity or rank from such a one?

The second conclusion is that the balance of the evidence is in favor of the fact of reordination, and in such a way that to deny that strict reordination was practised would be to do violence to the testimony of Auxilius; to set aside the more obvious interpretation of Pope John's Council, and to derive one legitimate conclusion from Luitprandus but to refuse to admit a legitimate contrary. The reasons for so saying are as follows: Luitprandus speaks of a degradation; this may be merely disciplinary, but is not necessarily so. The Council condemns, in one and the same canon, reordination and rebaptism without qualification; the more obvious sense is that real reordination had taken place. Auxilius is at such pains to show that the Formosan orders were valid—not, be it observed, that Formosus had the right to give jurisdiction—that we must suppose him to be writing against those who declined to recognize the validity and who accordingly reordained.

But it does not in any sense follow that there is at stake any



vital question as to error in faith or morals or dogma which affected more than a few individuals. Tradition could well remain intact, and the Church's teaching constant, in spite of the above practice. Still less, as far as the evidence goes, can we say that there was no sure knowledge on the point. It was abundant and very decided. Consequently the twofold contention of "Janus" falls to the ground; we may admit, to a great extent, that what he alleges as facts were facts indeed; we deny his conclusions.

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### THE CAPITALIST AND HIS POINT OF VIEW.<sup>1</sup>

THE first step to be made in any attempt at true social reform should be the determination of the conditions which demand change. Exaggerations must be reduced to meet facts, the blindness of partisanship must be removed, phrases currently used to give expression to a traditional feeling of injustice or discontent must be examined and recast to fit changed conditions. The power, intensity and activity of social movements come from feeling; but feeling is not noted for judgment, accuracy or caution. This corrective work must be done by reason and it is welcomed with bad grace. Goethe is reported to have said that the public is seldom, if ever, mistaken about the broad truth and hardly ever right about details. As a rule, then, we may trust a social movement in its general character, but we must beware of the danger there is in its disregard for accuracy, its impatience of restraint and its failure to count consequences before acting. Much harm has been done to the cause of social reform in our time by the faults of the social movement. Invective, blind exaggeration, misunderstandings have abounded on all sides; capitalist and laborer and public being culpable, suffering in like manner and yet unwilling to desert the emotional and sentimental stage of the

<sup>1</sup> The report of the U. S. Senate Committee created in 1883 to investigate the relations of Capital and Labor in the United States, has been of great service in the preparation of this article. Much assistance was received also from the Report of the Chicago Strike Commission, and from Walker's and Marshall's *Economics*. The reader familiar with the last named works will notice here and there a phrase borrowed or a thought adapted for which it seemed hardly necessary to indicate a reference. For the sake of brevity, the report of the Senate Committee is referred to as Senate Report, vol., etc. It was to have consisted of five volumes, though but four were published. Conditions of industry in the United States alone are kept in view throughout the article.

movement for the rational. This is to be noticed in the position occupied by the so-called capitalist in the social question. The word is used in a very loose way and the capitalist class has been receiving its quota of abuse now for many a long day. There is nothing more striking in the whole varied range of the phenomena of the labor movement than the position of the capitalist. The trend of popular sympathy is with labor. Workingmen are everywhere regarded with sympathy if not affection. They are looked upon as victims of a system which neither distributes opportunity wisely nor rewards merit justly. For them life is hopeless and the world heartless. The very wealth which, it is claimed, they alone create is heaped, mountain high, under the exclusive control of a few "lordly fellow worms," to use Burns' expression, and they sit in the shadow and pine away. Carlyle spoke a thought very widely shared in his words: "Hardly entreated brother. For us was thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed; thou wert our Conscript on whom the lot fell and fighting our battles, thou wert so marred."<sup>2</sup>

On the contrary the capitalist is much blamed. He is looked upon as the enemy of humanity. He is the froward child of fortune, enjoying ease and luxury at the expense of his fellow men. The presumption is in all cases against him just as it is in all cases in favor of the laborer. The capitalist has few, if any, defenders; no one to write his defense in words that burn into the heart and remain; no poet or prophet to call him brother, to sing or speak to him the message that consoles. And why not? He has reason to complain, to cry out for deliverance from the conditions which surround him. Bent back and deformed limbs are not the only deformities by which human nature may be disfigured; nor is poverty the only evil, physical exertion the only labor in life. It were far from surprising did we find capitalists banded together into associations whose purpose was to put an end to the system in which we live. It is not necessary to be a laboring man in order to become a logical socialist, if indeed logic and socialism ever meet. An analysis of conditions from this point of view may have some interest and be of some service. In attempting it I mean to make no plea for the capitalist as opposed to the laborer. My plea is that the capitalist be understood. His place in industry, his characteristics, principles and aims; his point of view and the influences which affect it; all these must be known if we would do him justice. If knowing them and appreciating them rightly we still condemn him and give sympathy to labor

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<sup>2</sup> Sartor Resartus, p. 172.

no thinking man can complain. We should first know, then judge. My purpose is merely to help the reader to know.

The term Capitalist causes confusion in that its application is too broad at one time and too narrow at another. It is too broad when one says that a man owning a large amount of money is a capitalist, whether or not his funds are engaged in industry of any kind; too narrow when the term is confined to those alone who are actually engaged in industry to the exclusion of others whose money is invested in industrial enterprises; altogether wrong when it is said that the capitalist is the oppressor of labor. Mr. Croker was asked during his recent examination before the Mazet Committee: "Are you a capitalist?" He answered: "What do you mean?" The question was changed: "Worth a million dollars?" "O, no," was his reply. Again, a bank cashier testifying before the Senate Committee in 1884 defined a capitalist as "one who has money at interest." This confusion is not found among economists or those who understand the industrial structure of society. Any one who possesses capital is a capitalist, and capital is wealth employed in the production of wealth. All money invested in business of any kind is capital, whether in the factory, railroad or village grocery store. Stockholders in street railways, factories or department stores are capitalists as well as is the President of the Standard Oil Company; the laborer who owns shares in the factory which employs him is one as well as is the chief owner. The differences, vast though they be, are only of degree with consequent inequality of industrial power. The popular meaning of the word is therefore misleading, not to say wrong, and it should be corrected. An analysis of the conditions of industry will show us how that is to be done.<sup>3</sup>

When we step into a store and purchase an easy chair we rarely allow our thoughts go beyond the question of comfort, style and price. We may compare prices, hesitate about the choice of color or the upholstering, but no more. Yet we perform the last act of a long series marked by bewildering complexity, a series reaching out possibly beyond the confines of our country; one which touched ten thousand lives and saw, perhaps, more than one unwritten tragedy. There is the retailer from whom we buy; the railroad company which brought his stock from the wholesale houses with which he deals. They, in turn, with all their questions of business, credit, sales, are in direct and constant relations with the factories of the country which produce the style of chair we

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<sup>3</sup> The word Capitalist was retained in the title because of the meaning generally given to it. It would be more accurate to use the word Employer.

purchase. Each factory in turn has its problems of transportation of raw material and finished product; its relations with dealers in fuel, machinery, wood and screws; cloth and leather and brass. Each of these again is in constant and complex relation with unnumbered others, the dealer in wood probably having his buyers in Africa or South America. Intricate questions of cost, transportation, supply and demand appear at every step. Improvements in methods are being watched all along the line lest competitors secure advantages. Genius was employed in soliciting trade and fortunes spent in advertising; tariff and tax laws were watched carefully since they affect business so directly, and movements in popular demand were studied with a nicety which is little short of marvellous. Discrimination was exercised at every step in buying and selling and making terms; in so balancing credits and obligations that all danger was avoided while great elasticity was insured and popularity cared for. Every kind of economic institution appeared, the banker, broker, jobber, carrier, manufacturer and merchant each having an important function in that bewildering series. It is useless to attempt any further analysis, for the process by which the materials of the chair were brought together and the chair was produced touches practically every point of modern industry. But it is not necessary that we keep all this in mind. In studying the capitalist it will be sufficient to keep before us the process of manufacturing. It is central and typical. This will simplify our task though it will in no way do harm to the value of our conclusions.

The characteristic of modern industry is production on a large scale for a market practically open to the world of competitors. There is no restriction of liberty in engaging in industry if we except the system of limited license in some fields of production. Vast amounts of capital are required, extensive plant is necessary and large numbers of laboring men are congregated in one place for a particular kind of work. The world of competitors must be watched carefully, methods must be studied and knowledge of things and tendencies must be accurate. Immense purchases of raw stuff and machinery are made frequently and they must be made wisely, with due allowance for probable rise or fall in price and for possible change in demand. The nicest balance of a hundred forces must be maintained, for the possibilities of loss and gain are tremendous. Choices and decisions essential to success were never so difficult and numerous; the difference in the product between careful and inferior management never so great, toleration of the commonplace never so small. Production, therefore,

demands leaders of large capacity. They must be men with splendid powers of organization and genius for detail; with breadth of view, accuracy of judgment and superior generalship. Skilled knowers of men, they must marshal and direct great numbers of laborers, select responsible assistants in order to secure the best quality of work from the operatives and the largest output of product. They must so watch the general conditions of industry that they may be least affected by disturbances and may be able to run on full time or with as little loss as possible. It is necessary for them to be familiar with the things of the trade and forecast the movements of demand. They must be firm and prudent, knowing when and how to risk boldly, yet ever able to resist the seductions of danger and risk. They must know when, where and at what terms to sell; watch the progress of art, inventions and science inasmuch as it affects industry and its methods. Catastrophe comes from this source swiftly and unannounced at times. Before the war, printed delaines became unsalable in a night and later, Foster wools were thrown out of the market when a change in women's dress goods made soft French cashmere popular. An invention as well as a change in fashions may bring ruin if it revolutionizes the methods and reduce the cost of production.<sup>4</sup> In one word such are the conditions of industry nowadays that its leaders must be remarkable men; men of the highest type of intelligence, will and character from whom are demanded the highest forms of work and energy, upon whose shoulders rests the highest form of responsibility. Such men have come to the front in industrial life. Conditions have produced them and they mirror in their activity, disposition and achievements the very conditions out of which they spring. They are commonly called Employers, Captains of Industry, Entrepreneurs.<sup>5</sup> The ambiguous equivalent of this last name—Undertaker—is sometimes used. The marvellous organization of industry and the genius of its leaders have

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<sup>4</sup> Mechanical improvements follow one another so rapidly that one is almost in doubt as to whether they are really beneficial to the industry for which they are intended. Their cheapening of processes antiquates machinery and methods almost before the latter have proved their utility." H. G. Kittredge, editor of the *Textile World* in the *Forum*, May, 1899, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> Apropos of this attempt to sketch the characteristics of Employers, it may interest the reader to see Ruskin's strange classification of those who become rich and those who remain poor. "In a community regulated only by the laws of supply and demand and protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief and the entirely merciful, just and godly person." *Ad Valorem*, p. 70.

made possible a certain degree of relative stability and order in the industrial world. The perfect system of communication, report and conjecture now employed enables leaders in any branch of industry to know very accurately present conditions, probable developments and influences apt to affect prices, supply or demand. Interesting specimens of this may be found in the weekly trade reviews issued by Dunn & Co. and Bradstreet. In spite of this marvellous organization the genius of the Employer is constantly required and no substitute can be found for it.

But modern industry requires vast amounts of capital as well as men of genius. In general, few individuals have the capital necessary to conduct a great business alone; among those who do possess sufficient, the talent necessary for a great enterprise is rarely found. In a rough way, then, we might say that some men have the necessary talent, others the required capital. There is, in addition, an increasingly large number of individuals who have surplus wealth in small or large quantities. This surplus finds its way to banks and money centers from which the depositors receive a fixed rate of interest. Such central institutions readily lend their deposits to men of talent for industrial purposes. Again, stock companies are founded, shares are placed at a nominal figure and put on sale within easy reach of all who wish to invest; or partnerships may be formed, and through them abundant capital is made available.<sup>6</sup> In these ways modern industry places capital at the disposal of talent and talent is enabled to procure every advantage which ownership of capital offers. Talent finds capital easily, but capital is not always certain of finding talent. The enormous number of business failures, taking place annually in the United States, shows us to an extent,<sup>7</sup> the fate of capital without first class ability, and the swindles perpetrated every year tell the sad story of capital seeking talent too eagerly and trusting appearances without sufficient caution. We see, then, that bank depositors, silent partners, shareholders, investors and the like are all capitalists and consequently that the capitalist is not the central figure in industrial life. That important place is held by the

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<sup>6</sup> For our purpose it is not necessary to hold to this distinction. Conditions and spirit are identical whether we treat of individuals or corporations. However, the reader may find statistics for Massachusetts showing proportions of individuals, corporations, and stockholders, etc., in the annual volume of Statistics of Manufacturers, issued by Bureau of Labor. A curious incident showing the attitude of the individual employer to the corporation may be found in Senate Report, vol. ii., p. 84, where the former is represented as having no sympathy for the latter.

<sup>7</sup> Only to an extent, for no human genius can avert all industrial disaster. Reports of failures are issued every week by Dunn & Co. and Bradstreet. As an illustration of the number, I note for the week from May 6 to 13, 210 failures in 1895, 265 in 1896, 251 in 1897, 250 in 1898 and 169 in 1899.

Employer. He is an intermediary between capital and labor. He discovers and seizes opportunity for profitable investment—a most important function in the development of a country's industry—he brings the elements of production together, adds genius to them and thus becomes master and leader. The profits of the enterprise are his. He, however, pays interest or dividends to capital and wages to labor; he keeps his equipment in good repair and the net profits are ordinarily his own. It is clear, now, that it is the Employer and not the Capitalist who is in conflict with labor; the latter need not and generally does not come into direct contact with the former. Even when the Employer is the Capitalist it is in his former capacity that he is in conflict with the workingmen whom he engages.<sup>8</sup> If we wish, then, to pass judgment on the Employer, it is necessary that we understand him, his point of view, his history. We must study him as an individual and as a member of a class. We will find all grades of the Employer talent in the industrial world, for we find there all stages of industry. The higher we go the greater the genius we discover. A merciless process of selection is going on constantly in which the fittest survive. Those who are lacking in ability, who show faulty judgment or relax in attention and diligence are mercilessly crushed in the fierce competitive struggle in which they participate.<sup>9</sup> The survivors are extraordinary, for there is no nepotism or favoritism here. Belonging originally to a select class they are advanced in it by processes which bring their faculties to an exceptional degree of development. Since they represent the highest stage of perfection of the talent of the Employer we can best understand the class by beginning our analysis here. After sketching the class characteristics we may make due allowance for those facts and conditions which seem to be in conflict with our analysis.

1. The employer is a man of great capacity, keenness and powers of organization. He is an able and successful business man in whom the business instinct predominates. His philosophy of life is affected by it; his perspective of life is adjusted in a way

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<sup>8</sup> The Senate resolution of August 7, 1883, which created the Commission to Investigate the Relations of Capital and Labor, required that the Commission report on legislation "calculated to promote harmonious relations between Capitalists and Laborers." The law which created the Industrial Commission now at work is more accurate inasmuch as the Commission is directed to suggest laws which will "harmonize conflicting interests and be equitable to the Laborer, the Employer, etc." This law was approved June 18, 1898. It is but fair to add that the distinction between Employer and Capitalist has been most emphasized in recent years.

<sup>9</sup> The word "fittest" is used in a relative sense; viz., those who best meet the demands of the system, whether or not they are right or wrong. Professor Wagner shows admirably in his *Grundlegung der Politischen Oekonomie*, 3d ed., pp. 814-820, the danger in this fact.

to bring out best the business view. His general faculties are not harmoniously developed.<sup>10</sup> He is acutely conscious of his power and industrial responsibility; of the value of his services to society and progress. His delight in successful exertion is passionate; his intolerance of failure or opposition, intense. He sees in machines, raw stuff, buildings and laborers one homogenous collection of commodities; the elements of a system of which he is master and manager. His genius is to show itself in transforming raw material into finished product most profitably and successfully. The broad ethical view of human life, of business and business relations, of labor and workman, cannot retain its force and value. The dignity and rights of the laborer vanish the moment that labor is levelled into a commodity, as is now generally the case.<sup>11</sup> There is practically no personal contact between Employer and laborer. Neither understands the other since neither knows the other. When work is done and salary paid all is over between them. A deep humane interest in the laborer is not often found in the employer.<sup>12</sup> Even where it is found the reason is often purely a business principle, "because it pays to treat the help well."<sup>13</sup>

2. The Employer is part of a vast system of industry. He and his interests have a hundred points of contact with the organization of which he is part. He must accept the principles, methods and aims of competitive industry or surrender. He is in no sense free to follow his own ideas, to pursue methods which might please him. He is a competitor and he can succeed only in as far as he meets the demands made upon him. True enough, he may pay

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<sup>10</sup> Bryce, speaking of the so-called "Capitalist Class" in this country, says: "In no country does one find so many men of eminent capacity for business, shrewd, forcible and daring, who are so uninteresting, so intellectually barren, outside the sphere of their business knowledge." *American Commonwealth*, 3d ed., vol. ii., p. 301.

<sup>11</sup> Statements from Employers which confirm this may be found in the Senate Report; testimony of Norvin Green, President of the W. U. Telegraph Co., vol. i., pp. 907, 956; testimony of Jay Gould, vol. i., p. 1090; testimony of Mr. Wickes, of the Pullman Co., in the Report on the Chicago Strike, p. 609, where he says: "We go into the market for men just as we go into the market for anything else."

<sup>12</sup> Levasseur remarked this in his studies in U. S., see *L'ouvrier Americain*, vol. ii., p. 413: A striking proof that this is the case is found in the volume recently issued by the U. S. Department of --- or on *The Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem*. Letters were sent to a large number of manufacturers asking them if they prohibited the use of intoxicants among their operatives; if so, from what motive. In a total of 899 replies from manufacturers (sufficiently complete for purposes of comparison) we find—to cite but a few replies—that 316 forbade the use of liquor from fear of accident, 322 on account of responsibility of position, 22 for the sake of good example simply, 26 for the sake of good example as one motive, while 2 gave as their motive "the good of the employee," and 2 others "to guard against temptation," page 71.

<sup>13</sup> Statements of Employers showing this may be found in the Senate Report, vol. iii., pp. 382, 514; Chicago Strike Report, p. 269.



high wages, he may inaugurate profit sharing and the like. But as far as he does so he, as a rule, weakens himself for the competitive struggle and he belongs no longer to the class of Employers which we are describing. So great is the need of watchfulness, discretion, energy and unified management; so severe the penalty when they are lacking in business; so varied and great, the risks to which the Employer is subjected, that his responsibility is practically endless. Wisely chosen assistants may give him aid, but he is not thereby released. He alone can judge, act, direct. Before his eyes the industrial world appears in miniature, its forces at work, its tendencies developing, and he must largely control or direct them. He must watch his competitors lest they defeat him, protect himself against the progress of centralization lest he be swallowed up by trusts or similar combinations; he must be prepared to add constantly to his capital to meet developments and thus increase his risks in the face of decreasing profits. Inevitably the Employer's sense of self, his habit of self assertion and faith in self are greatly developed. His individuality towers high over the world of which he is master. His sense of independence appears in his attitude to everything that in anyway threatens to encroach on the field where he is master. So marked is this that at times an employer will refuse to join any association of manufacturers.<sup>14</sup> Even when such associations exist, their purpose is largely social or the advancement of the technical interests of the trade. They in no way hamper the individual employer in the competitive struggle, nor do they in any manner make the struggle less keen.<sup>15</sup> The Employer's sense of independence asserts itself not only in his attitude to competitors and the public, but as well in his views of any attempt of the civil authorities to interfere in the management of his business, even when the interests of society are at stake. He claims the absolute right to manage his business to suit himself and he brooks no interference whatsoever.<sup>16</sup> The determined re-

<sup>14</sup> An Employer said to the Senate Committee in 1883: "I do not believe in giving up to any irresponsible man my right of private judgment. That is the reason I belong to no association. I would not join an Employers' association under any conditions." Report, vol. ii., p. 1122.

<sup>15</sup> At the annual banquet of the Philadelphia Piano Trade Association in April the President said: "I am aware that this is an occasion of armed neutrality—that when we go home, . . . . . when the fierce rays of to-morrow's commercial sun shall have laid bare your little scheme for knocking the other fellow out, hostilities will be resumed." *The Musical Age*, April 13, 1899.

<sup>16</sup> Mr. Pullman stated to the Strike Commission that he repudiated arbitration since it "violated the principle that a man should have the right to manage his own property." Report, page 556. The Commissioners themselves state in the report that: "We also have employers who obstruct progress by perverting and misapplying the law of supply and demand, and who, while insisting upon individualism for workmen, demand that they shall be let alone to combine as they please and that society and all its forces shall protect them in their resulting contentions." - age xlvii.

sistance which most employers make against trusts is but the natural outcome of this highly developed sense of individuality and unwillingness to surrender the place and the power which they have won in industry. Filled with the sense of his responsibility, marked by a strong individuality, the Employer is easily led to regard himself as a great benefactor of the public, and in particular of the laboring man. He is thus led to give full value—if not an exaggerated appreciation—to his own services, while he is apt to underrate the services of laborers and others to the cause of social progress.<sup>17</sup>

3. With this development of the sense of self, the habit of self assertion and the spirit of independence, a change appears in the motives which animate the Employer. Originally he may have sought money or profit, but a time comes when money as such ceases to be a motive. Through the successful application of his powers of organization the employer comes to love power itself instead of money, and the aim of life then becomes—or is apt to become—its possession and undisputed exercise, victory in competition, control of the market, extension of the sphere of industrial activity, triumph over obstacles. Employers may donate millions to educational institutions or they may dot the land with free libraries under the pretense or with the sincere hope of aiding a good cause, but they will not surrender their power in industry nor attempt to educate their laboring men, if the attempt implies any curtailment of their authority and power.<sup>18</sup> When this stage is reached we occasionally find another peculiar evolution. The Employer who knows his business in a masterly way, but knows little beyond, enters the field of politics where his thirst of power may be satisfied. Fitted in no way whatsoever to study, understand or solve the profound questions of politics, he presumes to enter political life and seeks to acquire all the power possible. His

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<sup>17</sup> Mr. Edward Atkinson, testifying before the Senate Committee, said of Vanderbilt: "Cornelius Vanderbilt was the greatest and most useful communist of his day, and I mean by that that he may be taken as the exponent of a small class of men who have achieved enormous fortunes in a single life and yet have done more than any other men to bring an ample subsistence within the easy reach of all at a less and less cost, whether cost be measured in labor, in price, in wages or in the purchasing power of labor." Senate Report, vol. iii., p. 343.

<sup>18</sup> Jay Gould stated to the Senate Committee: "Railroads had then got to be a sort of hobby with me—I did not care about the money I made, I took the road as a mere plaything to see what I could do with it. I had passed the time when I cared about mere money making. My object in taking the road (if you can appreciate that) was more to show that I could make a combination and make it a success." Senate Report, vol. i, p. 1067.

William Waldorf Astor, writing of his grandfather, expressed a similar thought: "Mr. Astor was not actuated by a mere desire for gain—for he was already rich beyond the needs of any individual—but by a delight in the exercise of those faculties whose calibre had already been so widely proved." Quoted in Freeman's Journal, May 27, 1899.

ambition is not satisfied till he controls a national convention, enters the U. S. Senate or becomes the power "behind the throne." Mere money making as a motive cannot explain one-tenth of the characteristic phenomena of modern industrial life.<sup>19</sup>

4. During this process the ethical conscience of the Employer has undergone radical changes. It has been converted into a business conscience. His faculties have been absorbed into his business activities; his views are those of business; his standard of success and failure, of good and evil has been materially affected. He is in an environment which favors this tendency to an exceptional degree. He is one of a picked class; one of many who have similar faculties, powers, pursuits. The corrective value of close association with others of different psychological constitution is very great, but the Employer is largely withdrawn from its influence. Inevitably some sort of business conscience is formed and its tendency is never upwards.<sup>20</sup> Hence the individual, predisposed to take the business view of life, is practically forced into it, once he fully shares the spirit of his class.<sup>21</sup>

5. Naturally the Employer's opinion of religion, its role in life and its necessity will have been greatly influenced while he is undergoing this series of changes in his views and disposition. It is not easy to find out just what are his views. Laboring men are constantly telling us what they think of religion, the clergy and the pulpit, through the columns of labor journals and in speeches. But Employers have not that custom. It is a striking fact that the Senate Committee of 1883 never asked a single Employer who testified what his views were regarding religion. Many working men, clergymen and others were asked and they gave extended replies, but a careful search failed to discover a single instance of an Employer who expressed an opinion.<sup>22</sup>

This, then, in rough outline, is the Employer. He belongs to

<sup>19</sup> Sometimes the passion for making money without any regard for its use becomes very strong. A manufacturer was once asked why he wasted energy and sleep trying to accumulate a fortune which his heirs would squander. He replied: "If they enjoy spending it as much as I enjoy making it they are welcome."

<sup>20</sup> Professor Wagner shows this admirably in his *Grundlegung*, vol. ii., p. 820.

<sup>21</sup> It may well be remarked that this is not peculiar to the Employer class alone. There is a society conscience, a military conscience, a political conscience, a professional conscience, etc., etc. The tendency in each is to follow the particular instead of the general laws of ethics and to shape principles and views so that the largest liberty is allowed the individual. This implies, of course, a distortion of true conscience. A comparative study of these forms of conscience would be a real contribution to the study of ethics. The reader will remember that reference is made chiefly to tendencies. Some qualifications of these general statements are made in the pages which follow.

<sup>22</sup> It is possible that my search was not exhaustive, as there are over 4000 pages of testimony in the four volumes. No instance appears in the index of any volume, and a careful search in the text enables me to find none.

a peculiar class of men, able and progressive. They have survived a merciless process of selection by which the less skilful and less gifted were crushed.<sup>23</sup> Men of a remarkable sense of individuality, they are energetic, tireless and ambitious. Carrying immense responsibility they come into the exercise of undisputed power and their position gives them great authority.<sup>24</sup> Accustomed to judging life by a sort of business conscience and taking a business view of industry, they are peculiarly sensitive to any consideration based thereon and peculiarly blind to any other. We are now in a fair way to understand the conflict between Employer and Laborer and to appreciate with fair exactness the issues between them.

As to the issues. Workingmen alone who are organized into Trade Unions raise issues with Employers. Though only one-tenth of our wage earners are organized, they are strongly organized and they are representative. Allowing for accidental differences in demands, tone and method we may say that there is uniformity in the issues made by the unions. They have drawn up their declaration of rights and presented it to the Employers. All the battles that have occurred have been for one or another of the rights there claimed. They are substantially the following: The right to dictate to the Employer, the rate of wages, the time and manner of payment, hours and conditions of work, whom he shall hire and whom he shall dismiss, or shall not engage at all; where work shall be done, etc.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, labor claims the right to enter a factory where all is harmony and contentment and require that laborers engaged there shall make common cause with others who are striking or about to strike; the right to organize into unions is maintained and recognition of unions by Employers is demanded. This in brief is the situation. The Employer believes that he energizes, sustains industry; that his services are immeasurably finer, higher and more efficient than those of laborers, and consequently that he must "manage" the latter. Working men, however, believe that they create all wealth; that they have a right to a greater share in the product of labor than is now received, and they must be made equal to the Employer in the labor contract.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> It is noticeable that few sons of Employers succeed their fathers in business. They lack talent and energy necessary to become great and successful employers.

<sup>24</sup> See also De Laveleye, *Le Socialisme*, Introduction, p. xviii.

<sup>25</sup> An examination of the statistics of strikes in the volume of the U. S. Department of Labor on Strikes and Lockouts will give ample illustration of these claims.

<sup>26</sup> Years ago when a New York firm introduced many benevolent features into its business, remonstrances were received from capitalists and others saying: "You are spoiling the working people; you are putting ideas into their heads that will make them hard to manage." Senate Report, vol. ii., p. 1106. The Chicago Strike Commission recommend that employers "consider employees as thoroughly essential to

Between Employer and laborer there are two fundamental points to which the issues may be reduced. The Employer believes that wages are fixed by the mere law of supply and demand; laborers claim that this is radically wrong, since it degrades their labor to the level of commodities and sacrifices their dignity as men; secondly, the Employer insists on his absolute authority in industry, and labor refuses to recognize it. The former is inclined to the business view of life, business and labor, while the view of the latter is ethical. Laborers demand the recognition of their rights as men, endowed with intelligence and social capacity. They insist on the validity of moral law and ethical views in all the relations of life.<sup>27</sup> The Employers view, as we have seen, is largely at variance with this ethical view, and hence the conflict.

In the analysis of the character of the Employer we were forced to look into class characteristics in order to discover the general tendency of those who reach positions of power. In doing so we could not easily qualify every statement or take notice of all facts. It was sufficient for our purpose to show the trend of things. Now, however, when we come to study Employers in their attitudes to the concrete issues which organized labor raises, we must correct those generalizations by examining actual conditions.

Employers aim at large profits and successful industrial enterprise. They are engaged in a keen competitive struggle. When profits fall or danger threatens they must retrench by reducing the cost of raw material, machinery, fuel or labor, or by raising prices. As a rule, every element of production, except labor, is controlled by individuals as powerful and active as our Employer. Labor is weakest and consequently it is most apt to be made feel every danger which threatens the Employer. He can reduce wages ten per cent., but he cannot change the price of wool, iron or coal. In their attitudes toward the general issues raised by labor Employers will vary somewhat.

1. Some will see no justice in any of the demands. They be-

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industrial success as capital, and thus take labor into consultation at proper times. A speaker at the annual banquet of the Natal Piano Manufacturers' Association in Washington in April, 1899, used the phrase "handling labor in our manufactories." Workingmen do not like such expressions. *Musical Age*, April 13, 1899, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> Attempts which corporations some times make to evade moral and civil responsibility furnish a good illustration of the attitude of such Employers towards the moral law. Recently a firm was prosecuted by the U. S. for violating the law making 8 hours the legal day in all federal work. The firm argued "that intention is a necessary element of the crime" and "a corporation as such is incapable of entertaining a criminal intention." "A corporation is only an artificial creation, without animate body or mind, and therefore from its very nature incapable of entertaining the specific intention which, by the statute, is made an essential element of the crime defined." *U. S. vs. John Kelso Co. Federal Reporter*, 86, p. 304.

lieve that in general the condition of labor is satisfactory. They seek and find justification for their view in the millions of laborers who raise no question and make no effort to rise. Such employers will not accord to labor the right to organize and they refuse to deal with organizations or to recognize any question which they propose.<sup>28</sup>

2. Others will recognize the organizations of laborers and deal with them in a limited way, but they may not wish to grant all that is asked or may be unable to do so.

3. Others may be at peace with labor through satisfactory concessions made from whatever motive may best suit, but they may be forced from time to time to withdraw some of the advantages which labor enjoys.<sup>29</sup> Conditions of trade will sometimes make such action necessary, no matter how well disposed the Employer may be.

Whatever the attitude taken by the Employer, at no time is industrial peace insured. The issues between labor and employer cannot be permanently settled in the present order of things. Where nothing is conceded to labor, something will be demanded; effort will not be relaxed till victory be won, let the struggle be ever so unequal and hopeless. Where unions are excluded they will try to enter; where allowed to enter they will attempt to win some power and exercise it. Where something is accorded to labor it will seek more, and where much is conceded, to the satisfaction of labor's demands, there is danger if any retrograde step be attempted by the Employer; danger if non-union men be employed; danger from sympathetic strikes in the interest of other laborers. The eight hour movement is probably the precursor of a demand for six; the attempt to fix and sustain wages through organization is merely the prophet of a new principle of division of profits between Employer and laborer. In the very nature of

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<sup>28</sup> See, for instance, the testimony of Norvin Green, President of the W. U. Telegraph Co. Senate Report, vol. i, p. 912. Testimony of Mr. Wickes, of the Pullman Co. Report on Chicago Strike, pp. 621, 622. Statistics of strikes showing causes of strikes furnish additional evidence.

<sup>29</sup> The Chicago Strike Commission stated that "the general sentiment of employers shared in by some of the most prominent railroad representatives we have heard, is now favorable to organization among employees." Report p. xlvii. Senator Blair stated during the investigation in 1884 that "many of our corporations are turning their attention to this (humanitarian) side of the question and industry is going to be more and more conducted upon humanitarian principles by the controllers of capital." Senate Report, vol. iii., p. 523. The many disturbances of the past fifteen years cause doubt about the immediate fulfillment of that prophecy. Only last November a number of shoe factories in Marlborough, Mass., posted announcements of the "intention of the manufacturers to conduct their business in the future without reference to or recognition of any labor organization or its agent." Mass. Board of Arbitration, Report 1898, p. 72.

things labor cannot be finally satisfied. And the Employer is well aware of the fact. The problems are subtle and intricate; the prospect of a solution is remote not only because the question is profound, but as well because of the ignorance, passion, partisanship, obstinacy and the demagogues found in abundance where an issue is raised or a question discussed.

It is necessary now to add certain secondary considerations if we would thoroughly understand the attitude of the Employer. Aside from his view of life, his environment and his character—all materially affecting his attitude toward labor—other influences are at work. Some of them are largely individual while others are essentially social.

1. The mistakes of labor engender in the minds of many Employers a feeling of bitterness and resentment. At times laborers are manifestly unreasonable and unjust. Thus, some time since, two employers who had been practical stone cutters were in arrears on a contract and they were unable to find skilled laborers. One of the employers "took off his coat" and went to work with his men. They immediately struck, claiming that the action of the employers "was taking the bread out of the poor man's mouth."<sup>20</sup> A kind and just employer may be converted into a cruel master by such extremes or by business losses brought on by unreasonable or ill advised strikes; by sympathetic strikes among his employees when admittedly they have no grievance in their relations with him; or by the action of labor in taking mean advantage of a situation to press its claims. Aside from particular conflicts, the tone of hatred, execration which so many labor leaders and labor papers affect—and as well, many poorly instructed reformers—creates a feeling of resentment in many employers. They are confounded with the idle and wicked rich, when they are certainly not idle and very often far from wicked, and they are promiscuously condemned for vices which they loathe. Employers have feelings; they are not devoid of all human instincts. This common and ill judged abuse leaves its effect in their disposition, and labor is too often made to feel it.

2. The contrast between the individual employer and individual laborer is noted by the former, and his views are modified by it. The employer has won success by careful habits, regularity, economy, self-denial, by bravely meeting and overcoming obstacles and by unsparing devotion to his work.<sup>21</sup> He does not take vaca-

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<sup>20</sup> Senate Report, vol. ii., p. 1123.

<sup>21</sup> One might wish me to add "and by dishonesty, by oppressing labor, by unscrupulous methods in business." I would have no objection whatever to doing so as far as such is the case, but the insertion bears in no way whatever on the point made.

tions, and he labors day and night and Sunday. He is too busy to be vicious, having the economic virtues to a high degree. He sees among laboring men a lack of self-assertion, initiative and ambition; much intemperance, improvidence and the like; a lack of any desire to conquer obstacles and rise superior to environment. He is then apt to conclude that laborers are to blame for their condition and that they can rise and succeed if they but wish to do so.<sup>32</sup> The effect of the comparison is that much sympathy for laborers is hindered from developing in the mind of the Employer.<sup>33</sup> Mr. Edward Atkinson stated to the Senate Committee in 1884: "If poverty has appeared to increase alongside this accumulation of wealth, it has not been because of the wealth, but for want of such intelligence on the part of those who are poor as would enable them to grasp the benefits which the great masters in the application of capital to useful purposes have brought within their easy reach. If men are poor to-day in this land it is either because they are incapable of doing the work which is waiting to be done or are unwilling to accept the conditions of the work. There are twice as many clerks as are needed and not half enough skilled mechanics; twice as many poor sewing women who can only sew in the poorest way and not half enough skilled seamstresses; twice as many men trying to live by their wits and failing in it as there are capable of applying their heads and hands together to useful arts; twice as much capital waiting to be used as there are men capable of using it profitably to themselves and safely for those of whom they borrow it."<sup>34</sup> There are many who would ascribe most of the strikes and the discontent of labor to intemperance alone.<sup>35</sup>

Whenever the impression becomes fixed in the mind of the employer that the personal faults of laborers are the cause of most of their misfortunes, it is natural to find him firm, unsympathetic

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<sup>32</sup> "In the last analysis the earnings of the laborer rest wholly upon his individual character, capacity and integrity." Mr. Atkinson's paper before the 3d Convention of Bureau of Labor officials. Report p. 62.

<sup>33</sup> Professor Schmoller notices this as - characteristic of the German Employer, also in his well-known reply to Dr. Treitschke, *Über Einige Grundfragen des Rechts und der Volkswirtschaft*, p. 130.

<sup>34</sup> Senate Report, vol. iii., p. 344. Last April the Liggett & Meyers Tobacco Co. of St. Louis, was absorbed by the Tobacco Trust. The retiring President, Colonel Wetmore, who manfully refused an office under the trust, addressed the 3000 workmen on the issue. The speech was filled with noble sentiments expressed with great feeling. Speaking of his own rise in business he said: "I mention this to show that it is among the possibilities for any man of fair intelligence, honesty and integrity to climb up." The speech was widely copied in the press. It may be found in the *Dubuque Herald*, May 14, 1899.

<sup>35</sup> Chicago Strike Report, p. 486, testimony of a physician. Senate Report, vol. iii., p. 217, testimony of an Employer.



and unyielding toward issues raised by labor. The great misfortune is that as between employer and employed each is inclined to see the faults in the other and miss the virtues and personal merits; a condition which Ruskin describes in this manner: "There is a working class strong and happy among both rich and poor; there is an idle class—weak, wicked and miserable—among both rich and poor. And the worst of the misunderstandings arising between the two orders come from the unlucky fact that the wise of one class habitually contemplate the foolish of the other."<sup>36</sup>

3. The two influences just mentioned as affecting the Employer's attitude are of an individual or non-social character. There are some others of a social nature which must also be kept in mind. They are the outgrowth of the fact and conditions of competition. The reader will remember that I have taken general class characteristics rather than a statistical examination of individuals, and that here and there, in the course of this study, I have tried to bring the analysis into relation with facts and to correct it by them. We find all stages of industrial development coexistent; naturally, then, we will find all stages in the mental, moral, psychological and industrial character of Employers coexistent. We will find Employers in whom this many sided development is harmonious and ideal, but we will find others in whom the development is neither harmonious nor ideal. We will find all types of conscience, from the true one to the pure business conscience; all grades of business morality; the good, the bad, the honest, the knavish, etc., etc. Now, all are united in the same competitive struggle; all are in one industrial system. They stand side by side and carry on the industrial war with which we are so familiar. This fact has far reaching consequences for the Employer. The keen, tricky, dishonest competitors exert an enormous influence in dragging the tone of morality down to their level.<sup>37</sup> The Employer who pays his debts must compete with the Employer who fails occasionally and escapes his debts by abusing the most humane of all civil laws; one who wishes to manufacture honest goods must compete with those who falsify, cheat and adulterate;<sup>38</sup> one who desires to treat

<sup>36</sup> Crown of Wild Olive, p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> A splendid analysis of the evils of competition, their effect in lowering the tone of business morals the process by which conscience is eliminated or those with conscience are tempted, may be found in Wagner's *Grundlegun*, 3d ed., vol. ii., p. 794-827.

<sup>38</sup> To mention but one instance; Kansas produces fifty million bushels of high grade wheat from which a fine flour is made. The practice of adulteration is so widespread that the honest millers of the State are appealing to the law for assistance. The entire output of one corn flour mill was used throughout Kansas to adulterate the genuine flour. Kansas Bureau of Labor, Report 1897, p. 171.

laborers humanely must compete with those who rob and oppress helpless men, women and children by sweat shop methods or tyranny, intimidation and the like. A Chicago clergyman, in a recent sermon enumerated seven advantages which are enjoyed by a business man without a conscience; he may deal in sweat shop goods; he may misrepresent in advertising and selling; he can oppress his employees; disregard the Sunday; he can handle merchandise that destroys the moral character of the purchaser; he can break the laws of the State and use those laws to hinder others from competing with him.<sup>59</sup> Honest Employers who may cherish some higher view of life than the mere business view are thus severely handicapped. The force of temptation is certainly very great and they are more or less helpless. The assistance that they may reasonably expect should come from the public and from the State. But it is not effective. All competitors appeal to the public, which they seek to please. But unfortunately the public seems conscious of no obligation and of no opportunity. People buy, guided largely by the principle of cheapness. They do not investigate the conditions of labor, the place where articles are made, the conditions in which they are made, etc. Were the public to unite in one great movement demanding honesty, fairness and sincerity from all Employers, a premium would quickly be placed on honesty and humanity and a punishment meted out to all dishonest and cruel Employers. Then the arm of morality would be strengthened and honest Employers would find it much easier to be honorable while successful than is now the case. An effort has been made to educate the public to a sense of its opportunity and duty in this regard, but with poor success. Labor organizations have devised the so-called Union Label. It is a small label of simple design affixed to all goods manufactured where union labor is employed and union conditions are complied with. While the Trade Union is not perfect—it makes many mistakes—we can take it as an institution which must be encouraged. It represents a healthful ethical reaction in industry. The label is a wise device. But it is generally ignored. The public makes little effort to purchase only union made goods—there is no consciousness of duty. Even laboring men fail at times to remember their principles and then purchase articles which bear no union label. A labor leader of great power once told me of a delegation from some Trade Unions which waited on him to teach him a lesson on employing union labor. It was rumored that he was having some work done by non-union

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<sup>59</sup> Chicago Chronicle, May 22, 1899.

men. The report was unfounded, but the leader discovered that the delegates wore hats made by non-union men and they accepted cigars manufactured by non-union cigar makers. This piece of inconsistency is merely a fair illustration of the failure of people in general to assist the honest and humane forces of industry to victory.<sup>40</sup> The Employer does not confine himself to society or the general public in seeking aid by which he may overcome the tendencies of business and the pressure of unfair competition. He looks also to the State and he finds in labor legislation much of the assistance he requires. But here, again, there are grave difficulties. Legislation cannot, at least does not, keep pace with industrial development. The awakening of public conscience is slow; even when it acts, difficulty is encountered, for laws must take account of conditions, and conditions are very dissimilar. The law must take care lest it harm instead of help. Then when laws are enacted they must be enforced. They will be evaded by the dishonest employer and unscrupulous laborer,<sup>41</sup> and the evasion gives advantages to those who wish it. It has been necessary to create an elaborate system of inspection to enforce the observance of labor laws. Only by such means can uniformity be even partially insured, and only when the laws are observed faithfully can the honest Employer expect assistance from them.

If the reader agree with the substance of the analysis here presented, he will be ready to admit that the Employer—such as he is psychologically and industrially—is the typical product of the time—the complex result of a very complex situation. To do him justice we must understand him, and right understanding will not be given to the superficial reformer. To condemn him as a shark and the enemy of man without knowing the process which produces him is neither scientific nor prudent. He is a central figure in modern life, though he is individually far from blameless. Let him who wishes to serve the cause of reform first know and then judge. An effort has been made in this article to suggest to the reader some of the lines along which much serious study must be made if he care for an accurate knowledge of conditions. When exaggeration shall have been set aside and the conditions shall have been honestly and seriously studied, then we may hope for progress in the solution of the labor question.

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<sup>40</sup> An exhaustive article on the Label may be found in the Bulletin of the Department of Labor, March, 1898. A similar movement aiming to improve conditions of retail trade is now taking shape in the formation of Consumers' Leagues.

<sup>41</sup> As an instance, laws forbid that children under 14 enter factories to work. Parents will swear falsely in order to get their children into the factory at an earlier age.

## WHAT THE POPULAR VICTORY IN IRELAND MEANS.

THAT large class of persons who cling to the philosophy of compromise in mundane affairs are presently exercised over the outcome of the Irish elections. Now, they say, we ought to have done with the eternal Irish question. Home Rule having been shown to be an unattainable goal, the chimera ought to be finally abandoned, and, contented with the substantial alternative gained in Local Government, the people of Ireland should now settle down to make the best they can of the new conditions. The world, they point out, could not get along without the principle of compromise; we must give as well as take; half a loaf is better than no bread, and so on through the whole gamut of wise saws and modern instances. A very large amount of this comfortable counsel is now being administered to the people who have won the victory by acting on the very opposite principle ever since the days of O'Connell. Had they been content with the doctrine of compromise they would have been much better off, in a material sense at least, than they have ever been under English rule. They had but to accept that rule as a matter of destiny; give up the fight for their old religion; hand over the education of their children bodily into the hands of their masters, and become, in short, like the Scotch, an integral portion of the British population, and prosperity had been the story of their island all through, instead of decline, denudation, and poverty. It is but charity to suppose that a large proportion of persons who tender the counsel of contentment and cessation from further political effort are really persuaded of the sufficiency of their knowledge on the question, as they are of their own honesty and good faith in offering the suggestion. If they take the trouble to examine a few of the salient facts which stand out in the present position as between Ireland and the power which Lord Rosebery, by a felicitous slip of the tongue, described as "the dominant partner," they will, perhaps, think differently.

Let us look, first of all, at the attitude of this so-called "partner" regarding the demand for a Catholic University. In vain may we search the pages of history, ancient or modern, for an analogy to the spectacle we now behold. We see the heads of the Government willing at length to grant all that the Irish majority have for generations demanded with pathetic persistency from

hearts as stony and obdurate as those of the Pharaohs. The Unionist majority in England was returned to power on the distinct and oft-repeated pledge of granting to Ireland, while firmly resisting a severance of the Union bond, every reasonable claim and the fullest equality of treatment in matters spiritual and intellectual with the long dominant Protestant minority. The claim for a Catholic University is so irresistible, under the existing conditions, that the leader of the House of Commons pleads with his followers to become "educated" up to the idea. But in vain. In England the powerful body of Nonconformists and in Ireland the despicable and noisy faction called Orangemen threaten the Ministry which would dare to concede the demand whose justice is confessed even by the enlightened agnostic school of writers and politicians, with the direst vengeance. Now the good easy people who pin their faith to compromise as the only reliable unguent for the wheels of mundane life and progress will do well to ponder over the position here exhibited. It is confessed that amongst the first things to which a Parliament in Dublin would put its hand would be the establishment of a Catholic University equal in every respect in teaching staffs and apparatus to the Trinity College foundation. When English Ministries, from motives of political exigency, swallow their own declarations and convictions on such a subject as this, will any man who places their proper relative values on things spiritual and material counsel the people of Ireland to "rest and be thankful?"

Again, the observer who imagines that County Councils are a tolerable substitute for Home Rule may labor under the delusion that the supremacy of the English Parliament is a merely sentimental thing. Any such complacent view of the matter is sadly wide of the mark. To illustrate: A few weeks ago a much needed improvement was sought to be effected in the purlieu of Dublin. In the neighborhood of Guinness's vast brewery there is an ancient nest of rookeries known as Bull Alley, where foul smells formed the recipe for the "embalmed beef" and naturally slain mutton which formed the staple merchandise of rows of forlorn mediaeval butchers' stalls that range the whole way down—places that existed in Dean Swift's time and were smelt by him in his adjacent "Close" in the grounds of St. Patrick's Church. This venerable purlieu the Guinness family desired to have razed and renovated, and for that purpose offered monetary help to the Dublin Corporation. A bill was accordingly presented to Parliament, asking permission of a committee who never probably had been in Dublin or heard of Bull Alley, and after several days' hard battling

was got through. To secure this very insignificant measure of local improvement it was necessary for several members of the Dublin Corporation to proceed to London, to employ English counsel at enormous fees, and go through a course of examination and cross-examination at the hands of people who knew and cared as little about the matter in hand as the King of Dahomey. When it is borne in mind that the minimum cost of getting any, the smallest bill through a Parliamentary Committee, even when there is no opposition to the measure proposed by any party or person, is six thousand dollars, and when there is strong opposition it may cost a hundred times that amount to get a vital public measure—such as the Vartry Waterworks Bill—through the London Committee, it will surely be conceded that there is something more than mere sentiment involved in the agitation against the retention of this legal monopoly in the hands of the London lawyers.

Similarly unsentimental and worldly-practical is the objection of Ireland to the continuance of the system by which the members who represent her at St. Stephen's, in both Houses of Parliament, are compelled to discharge their functions by the banks of the Thames instead of those of the Liffey. These members spend money there which properly belongs to Ireland; they are involuntary absentees for many months in the year. In the good old days, when the Irish Houses of Parliament sat in the Irish capital, the city thrived marvellously. Many of the mansions of the nobles and gentry of that halcyon period, now crumbling to decay and sunk in tenemental squalor, have been the astonishment of travellers for the evidences of former splendor they furnish. Vast sums of money were expended on many of these, in magnificent architecture, in sculpture and internal decoration. All this ceased, and the innumerable forms of trade and professional industry which depended on the support of a resident gentry in Dublin followed the course of the Parliament to the shores of Father Thames. In this case the grievance of which Ireland complains is both practical and sentimental. Dublin lost its prestige as well as its money, and the members, to which Dublin stood as head, suffered in relative proportion.

A third illustration: There is no proper comparison between the powers and possibilities of a County Council and a Supreme Parliament. No such Council is competent, under its legal status, to deal with anything beyond its own county concerns. Its functions are strictly defined and limited. A tugboat may more aptly be compared in power and capacity to a great ocean steamer than a County Council to a National Parliament. In the days when

Grattan freed the Irish Parliament from English control in the initiation of Irish measures, for the first time Ireland felt herself in a position to undertake great national enterprises. Parliament voted a million and a half of money for the construction of a great system of canals, and spread the cost all over the country. This was before the era of the steam engine. It was progress, in the sense of the highest spirit of the time. Under the system of County Councils such a work would have been simply out of the question. Every county outside the radius of prospective benefit from the measure would have stood stubbornly in resistance to any such proposal, if mooted at a meeting representative of all. This is human nature—not Irish human nature merely, but nature all the world over. It would be easy to adduce many other examples of the discrepancy between subordinate and law-making assemblies, but this one will suffice to show how wide is the difference between the measure which Ireland has just secured from the reluctant English Unionists and that which they hope yet to attain through rejecting the counsels of compromise and content and keeping right along the lines where they found the principles of unappeasable dissatisfaction most efficacious.

Perhaps the most striking anomaly of all in the relations of Great Britain and Ireland is the grievance exposed by the late Financial Relations Commission. It is, however, unlike other anomalies, a matter unconnected with spiritual and fundamental differences: it is entirely material. About seventeen million dollars annually, over and above her legitimate proportional contribution to the imperial levy, is extracted from Ireland by the peculiar and ingenious methods of taxation devised by successive English Chancellors of the Exchequer. The late Mr. Gladstone was the greatest sinner in this respect. The staggering facts were fully disclosed before the Royal Commission. But the Government of Lord Salisbury will not recognize them, and stubbornly refuses all redress. As long as this enormous wrong is suffered to continue the people of Ireland must feel it the more incumbent on them to press in season and out of season for a release from the parchment bond which links them to so dishonest and conscienceless a partner.

Hardly less powerful as a motive for persistency in the national demand is the economic position of Ireland as affected by England's free trade policy. Ireland is at present, broadly speaking, altogether an agricultural country. Long ago she had a fair share of manufactures to furnish employment to the urban and cottier population, but, owing to the sinister policy of England these in-

dustries were swept away, either by direct legislation, indirect underselling, skillfully contrived strikes, paid for by English capitalists, or other equally effective methods. As long as the English markets were not open to all the world the Irish farming population at least were able to secure some return for their labor, but with the passage of Peel's Corn Laws all this was changed. Now the agriculturist is competing with the products of America in meat and cereals, with Norway and Denmark in butter—and competing at an enormous disadvantage. American products are raised on land which pays no rent, while Irish land pays the highest penny that can be squeezed out of the struggling cultivators; and American imports are produced under all the advantages that the most modern scientific skill can confer. The same is true with regard to the butter from Denmark, Holland and France, which has been gradually forcing the once great trade of Ireland in this article from the markets of Europe. If Ireland is to be preserved from final ruin there must be such a revolution as will place her in a position to frame her own economic policy.

Irish landlords have long been observing these auguries, but with strange fatuity they have never, save in one or two solitary instances, taken sides with the mass of the people who have been struggling against the downward current. Why, then, should any sensible person be surprised at the turn events took when the people got their innings? One would really imagine, from the scream of rage and disappointment which arose from the Unionist press, when the results of the elections under the new Act were fully realized, that something extraordinary and ungrateful had been done to the landlord class.

Whatever the demerits of the landed aristocracy in the past, sound policy would dictate a fair recognition of their order in the new public arrangement. Political vengeance is a policy for tyrants; democracies ought not to ape the vices against which they are a living protest. Generous and forgiving naturally, as the Irish masses are, they would have readily yielded to the plea for consideration for their hereditary oppressors in this crucial hour had the landlords themselves repented of their want of patriotism and thrown in their lot with those who had in sunshine or storm kept up the battle. But they held aloof, as a rule. Only a few accepted the test proposed for all Nationalist candidates, and the unwise ones of the Unionist party began prematurely to predict the triumph of Unionism as a result of the election. The landlords, it was predicted, would, by their influence and the power of concerted action, "knock the bottom out of Home



Rule." The people were put on their mettle. Here was a gage of battle flung down by those who deserved no clemency. For centuries they had lorded it over the people more mercilessly than ever the French peasantry were domineered over by their feudal masters. They had driven them out of the land and over the ocean by the million, torn down their roof-trees, extinguished their hearth-fires. And now they had the temerity to dare them in their day of power. What stupendous folly! Little wonder that the lion bearded shook his mane and at one bound cleared the field of those who thought to enmesh him. Little do those who look only at gross results and salient facts, in such great happenings, know of the currents which run below the surface. It is not alone that the high principle of national autonomy is one of the stakes in the game, but the moral issues involved touch the conscience of the people, in many cases, in its tenderest part. Here are a couple of typical cases for example. They might be multiplied many times over, but they will serve to illumine the general position. The South Dublin Union, and a neighboring one, that of Rathdown, for the adjoining county of Wicklow, have from time immemorial been the stronghold of the most bigoted anti-Catholicism. Every elected guardian was of the genuine Tory and true-blue pattern; all the ex-officios were of the same brand; because the portion of the country where the guardians reside is the most beautiful in the island as well as the most convenient to the metropolis, and as they are the wealthiest people they are able to purchase and rent what is most desirable from an æsthetic as well as commodious point of view. As a result of their old-time preponderance or monopoly at the respective boards not a single office in the workhouses above the rank of watchman was ever known to be held by a Catholic. But this was not the worst feature of the exclusive system. Whenever a deserted child is turned over to the care of the workhouse, unless there is proof positive that it has been baptized in some form of faith, the guardians undertake to decide its religion. That decision, in the case of the South Dublin Union especially, was invariably rendered in the Protestant interest. Again and again have the Bishops and clergy protested against the unblushing bigotry of those guardians, in cases where all the available evidence pointed to the poor waifs having been claimed for the Catholic Church, but of course they pleaded to deaf ears. The people would be more than magnanimous if they allowed such gangs of bigots to continue their nefarious game a moment longer than they had the legal right to do so.

Similarly at the poor-law boards and in the grand-jury rooms

this system of exclusion was vigorously applied in the business functions pertaining to membership. Favorites were invariably selected for the execution of public contracts; partisans and protégés were invariably voted for when offices were to be filled. Ex-officio guardians who on all other occasions were absent from the board-rooms always came flocking in when a pet was the candidate or bidding for a contract. Anyone who imagines that the public service in the United States is the foremost for the perfecting of systematized corruption must be ignorant of the methods of the old Irish grand-jury room and those of the poor-law boards. The system there was of such hoary antiquity and smoothness of operation as to lead people to believe it was at once indestructible and incurable.

One factor in the determination of the problem had an especially important bearing on the event, and yet it seems to have entirely escaped the attention of those philosophic observers who have made a study of the episode for purposes of scientific analysis. It was forgotten that the Government, in drafting the measure had ostentatiously insulted the religious spirit of Ireland by excluding from the ranks of the eligible the Irish bishops and clergy. While women were admitted to the lists as contestants for Council honors, those who have been looked up to as the trusted counsellors of the people were branded as unfit to take part in public affairs by members of a Protestant Government. This insult was keenly felt, and when, in addition to its rankle, there came the intimation that this measure of Local Government was intended as a weapon to give the death-blow to the Home Rule agitation, it would have been miraculous if the blood of the country did not flame up in spontaneous revolt. It was felt at once that a crisis had arisen, and any indecision or ambiguity about the answer must be productive of serious mischief by furnishing the enemy with an irrefutable argument. The Irish people, it would be pointed out, were indifferent both with regard to their religion and their distinct nationality. Their religious leaders had lost control as well as their political chiefs; and this fact would be triumphantly referred to as a symptom of progress and a stride in assimilation with Great Britain. Of the supremest value, then, is the message sent back from the Irish ballot-boxes to the Machiavellian contrivers of this double-action political engine. As regards both religion and national aspirations Ireland stands firm as a rock. She is still the Ireland of the olden time, strong in faith, strong in her assertion of her inalienable right. She is in these two vital things unchanged and unchangeable. When we find a prelate of

the exalted position of Cardinal Logue proclaiming his conviction that without Home Rule it was impossible for Irish Catholics to obtain justice, who will venture to assert that Ireland was intolerant in rendering the answer she did when opportunity for speaking her mind was presented to her? In returning twenty-six out of thirty-three County Chairmen pledged to that principle, she has put herself on record in a manner that no one can misunderstand. She has, incidentally, given the quietus to Mr. John Redmond and other gentlemen of adroit finesse who advised the people to a contrary course. It was no time for parleying with the common enemy.

Overwhelming as was the popular victory it was not wanting in examples of generosity. In several instances members of the aristocratic order, though not of the religion of the masses, secured seats in wholly Catholic constituencies; while, on the contrary, Ulster bigotry proved itself true to its old tradition by voting down every candidate who did not bear the Tory and Orange hall-mark. Hence the Unionists, when they taunt their opponents with exclusiveness, forget their own principles. There is one course open to the Irish landocrats. They will be welcomed to the National ranks if they honestly and avowedly repent of an evil past, and come forward manfully to aid in the regeneration of their country. It is not yet too late, but they should remember the story of the Sibylline books and ponder on its lesson.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

## VITTORIA COLONNA.



MANY writers have claimed that a romantic affection existed between Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna. Longfellow, among others, seems to have shared this opinion; he was an ardent admirer of Vittoria's pure and noble character and has given us a sympathetic study of her in his drama, *Michael Angelo*. Doubtless at first the idea pleases our fancy, but later and keener critics have shown the untruthfulness of this view of the relations between the great artist and the high-born lady. John Addington Symonds, in his biography of the master based upon the archives of the Buonarotti family at Florence, is especially emphatic upon this point. He says that Michael Angelo the younger gave a false idea of his uncle by revising and redating the sonnets; that many currently believed to have been dedicated to the marchioness are just as likely to have been written for friends of his own sex. Symonds says that there was no "love" in his friendship for Vittoria Colonna, and that while Michael Angelo was noted for "the strength of his domestic affections he never thought of marrying." Moreover, Buonarotti's "great age rendered this (touch of passion) improbable; while the general tenor of their correspondence is that of admiration for a great artist on the lady's side and of attraction to a noble nature on the man's side, cemented by religious sentiment and common interest in serious subjects." Mrs. Oliphant, in a charming sketch in her *Makers of Florence*, says: "no woman ever came into his life but Vittoria Colonna," yet he felt for her not love, but "tender and reverential warmth of friendship." And so we would like to believe as we learn more of these two great souls. The solitary genius wedded to his art, broken-hearted at the desolation of his beautiful Florence, putting the passionate stormy unrest of his soul into those wonderful marbles that shall live for all time, finds calm and peace in the society of this noble lady. She consoled him in his disappointments and upheld him when those on whom he had relied failed him. She filled every want of his nature; with a mind capable of soaring to the heights his imagination reached she was tender and soothing while conflict had made him distrustful and satirical. She brought a softening influence to bear that no one else had ever been able to exert, and above all she encouraged that spirit of religion that had always characterized him, so that as time went on his piety became deeper and more devout. Their mutual confidences are very touching and ennobling. In one letter to him, she writes: "May God grant that

when I come to Rome again, I may find you with the image of Our Saviour living and renewed in your heart as you have so beautifully painted it in the scene with the Samaritan woman." Our interest is naturally aroused in a woman capable of attracting such a man, and each glimpse we get of her as she appears from time to time in the great master's life deepens our reverence for the woman he called friend. Gifted with a rare intellect enriched by study and intercourse with the noblest minds of her time, Vittoria Colonna bestowed honor where she gave friendship. Her family had contributed to the glory of Italy in war and peace since the eleventh century. The Colonna claim to possess the very column to which our Saviour was bound during His scourging, hence according to legend the origin of their name. Vittoria's father, Fabrizio, Lord High Constable of Naples, served with distinction in the armies of France and Arragon, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna. Vittoria's childhood was passed in Naples, where she was born in 1490. Surrounded by every luxury of that rich and lavish period, her young life opened with every promise of a brilliant and happy future, but like her own beloved city, it was all too soon to be rudely shaken, and its brightness overshadowed by clouds. At the age of four she was betrothed to Ferdinand d'Avalos, son of the Marquis of Pescara, a boy no older than herself. The marriage took place when they attained their seventeenth year. They stand before us as types of that wonderful age whose vigor had not yet become paganized and debased. Talented and accomplished, and, fortunately, devoted to each other, they found delight in the study of poetry and kindred arts. An ideal life seemed to stretch before them, when the pang of war awoke them from their dream and summoned the young husband to sterner duties. Called by Charles V. to defend his country at the outbreak of hostilities between France and Venice, Ferdinand Pescara became one of the emperor's most trusted Italian officers. On his departure for the seat of war Vittoria presented her beloved husband with a tent and standard embroidered by her own hands, and kept up a constant and affectionate correspondence with the youthful commander during his long and enforced absence. Quitting her quiet home at Ischia, she returned to Naples, thinking to be near him and to see him occasionally, but the duties of his responsible position prevented their meeting. Vittoria passed her lonely hours in the study of ancient and modern authors and in writing graceful verses which flowed naturally from a mind filled with high and loving thoughts. At the battle of Ravenna the marquis was taken prisoner, and carried with Cardinal Medici, afterwards Leo X, to Milan. During his confinement there he wrote a dialogue on Love,

addressed to his wife. Roscoe characterizes it as replete with "good sense, eloquence and wit." After his liberation he led many successful engagements under the banner of the emperor, acquiring a high reputation for magnanimity as well as courage. His treatment of noble opponents, as in the case of Chevalier Bayard, was marked by courtly generosity.

After the victory at Pavia, February, 1525, which was attributed largely to the heroic efforts of Pescara, the Italian princes offered him the kingdom of Naples, hoping to strengthen their cause by the acquisition of so brilliant an ally. Vittoria, to whom this plot was communicated, implored her husband not to sully his honor by so base an act of treachery. She wrote him: "It is by virtue alone, and not by grandeur of position or title that we acquire that honor which is so glorious an inheritance to leave to one's descendants. As for myself, I have no desire to be the wife of a king, but rather of that great captain who has conquered the most powerful of kings, not only by his valor in war, but by his magnanimity in peace." According to some authorities, Pescara, dazzled by the splendor of the bribe, gave no heed to this noble remonstrance, but yielded, and was really guilty of double treachery, first joining the conspirators against the emperor, and then betraying them to the monarch. But the consensus of opinion among our ablest critics to-day clears him from this charge, and we have every reason to believe that his native integrity of soul responded to the appeals of his wife, and that he refused all alliance with the traitors.

The marquis had been wounded at the battle of Pavia, and imprudence in exposure to the sun, and in drinking ice-water, brought on a fever from which he suffered all through the long, hot summer. Finally as he did not appear to rally and his weakness became extreme, a messenger was despatched in haste to inform the marchioness of her husband's dangerous condition. The young page sent on this sad errand found the faithful wife praying in her private chapel. His unceremonious entrance prepared her for the evil nature of his tidings; with a look, the marchioness demanded an explanation. On being informed of her husband's precarious condition, she summoned her household and hurriedly set out for Milan; but near Viterbo was met by a second messenger whose silent grief told her all. Dismounting and kneeling down in the dust of the road, the bereaved wife gave vent to her sorrow in tears and prayers, then with a sad dignity retraced her steps to that home forever desolate. For a time it seemed as though the blow was greater than nature could bear, and for months that brilliant intellect was clouded. Expressions of sympathy came from nearly every sovereign and man of note in Europe; the admiration they

evinced for her husband's noble qualities was as balm to her wounded and lonely heart. Religion, too, finally exercised its soothing influence, and after a long period of prostration, Vittoria resumed her wonted interest in the life about her. She realized that after all, death is but a temporary separation and that she would soon be reunited in happiness and glory with her lost love. This thought dominating her mind she gave herself up to prayer, meditation and the writing of verses in honor of her husband. She gave no heed while celebrating his virtues and talents, to the numerous suitors who sought her hand, some of them princes of renown. Having given her whole heart in its freshness to the beloved companion of her youth, she could not believe it possible to ever share it with another. A singular loneliness of soul seems to have been Vittoria's portion even in early life, despite the perfect love existing between her husband and herself. Public affairs claimed most of his time, and after his death the habit of committing her thoughts and feelings to paper rather than to friends, however dear, was intensified. The better to indulge her love for solitude and thought, she retired to St. Sylvester, a convent attached to the Colonna palace in Rome, where she lived the beautiful life of one indeed a widow, such as St. Paul describes. During this time she wrote many exquisite sonnets that entitle her to rank among the first poets of Italy. Nor did she neglect the poor and sorrowing. Her grief was no morbid self-indulgence; on the contrary it quickened her tender sympathy, and to every call she responded generously, bestowing, as need was, of her wealth or her magnetic power of lifting up the hearts around her to Christ the Consoler. Her dignity of demeanor and her absolute freedom from all that was petty or unworthy secured the regard and respect of the highest, and made her the crowning ornament of every society in which she moved. Count Pietro Ercole Visconti of Rome, considered to be the most trustworthy of her biographers, says: "But if Vittoria was faithful to the ashes of her beloved husband, refusing to contract any of the new alliances which were offered to her from all parts of the world, she had no desire to avoid friendships, especially with the learned. She liked to converse at length with those men, who on account of nobility of soul, valor in arms, the study of art, science or literature, and above all, acknowledged virtue were admired in her own time. Giovi dedicated to her through friendship, the seven books of the life and exploits of her husband, the Marquis Francis d'Avalos: the poet Ludovico Domenichi obtained her favor by offering her consoling elegies, and the illustrious Dolce, Molza, Guidiccioni, Bembo, Pole, Castiglione, l'Alamami, Bernardo Tasso, Ariosto and Michael Angelo received her friendship in exchange for splendid works of prose and poetry."

In 1534 began her acquaintance with Michael Angelo, who seems to have at once recognized in her a kindred soul, and the acquaintance soon ripened into the tenderest friendship. The countess' keen appreciation of art and poetry formed a strong tie between them. He drew her portrait, which was afterwards painted by Marcello Vepusti. A few of the letters he wrote her remain. Many of his sonnets were addressed to her. Only four of Vittoria's letters to Michael Angelo have come down to us, though it is known that he kept those she wrote from Orvieto and Viterbo, and had them bound with some of her sonnets. On one occasion the marchioness had sent him a vellum book containing a number of her sonnets. In 1542, writing from Viterbo, she enclosed forty others written during her residence there. This letter begins:

"Magnificent Master, Michael Angelo: I have not answered your letter before, thinking that if you and I continue to write according to my obligation and your courtesy, it will be necessary for me to leave St. Catherine's Chapel, without finding myself with the Sisters at the appointed hours, and that you must abandon the Pauline Chapel, and not keep yourself all the day long in sweet colloquy with your paintings, . . . so, that I from the brides of Christ and you from His Vicar, shall fall away."

In a letter written between 1539 and 1540, preserved in the Buonarrotti Museum in Florence, the marchioness writes about a Taking down from the Cross, painted for her by Michael Angelo:

"Your works forcibly awaken the judgment of those who examine them, and to give you a proof of it, I have dared to speak to you of adding beauty to what is already perfect. I have now seen that '*omnia possibilia sunt credenti*.' I have had great faith that God would give you a supernatural grace to paint this Christ. Since seeing it I have found that it surpassed all my expectations, and emboldened by your prodigies, I have desired what I see now so marvellously accomplished, that is that each part should attain such a perfection that nothing more could be wished for, and that nothing so perfect could be dreamed of. I rejoice greatly that the Angel on the right is so beautiful, because it seems to me that it is in some way a promise that St. Michael will on the last day place you, Michael Angelo, on the right hand of Our Lord.

Meanwhile, I know not what I can do for you in return, save to pray for you to this same sweet Christ whom you have so beautifully painted, and to beg that you will call upon me when I can in any way serve you."

The Marchioness of Pescara.

Michael Angelo's first letter to the marchioness, dated Rome,

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<sup>1</sup> English version from Artist Biographies, published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. VOL. XXIV—4.



1545, is as follows: "I desired, lady, before I accepted the things which your ladyship has often expressed the will to give me—I desired to produce something for you with my own hand, in order to be as little as possible unworthy of this kindness. I have now come to recognize that the grace of God is not to be bought, and that to keep it waiting is a grievous sin. Therefore I acknowledge my error, and willingly accept your favors. When I possess them, not indeed because I shall have them in my house, but for that I myself shall dwell in them, the place will seem to encircle me with Paradise. For which felicity I shall remain ever more obliged to your ladyship than I am already if that were possible." The following sonnet is enclosed in this letter:

Seeking at least to be not all unfit  
 For thy sublime and boundless courtesy,  
 My lonely thoughts at first were fain to try  
 What they could yield for grace so infinite.  
 But now I know my unassisted wit  
 Is all too weak to make me soar so high,  
 For pardon, lady, for this fault I cry,  
 And wiser still I grow remembering it.  
 Yea, well I see what folly 'twere to think  
 That largess dropped from thee like dews from heaven  
 Could e'er be paid by work so frail as mine.  
 To nothingness my art and talent sink;  
 He fails who from his mortal stores hath given  
 A thousandfold to match one gift divine.

Shortly after the artist sent the following letter in relation to a Crucifixion designed by him for Vittoria:<sup>2</sup>

"Lady Marchioness:—Being myself in Rome, I thought it hardly fitting to give the crucified Christ to Messer. Tommaso, and to make him an intermediary between your ladyship and me, your servant; especially because it has been my earnest wish to perform more for you than for anyone I ever knew upon the world. But absorbing occupations, which still engage me, have prevented my informing your ladyship of this. Moreover, knowing that you know that love needs no task-master, and that he who loves doth not sleep, I thought the less of using go-betweens. And though I seemed to have forgotten, I was doing what I did not talk about in order to effect a thing that was not looked for. My purpose has been spoiled: He sins who faith like this so soon forgets."

The sonnet given below seems to have been sent at the same time.

Blest spirit, who with loving tenderness  
 Quickened my heart, so old and near to die,  
 Who 'mid thy joys on me dost bend an eye  
 Though many nobler men around thee press.  
 As thou wert erewhile wont my sight to bless,  
 So to console my mind thou now dost fly;

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<sup>2</sup> Translated by John Addington Symonds.

Hope, therefore, stills the pangs of memory,  
Which, coupled with desire, my soul distress.  
So finding in thee grace to plead for me—  
Thy thoughts for me sunk in so sad a case—  
He who now writes returns thee thanks for these.  
Lo! it were foul and monstrous usury  
To send thee ugliest paintings in the place  
Of thy fair spirit's living phantasies.

A letter from the marchioness not dated but apparently written in answer to the above is found in the British Museum:

"Unique Master, Michael Angelo, and my most particular friend:—I have received your letter and seen the Crucifix which is crucified in my memory more than any other painting I have ever looked upon. Certainly one cannot see any better made, nor find anywhere a more living and finely executed image of Our Saviour, and truly I marvel at such perfection. Therefore I am resolved to have it from no hand but yours: if this is not your handiwork, then, patience for a little while. If it is yours I must have it at any cost, but if it is the work of another or you wish to have it copied by one of your pupils I want to have a talk with you about it first, for knowing the difficulty there would be in copying it, I would infinitely rather have him complete some other work for you. But if this crucifix is really yours, pardon my boldness, but I will never return it to you. I have examined it by daylight, by lamplight, and in a looking glass, and I have never seen anything more perfect.

"Yours to command,

"The Marchioness of Pescara."

The great lady's interest in the crucifix is still further shown in the few lines following, sent not long afterwards to Michael Angelo:

"I beg you to let me have the crucifix a short while in my keeping even though it be unfinished. I want to show it to some gentlemen who have come from the Most Reverend, the Cardinal of Mantua. If you are not working will you not come to-day at your leisure and talk with me?"

"Yours to command,

"The Marchioness of Pescara."

It will be noticed that the marchioness usually writes quite "a la grande dame," though the note copied above shows that she sometimes adopted a more familiar style in her correspondence.

The Sixteenth Century, rich though it was in poets, both men and women, has produced nothing to equal the religious poems of Vittoria Colonna. She was the most successful of all who adopted the style of Petrarch. Roscoe says, "her sonnets possessed more

vigor of thought, vivacity of coloring and natural pathos, than those of any of her contemporaries. Ariosto alone excelled her in the "ottava rime." In 1845 her bust was placed in the capitol at Rome. It represents a noble and beautiful face slightly tinged with melancholy.

Among the many distinguished persons whose friendship brightened Vittoria's long widowhood, may be mentioned Veronica Gambara, Countess of Correggio. Of these two noble women, Roscoe says they were "conspicuously eminent for high rank, extraordinary acquirements, excellent literary productions and unsullied purity of character and all virtues that add lustre to their sex." Surely this is high praise and from one who cannot be accused of partiality. The countess established a sort of academy in her home, where Cardinal Bembo and other learned men gathered; Charles the V also visited there. The example set by Veronica Gambara and Vittoria Colonna was quickly emulated by other ladies of high rank who produced poems of no small merit. The works of these literary women met with success in their own day and rank as classics in Italian literature.<sup>3</sup>

Francis of Holland, a Portuguese miniature painter, gives us in his "Dialogues on Painting," a charming account of an evening spent in 1538 at San Silvestro, where Vittoria passed many of the most peaceful years of her life. He recounts with great interest conversations between the master and the noble company assembled at the home of the marchioness and pays her a tribute valuable for its quaintness and evident sincerity. "The Lady Vittoria Colonna, sister of Messer. Ascano Colonna, is one of the most distinguished and celebrated women to be found in Europe, that is to say in the world. As beautiful as she is noble in her manners, skilled in the Latin tongue and full of talent, she has every quality and virtue that ornament a woman. Ever since the death of her heroic husband she has led a quiet life retired from the world. Sated with the splendors and grandeurs of her former lofty position, she now loves only Jesus Christ and the study of

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<sup>3</sup> Four editions of Vittoria's poems were printed during her lifetime, the first by Filippo Pirogallo, without her knowledge, at Parma in 1583, under the title of *Rhymes of the Divine Vittoria Colonna de Pescara*. Afterwards twenty-four sonnets on sacred subjects and a hymn on the triumph of the Cross were added. Editions were subsequently published at Naples and at Florence. A pamphlet on the Passion of Our Divine Redeemer was published at Bologna and the edition was renewed at Venice. In 1840 a new edition of her poems and a life by Visconti appeared.

<sup>4</sup> Costanza d' Avalos, Duchess of Amalfi, wrote admirable sonnets, some of which were published with those of Vittoria Colonna, at Sessa, in 1538. But the most noted of these literary women, after the Marchioness of Pescara, was Tarquinia Molza, celebrated for her genius, for her education and for the purity of her moral character in a corrupt age. She translated the works of Plato into Italian. The Senate bestowed upon her the title of Roman citizen in recognition of her merit.

serious things, doing meanwhile much good to poor women and being for them a model of true Catholic piety." That Vittoria was not merely a silent though courteous listener during these reunions is shown by the respect paid to her judgment by the men who formed part of her literary circle. Balthazar Castiglione felt honored by her friendship and sent his *Cortigiano* to be read by her before publishing it.

We have another pen picture of Vittoria in a letter of Count Fortune Martinengo of Brescia, dated June 7, 1546. Writing of the marchioness, whom he met frequently while in Rome, he says: "She is certainly a woman of unusual gifts and according to what I hear she is all on fire with the love of Our Lord. She speaks of him so often not only with the lips but from the heart. And what humility! what unparalleled goodness! and with the manners of a princess which she is by nature as well as by title! While these qualities attract all hearts they guide her in the path where she advances so rapidly and so gloriously. I have visited her several times and but for fear of intruding I should never have taken my leave. Her reasoning is so convincing that it seems as though her words forge chains that lead captive the intelligence of all who listen to her. Since I was not permitted to refresh longer my soul with her beautiful and saintly conversation, I at least console myself with thinking that it is a great advantage to have known her and to have become the devoted servant of the greatest and noblest woman under the sun. For this privilege I am as grateful to your lordship as I am to the marchioness for her goodness and courtesy."

It has been charged by some that the Marchioness of Pescara affected the doctrines of the Reformation. On this subject Symonds says that "her chief friends belonged to that group of earnest thinkers who felt the influences of the Reformation without ceasing to be loyal children of the Church." To bring the Church back to purer morals and sincerity of faith was their aim. They yearned for a reformation and regeneration from within.<sup>4</sup> "That Vittoria never adopted Protestantism, though her intimacy with men of liberal opinions exposed her to mistrust and censure in old age, and that she was placed "under the supervision of the Holy Office." Roscoe, in his life of Leo X, says, "there was some suspicion that she (Vittoria) was attached to the doctrines of the

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<sup>4</sup> And this very regeneration was going on quietly but surely. Augusta Theodosia Drane, in her admirable *Christian Schools and Scholars*, says, "the leaven of reform was working all this time." The fifth Lateran Council, held under that staunch reformer, Adrian, issued decrees for the study of the scriptures," the reform of universities and the consecration of Sunday, and, "again, when her enemies thought her dead, the Church arose to a more vigorous and beautiful life."

Reformed Church," and that these suspicions depended principally "upon conjectures arising from her friendly connections and correspondence with Flaminus, who openly showed himself favorable to the cause of reform." But Flaminus, as we know, died a Catholic, and this especial friendship instead of leading Vittoria away from the Church seems to have brought the wanderer back to it. Her life-long friendship with members of various religious houses where she continued to dwell and with the zealous clergy who fought for the integrity of the faith would certainly set at rest any doubts as to the nature of her influence over those who wavered or openly rebelled. But her own letters written at this period are evidence of her unswerving loyalty to the Church. When Fra Bernardino, whom she greatly admired, left the Church, she writes to Pope Marcellus, "He is out of the Ark that saves and protects."

Another letter written some time between 1542 and 1547 to Pope Paul III breathes the true spirit of a child of the Holy See. "The sacred will of your Holiness in regard to the alms intended for the sisters at Viterbo has not yet been fulfilled, although it has been graciously expressed on two occasions. And because I am sure that these alms could not be better bestowed, I have ventured to ask them of your Holiness, believing that your charity will be increased by the gift for which I hope and for which these good sisters are already grateful. Among the numberless charities of your Holiness, more generous perhaps, than any other Pope, this one would be, I think, most pleasing to God; it would besides be granting a very great favor to me your most devoted servant. However, I neither wish nor desire anything but to serve your holiness whom I pray God to bless with every consolation.

"Your humble servant, daughter and subject,

"The Marchioness of Pescara."

It is probable that during this time Vittoria followed the advice of Cardinal Pole, for many years her director, whose acquaintance she made while living at the convent of St. Catherine in Viterbo. The Cardinal was at that time Papal Legate to England, and had been appointed by the Pope Governor of Viterbo. Many persons of distinction followed him hither; he won all hearts by his gentleness and tact, bringing back to the true fold, among others, Flaminus, who had been led away by the errors of the times. In his unremitting labors for the material and spiritual welfare of his diocese, the Cardinal, was aided by the ready sympathy and support of Vittoria. She was one of the most honored members of the Viterbo Society, which Cardinal Pole founded and which counted among its members some of the greatest minds of the

age. Her co-operation in his work among the poor cemented their holy friendship, while his advice was invaluable to her in the troubled times when wordy disputes about doctrine were general in all classes and confused many upright minds. The Cardinal counselled patience and a suspension of judgment until the Holy See had spoken. Thanks to this wise advice faithfully followed, Vittoria's faith and peace of mind remained unshaken when so many she had known and loved fell away. Her friendship for the Cardinal terminated only at her death. She bequeathed him the sum of ten thousand crowns, but the self-denying prelate declined the legacy and transferred the whole of it to the relatives of the marchioness. Her own austerity of life was so severe that her holy director felt constrained to urge moderation lest she should ruin her health already frail.

In 1544 Vittoria returned from Viterbo to Rome; none of her family were there at the time; her brother was still in disgrace with the Holy See and the palace of the Colonnas was closed. She took up her residence at the convent of St. Catharine de Funari, finding this secluded home thoroughly in keeping with her feelings and her usual mode of living. Her long and beautiful life was drawing to a close. After twenty-two years of true widowhood, devoted to the memory of her husband, to her friends, to literature, to God, she was about to pass to her true home, to meet the God whom she had so unswervingly followed. The reunion with the long-lost love of her youth for which she had so yearned was about to be realized. Her health had been for some years a cause of grave anxiety to her friends. In January, 1547, becoming much weaker and feeling the need of greater care than could be bestowed in her simple surroundings, she allowed herself to be removed to the Cesarini palace near the Torre Argentina, owned by her cousin Giulia Colonna Cesarini. Here she died on the 25th of February, 1547, at the age of fifty-seven. She was buried, in compliance with her expressed wish, in the simple vaults used by the religious of St. Catherine's and without any of the display customary to her rank.

Vittoria's friends grieved beyond measure at the loss of their dear and treasured counsellor. They missed her gracious presence, her sympathetic affection, her sound judgment, her strong self-reliance. To her venerable friend, Michael Angelo, now in his seventy-second year, the loss was irreparable. Always a solitary soul, he was now too old to form new ties, even had he wished it. And besides where could he turn? Having loved the noblest and greatest of women, could he stoop to any inferior? This great blow left him dazed and desolate; he mourned her unceasingly. Con-

divi says: "And Michael Angelo's soul was inflamed with so great a love for Vittoria that I remember to have heard him say with tears that nothing in the world filled him with such bitterness as to have seen Vittoria dead and to have kissed merely her hand instead of her pure lips." In his loneliness after her death he was frequently heard to exclaim, "Ah, cruel death! you have stolen away my best and dearest friend, the guiding star of my genius." Longfellow represents him as uttering this pathetic soliloquy:

Well, what matters it,  
Since now that greater light, that was my sun,  
Is set, and all is darkness, all is darkness?

"I have no friends and want none. My own thoughts  
Are now my sole companions,—thoughts of her,  
That like a benediction from the skies  
Come to me in my solitude and soothe me."

"Grateful to me is sleep. More grateful now  
Than it was then; for all my friends are dead;  
And she is dead, the noblest of them all.  
I saw her face when the great sculptor, Death,  
Whom men should call divine, had at a blow  
Stricken her into marble; and I kissed  
Her cold, white hand. What was it held me back  
From kissing her fair forehead, and those lips,  
Those dead, dumb lips? Grateful to me is sleep!"

Posterity continues to repeat the praises bestowed by her contemporaries on the saintly and beautiful character of Vittoria. Every noble nature that contemplates her life and works responds with a thrill of admiration. We cannot close this inadequate sketch better than by quoting the exquisite tribute of the late Margaret J. Preston, whose poetic soul recognized a sister spirit across the gulf of centuries.

#### VITTORIA COLONNA.

Serene and sad and still, she sat apart  
In widowed saintliness, an unwowed nun,  
Whose duty to the world without was done;  
And yet concealing with unselfish art  
The scars of grief the pangs of loss, the smart  
Of pain, she suffered not herself to shun  
The hurt, and bruised, and wronged, who, one by one,  
Sought sanctuary of her cloistered heart.  
But to that loneliest soul, who found in her  
His type of womanhood supremest set,  
And knew not whether he should kneel or no,  
Such sweet, strange comfort did she minister,  
That were this deed her all, the world would yet  
Have loved her for the sake of Angelo!

ANNE STUART BAILEY,

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## REVIEW OF THE PAULINE CHRONOLOGY. ✓

THERE would be no need of reviewing the Pauline chronology, if the dates of the events in the life of Paul, long regarded as substantially settled, had not been pushed back from three to six years by some of the ablest of our present critics. It is still more remarkable that the new chronology is a natural accompaniment of the present return of historical criticism towards the tradition of the early church. For it claims not only to account more satisfactorily for such traditions as that of St. Peter's activity in Rome and Paul's in Spain, but also to agree more accurately with the conditions presupposed in the Pastoral Epistles and with the express testimony of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (including the Armenian and Jerome's version, and the Syriac epitome), of the *Chronicon Paschale*, of Ps.-Chrysostom, and Euthalius. It is true that the old chronology is still followed by Anger,<sup>1</sup> Wieseler,<sup>2</sup> Hofmann,<sup>3</sup> Schürer,<sup>4</sup> and Lightfoot;<sup>5</sup> but following Bengel, Süskind, and Rettig,<sup>6</sup> first the Catholic writers Kellner,<sup>7</sup> and Weber,<sup>8</sup> and afterwards the well-known critics O. Holtzmann<sup>9</sup> and F. Blass,<sup>10</sup> together with the great historian Harnack<sup>11</sup> and his admirers Ramsay<sup>12</sup> and McGiffert<sup>13</sup> applied all the resources of their brilliant scholarship to corroborate the new Pauline chronology. The older theory however has not been left without defence. Not to mention H. Ewald,<sup>14</sup> E. D. Burton,<sup>15</sup> B. W. Bacon,<sup>16</sup> we may state that Ramsay<sup>17</sup> though not an adherent of the traditional chronology, rejects Harnack's principal arguments, and that Zahn<sup>18</sup> vindicates the legitimacy of the old chronology with scrupulous accuracy.

The foregoing writers on the present topic distinguish between a

<sup>1</sup> *De temp. in Act. ap. ratione*, 1833.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronologie des ap. Zeitalters*, 1848.

<sup>3</sup> NT V, 11-17.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, I. ii, pp. 182 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Biblical Essays*, 1893, pp. 213-233.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Wieseler, I. c., p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> Hergenröther's *Kirchenlexicon*, 2 ed., iv. pp. 1311 ff.; *Katholik*, 1887, first half, pp. 146 ff.; *Zeitschr. für kathol. Theol.* 1888, pp. 640 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Kritische Gesch. d. Exegese d. 9 Kap. d. Römerbriefs*, 1889, pp. 177 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 1895, pp. 125 ff., 248.

<sup>10</sup> *Acta Apost.*, 1895, pp. 21 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Literatur*, pp. 233-243.

<sup>12</sup> *Paul the Traveller*, 1896; *Expositor*, ser. v., vol. iii., pp. 336, and vol. v., pp. 201 ff.; the writer slightly differs from Harnack.

<sup>13</sup> *The American Journal of Theology*, I. i. pp. 145 ff.; *History of the Apost. Church*, pp. 356 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *History of Israel*, London, 1885, vol. ii., pp. 37-43.

<sup>15</sup> *Records and Letters*, Chicago, 1896, Note i.

<sup>16</sup> *Expositor*, 1898, Febr., pp. 123-136.

<sup>17</sup> *Expositor*, 1897, March, pp. 201-211.

<sup>18</sup> *Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, ii. pp. 626 ff., 1899.



relative and an absolute Pauline chronology; the former arranges the events in the apostle's life in chronological order, and determines the length of time which separates one event from the other; the latter connects the series of facts thus obtained with the chronology of general history. There is hardly any substantial difference of opinion concerning the relative chronology of the life of the apostle; still, we cannot omit it entirely in the present paper, since the absolute chronology partly depends on the relative, just as the latter depends on the former with regard to the early life and the last years of Paul.

To begin then at the end, all are agreed that an interval of two years and a half separates the end of Paul's Roman captivity from his departure for Rome;<sup>19</sup> another interval of two years and a half his departure for Rome from his arrest in Jerusalem;<sup>20</sup> one of five years, or according to Ramsay one of five years and a half, his arrest in Jerusalem<sup>21</sup> from his arrival in Corinth;<sup>22</sup> according to the careful estimate of Ramsay two years and a half intervene between the apostle's arrival in Corinth<sup>23</sup> and the beginning of his second missionary journey,<sup>24</sup> or the Council at Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> The best known portion of Paul's career as described in Acts xv.-xxviii., from the Apostolic Council to the end of his two years' imprisonment in Rome, covers therefore only a period of some twelve or thirteen years.

It is to this twelve or thirteen years' period that we must add the number of years furnished by the apostle himself.<sup>26</sup> Starting from the time of his conversion, he writes: "Neither went I to Jerusalem to the apostles who were before me, but I went into Arabia, and again I returned to Damascus. Then after three years I went to Jerusalem to see Peter, and I tarried with him fifteen days. . . . Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me." Here two questions present themselves: 1. Does the apostle count the fourteen years from the time of his conversion or from the end of the three years after his conversion? 2. Which of his visits to Jerusalem does the apostle place at the end of the fourteen years?

As to the first question, it must be confessed that the text of Gal naturally leads one to regard the conversion of the apostle, the first visit to Jerusalem, and the second visit as three members of a series<sup>27</sup> separated by three and fourteen years respectively, so that the narrative covers a period of seventeen years.<sup>28</sup> For even if we

<sup>19</sup> Act. xxvii., xxviii.

<sup>20</sup> Act. xxi. 17 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Act. xxi. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Act. xviii. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Act. xviii. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Act. xv. 36.

<sup>25</sup> Act. xv. 2 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Gal. i. 17-ii. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. i. Cor. xv. 4-8.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Zahn, l. c., p. 627.

omit *πάλιν* in Gal. ii. 1 as is done by Marcion, Irenaeus, Ambrosiaster, and the Coptic version, we still have the double *ἐπειτα* in Gal. i. 18 and ii. 1, together with the general progressive character of the whole passage which ought not to be abandoned without cogent reasons. If Ramsay and McGiffert insist on the fourteen years' period, they are led to do so not by the text or context of Gal., but by extrinsic considerations the value of which we shall consider presently.

As to the second question, the apostle's visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. ii. 1, cannot be identified with that related in Act xviii. 22; for not to insist on Zahn's contention<sup>29</sup> that in Act xviii. 22, no visit to Jerusalem is mentioned, we may draw attention to the same writer's thesis that the epistle to the Galatians was written before the events related in Acts xviii. 22, and cannot therefore refer to them.<sup>30</sup> Nor can we identify the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. ii. 1, with that contained in Act xi. 30, xii. 25,<sup>31</sup> for Zahn has pointed out that in this case the subtraction of the seventeen years' period would bring the conversion of the apostle down to A. D. 27; besides Sanday<sup>32</sup> has shown that the apostle's visit to Jerusalem described in Gal. ii. 1-10, does not agree with that related in Act. xi. 30, and xii. 25, since the two visits presuppose wholly different circumstances. Finally, we cannot admit McGiffert's ingenious conjecture that the apostle's visit to Jerusalem for famine relief in Act xi, 30, xii, 25, and that for the settlement of the Judaistic difficulties in Act xv, 1, ff., can be identified, so that the two accounts are merely variant versions of the same event, which the historian failed to recognize as such, and therefore embodied separately in his narrative. On the one hand, the historian so clearly distinguishes the two events that no reader before McGiffert has discovered their identity; if we take the liberty of modifying the narrative of Acts according to subjective conjecture, we may as well dispense with the authority of the whole text. On the other hand, even McGiffert's conjecture does not evade the inconvenience pointed out by Zahn, since the year of the famine cannot be changed to a later period than that fixed by the testimony of profane history.\* Paul's visit to Jerusalem spoken of in Gal. ii, 1, is therefore identical with that recorded in Act xv, 1, ff., so that all recent researches have only served to confirm what may be called the traditional opinion on the present question. The so-called relative Pauline chronology then divides the thirty years of the

<sup>29</sup> I. c. ii. p. 350, note 7.    <sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 628.    <sup>31</sup> Cf. Ramsay, in *Paul the Traveller*.

<sup>32</sup> *Expositor*, fifth series, vol. iii. pp. 81 ff. 253 ff.

\*Between A. D. 46 and 48; cf. Zahn, II. p. 631.

historically certain dates of the apostle into the following periods: First, the conversion of the apostle is followed by a visit to Jerusalem after an interval of three years; secondly, fourteen years later we find Paul at the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem; thirdly, after two years and a half more he visits Corinth for the first time; fourthly, five years (and a half) later he is arrested in Jerusalem; fifthly, after a captivity of two years and a half the apostle starts for Rome; finally, Paul's Roman captivity ends after another two years and a half.

But the main difficulty as well as the main interest lie in the determination of the so-called absolute Pauline chronology (we employ the terms "relative" and "absolute" in the accepted meaning, though we think they ought to be used in the respectively opposite signification), or in the connection of the dates of the apostle's life and work with the dates of general history. The links of connection are first, the ethnarch of Aretas who was hostile to Paul at the time of his expulsion from Damascus;<sup>33</sup> secondly, Herod Agrippa i. who appears to give a clue to the time of Paul's visit to Jerusalem related in Act xi. 30, xii. 25; thirdly, Sergius Paulus Roman proconsul of Cyprus at the time of Paul's first missionary journey;<sup>34</sup> fourthly, the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius which precedes Paul's first arrival in Corinth;<sup>35</sup> fifthly, Gallio, the proconsul of Achæa, who came into contact with Paul during the latter's stay in Corinth;<sup>36</sup> lastly, the Roman procurators Felix and Festus who are connected with Paul's Cæsarean captivity and his departure for Rome.<sup>37</sup> In the following pages we shall endeavor to briefly review these different data.

I. As to the ethnarch of Aretas, it is immaterial whether we defend the opinion of Marquardt, Mommsen, and others that Damascus belonged to the kingdom of Aretas, at least for a short time, or regard the ethnarch as a kind of Consul General constituted by Aretas to protect the interests of his subjects living in Damascus;<sup>38</sup> for in either case, the term "ethnarch of Aretas" implies that he held office during the latter's lifetime. Now according to the historical data collected by Schürer, Aretas iv. ruled from B. C. 9, till A. D. 40. Though this range is too wide to yield any definite result as to the Pauline chronology, it shows us at any rate that the conversion of the apostle must be placed before A. D. 37, since the hostile relations between the ethnarch of Aretas and Paul occurred on the one hand before A. D. 40 and on the other about three years after the latter's miraculous conversion.

<sup>33</sup> II. Cor. xi. 32; Act. ix. 24.

<sup>34</sup> Act. xiii. 7-12.

<sup>35</sup> Act. xviii. 21.

<sup>36</sup> Act. xviii. 12-17.

<sup>37</sup> Act. xxiii. 24, xxvi. 32.

<sup>38</sup> Schürer, I. c. I. ii. pp. 354 ff.

2. Herod Agrippa I. obtained the royal title and the dominion of his grandfather<sup>39</sup> from Claudius immediately on his accession (A. D. 41, Jan. 24), and died three years later, A. D. 44,<sup>40</sup> according to Act xii, 3, 19. some time after the Passover of that year. The chronology of Act xii, 1-23, is therefore settled in so far that we must place the death of James, the imprisonment and miraculous liberation of Peter, and the death of Herod Agrippa in or before A. D. 44; whether the events affecting Peter and James can have occurred A. D. 42,<sup>41</sup> need not be determined here, since it does not bear directly on the Pauline chronology. For according to Act xi. 30, xii. 25, the narrative of the apostle's carrying alms to Jerusalem is somehow connected with all the events contained in Act xii, 1-23. not with one or two incidents only. If we investigate this connection more closely we are confronted at the start with three possibilities: First, the apostle's visit may have preceded the events told in Act xii. 1-23; secondly, it may have been contemporaneous with those events; thirdly, it may have followed them. The first possibility is excluded by the fact that the history of the apostolic visit is interrupted by Act xii. 1-23; for there would have been no good reason for telling part of the visit in xi, 30. part in xii. 25, if the whole visit had been ended before the death of James (Act xii. 1-2.) The second possibility, too, appears to be excluded, since, on the one hand, there is not the slightest sign in the narrative of Acts that Paul and Barnabas witnessed the events contained in Act xii. 1-23, and, on the other, the narrative implies that before the apostolic visit James had been killed, Peter had fled,<sup>42</sup> and the other apostles had left Jerusalem, so that the alms were sent "to the ancients" (not to the apostles of Jerusalem) "by the hands of Barnabas and Saul."<sup>43</sup> While the author of Acts inserts the death of James, the imprisonment of Peter and the death of Herod Agrippa, in his narrative of the apostolic visit to Jerusalem in order to depict the condition of the Church in the Jewish capital at the time of the apostle's arrival, he also implies that Paul visited Jerusalem shortly after the foregoing events, either in the autumn of A. D. 44 or during A. D. 45. These dates are not much modified even if we grant that Paul's visit was contemporaneous with Act xii. 1-23, so that Harnack's opinion, according to which the apostle's visit fell in A. D. 42, is based on the first of the foregoing three possibilities, a view that is wholly improbable if Act xii. 1-23, presents a continuous narrative. Thus

<sup>39</sup> Josephus, Wars, II. xi. 5; Antiquit. XIX. V. i.

<sup>40</sup> Josephus, Wars, II. xi. 6; Antiquit. XIX. viii. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Harnack, Chronologie, pp. 243 f.

<sup>42</sup> Act. xii. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Act. xi. 30.

far, then, we have seen that Paul must have been converted in or before A. D. 37, and must have carried alms to Jerusalem in A. D. 44 or 45; the intervening events will be considered later on.

3. Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, was converted by Paul at the beginning of his first missionary journey,<sup>44</sup> so that his term of office connects the chronology of the apostle with Roman history. We have indeed a Roman inscription according to which Sergius Paulus was "curator riparum et alvei Tiberis,"<sup>45</sup> but its date is uncertain. Another inscription, in which the name of our proconsul occurs has been found at Soloi in Cyprus. The memorial stone bearing the inscription was placed by a certain Apollonius in memory of his parents, and is dated the 25th of Demarchexusios of the year 13 (113 has been substituted by way of merely subjective conjecture); hence it points most probably to the thirteenth year of Claudius, i. e., A. D. 53. It is true that the last two lines and a half in which the name of Sergius Paulus occurs have been written later than the original part of the inscription; but it cannot be maintained that the author of this addition reckoned events from a date different from that contained in the inscription. If, then, Apollonius is said to have been censor of the senate under the proconsulship of Sergius Paulus (τιμητεύσας τὴν βουλὴν [δι]ὰ ἐξαστῶν ἐπὶ παύλου [ἀνθ]οπάτου) the latter must have held office before A. D. 53. Now in A. D. 52 L. Annius Bassus was proconsul of Cyprus,<sup>46</sup> and his immediate predecessor was Q. Julius Cordus, so that the proconsulship of Sergius Paulus must have occurred before A. D. 51. This result is not very satisfactory, but it fixes the beginning of the apostle's first missionary journey before A. D. 51.

4. According to Act xviii. 2, Paul on first coming to Corinth found "a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with Priscilla, his wife (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome)." It is true that, according to Josephus,<sup>47</sup> and Dio Cassius,<sup>48</sup> Claudius had shown himself very friendly to Agrippa I. and Herod of Chalcis, and had granted the right of a free exercise of their religion to all the Jews of the empire. At the same time, he added the monition to make a modest use of this privilege, and according to Dio Cassius<sup>49</sup> he had forbidden Jewish mob meetings in the very first year of his reign. If then the Jews did not follow these prescriptions, it cannot surprise us that the Roman police lost patience and resorted to more vigorous

<sup>44</sup> Act. xiii. 7-12.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Prosopographia iii. 221, n. 376.

<sup>46</sup> Corp. inscript. graec. 2632; cf. Plin. ep. vii. 31.

<sup>47</sup> Antiquit. XIX. v. 1-3.

<sup>48</sup> 60, 8, 2.

<sup>49</sup> 60, 6, 6.

that the Roman police lost patience and restored to more vigorous measures, such as are attested by Suetonius,<sup>50</sup> the *Doctrina Addai*,<sup>51</sup> by Eusebius,<sup>52</sup> and Orosius.<sup>53</sup> But the year of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome cannot be determined from any of these authorities; Orosius professes to give the ninth year of Claudius on the testimony of Josephus, which cannot be found anywhere. The favors bestowed by Claudius on Agrippa II. during the years 50-54 do not prove that the edict of expulsion was not issued at that period,<sup>54</sup> since they do not imply that Claudius was at that time a friend of all Jews. While, therefore, Act xviii. 2, is confirmed by the testimony of profane history, its chronology cannot be determined from this source.

5. According to Act xviii. 12-17, "when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews, with one accord, rose up against Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat, etc." Lucius Junius Gallio, whose former name had been Annæus Novatus, was the adoptive son of the rhetorician Gallio and the elder brother of the philosopher Seneca. The latter's exile, which ended A. D. 49, did not interrupt the career of Gallio,<sup>55</sup> so that he must have been consul before Seneca, A. D. 56. We know that Gallio must have become proconsul of Achaia during Paul's first stay at Corinth, since the author of Acts determines the time of Paul's trial by the beginning of Gallio's proconsulship. Seneca<sup>56</sup> tells us that his brother once left Achaia in order to recover from a fever; Pliny<sup>57</sup> relates that after his consulship he made a voyage to Egypt in order to counteract the effects of a hemorrhage; finally, Dio Cassius<sup>58</sup> places his death in the reign of Nero, and Tacitus<sup>59</sup> does not help us to determine the year more accurately. Here again, then, the narrative of Acts is confirmed by profane history, but no light is thrown on the general Pauline chronology.

6. According to Act xxiii. 24-xxvi. 32, Paul began his Cæsarean captivity under the procurator Felix, and was sent to Rome by the procurator Festus shortly after his accession to office. It is from the dates of these events that the defenders of the old chronology and the patrons of the new draw their arguments. Instead of enumerating all the arguments for the one side and the other, we shall endeavor to establish first the latest possible date and then the earliest possible of Pauline chronology, stating the views and arguments of the principal writers on this subject as we proceed in our discussion.

<sup>50</sup> Claudius, 25.

<sup>51</sup> Ed. Philipps, p. 16.

<sup>52</sup> Hist. eccl. II. xviii. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Hist. VII. vi. 15.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. O. Holtzmann, p. 127.

<sup>55</sup> Seneca, dial. xii. 18, 2.

<sup>56</sup> Epist. xviii. 1.

<sup>57</sup> H. n. xxxi. 62.

<sup>58</sup> 62, 25.

<sup>59</sup> Ann. xv. 73.

1.] Paul cannot have come to Rome later than in the spring of A. D. 61. For in the first place, according to Josephus,<sup>60</sup> Albinus, the successor of Festus in the procuratorship of Judea, was present in Jerusalem for the feast of Tabernacles four years before the beginning of the Jewish war and seven years and five months before a point of time that shortly preceded the destruction of the city, both of which indications point to A. D. 62; in the context Josephus mentions events that occurred at the Passover and the feast of Pentecost of the same year, but does not connect the name of Albinus with them. The same visit of Albinus to Jerusalem on occasion of the feast of tabernacles appears to be referred to by Josephus in his *Antiquities*,<sup>61</sup> and the whole trend of this latter passage shows that Albinus made the visit shortly after his arrival in Cæsarea, so that he must have begun his office in September, A. D. 62. Again, the same passage attests that Festus, Albinus's predecessor, had died some three months before the latter's coming, i. e., in May or June, A. D. 62. Now, though the office term of Festus was short,<sup>62</sup> it cannot be compressed into the space of ten months, so that Festus must have become procurator before the summer of 61. Since then, according to the author of the Acts, Festus began his procuratorship in summer, he must have come to Palestine in summer A. D. 60 at the latest. Reckoning, therefore, from the latest possible period, Paul must have been sent to Rome in the autumn of A. D. 60, and must have arrived in Rome in March, A. D. 61.

This result is confirmed by the following consideration:<sup>63</sup> According to an old reading of Act xxviii, 16, Paul was delivered to the *Præfectus prætorio* when he arrived in Rome. Now, though the author of Acts may be somewhat obscure in this passage, still the reader naturally infers from the passage that at the time of Paul's arrival in Rome there was only one *Præfectus prætorio*. Had he arrived in the spring of A. D. 62 he would have found two of these officials; for two began to hold office after the death of Burrus, which occurred in the beginning of A. D. 62.<sup>64</sup> According to this reckoning, then, Paul ended his Roman captivity A. D. 63 (or in the beginning of 64), departed for Rome in autumn, A. D. 60, was made prisoner in Jerusalem on the feast of Pentecost A. D. 58, visited Corinth for the first time A. D. 53, was present at the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem A. D. 51 (or A. D. 50), and was converted to Christianity A. D. 34 (or 33.) These dates form the outlines of the so-called old chronology.

<sup>60</sup> Wars, VI. v. 3.<sup>61</sup> XX. ix. 1-3.<sup>62</sup> Joseph. Wars, II. xiv. 1.<sup>63</sup> Cf. Wieseler, *Chronolog.* d. AG., p. 86.<sup>64</sup> Cf. Tac. ann. xiv. 51; Dio Cass. 62. 13.

2.] Paul cannot have arrived in Rome earlier than March, A. D. 59. In the first place Josephus<sup>65</sup> relates the mission of Felix as procurator to Palestine as the last event in the reign of Claudius,<sup>66</sup> and he places all he tells of Felix's procuratorship<sup>67</sup> after the accession of Nero<sup>68</sup>. The same writer<sup>69</sup> implies that Nero confirmed the appointment of Felix, but he does not distinctly state at what precise period the office was transferred from Felix to Festus.<sup>70</sup> In the parallel account <sup>71</sup> we find a substantial agreement with the foregoing statements. According to Josephus therefore Felix became procurator in one of the last years of Claudius, some time between A. D. 51 and 54, and was confirmed in his office by Nero immediately after his accession to the imperial dignity, Oct. 13, A. D. 54. If we compare Act xxiv. 10, with xxiv. 27, we must assign to Felix a term of at least six years, and though some of this time may fall in the reign of Claudius, still according to the foregoing data it is not probable that this amounted to more than two years. Felix must, therefore, have remained in Palestine till summer, A. D. 58, so that his successor cannot have sent Paul to Rome earlier than in the autumn of the same year, and the apostle cannot have reached Rome before spring, A. D. 59.

This clear chronology of Josephus is obscured by the writer himself. When Felix, after his recall to Rome, was accused by the Jews, Pallas secured his acquittal,<sup>72</sup> being just then (*μάλιστα δὲ τότε*) in high favor at the court of Nero. But Pallas had clearly fallen into disfavor in the beginning of Nero's reign, A. D. 55,<sup>73</sup> shortly before the fourteenth birthday of Britannicus,<sup>74</sup> who was born on the twentieth day of the reign of Claudius, i. e., Feb. 12 or 13, A. D. 41.<sup>75</sup> Hence Felix must have been recalled before A. D. 55. It is precisely on this statement of Joseph that O. Holtzmann<sup>76</sup> and Harnack<sup>77</sup> partly base their new chronology, with this difference, however, that Harnack assumes for his own convenience that Tacitus must have made a mistake of a year in the age of Britannicus.<sup>78</sup>

Considering the testimony of Josephus in itself, it is less probable that the writer should make a mistake in the history of events that occurred in Palestine, under his own eyes, than in unimportant details which he relates about distant Rome. Supposing, then, the existence of a mistake in the present history of Josephus, the error lies in the details concerning Pallas not in the dates of the Pales-

<sup>65</sup> Wars, II. xii. 8.<sup>66</sup> Wars, II. xi. 1-12, 8.<sup>67</sup> Wars, II. xiii. 2-7.<sup>68</sup> Wars, II. xii. 8.<sup>69</sup> Wars, II. xiii. 2.<sup>70</sup> Wars, II. xiv. i.<sup>71</sup> Antiquit. XX. vii. 1-8, 9.<sup>72</sup> Antiquit. XX. viii. 9.<sup>73</sup> Tacitus, Annal. xiii. 14.<sup>74</sup> Annal. xiii. 15.<sup>75</sup> Suet. Claud. 27.<sup>76</sup> Pp. 128 130.<sup>77</sup> Pp. 237-238.<sup>78</sup> Zahn, ii. p. 636.



tinian procurators. And this the more since Felix cannot have returned to Rome before the fall of his brother Pallas, i. e. before A. D. 55. For according to the author of Acts<sup>79</sup> Festus succeeded Felix during the summer season, so that the latter must have left Palestine in summer, A. D. 54, and must have been followed by his Jewish accusers before the winter of the same year. Now, Nero began to reign Oct. 13, A. D. 54; hence, Claudius must have recalled Felix, Claudius must have appointed Festus, and on his return to Rome Felix must have found Claudius still alive, all of which conclusions are false. We need not even admit a substantial error in Josephus as far as the present events are concerned. We know from Tacitus<sup>80</sup> that in the very year of his fall from favor Pallas retained influence enough to secure a sentence of "not guilty" from charges that had been brought up against him. And though his influence over Nero may never have been very great,<sup>81</sup> he certainly could effect for his brother what he was able to do for himself; especially since in the course of time the first effects of his disgrace would wear off, and his millions would give him a proportionate authority in the Roman commonwealth down to the year of his death by poison, A. D. 62.<sup>82</sup>

According to the consistent chronology of Josephus, therefore, Paul can not have reached Rome before the spring of A. D. 59. Tacitus<sup>83</sup> confirms this chronology; for he places the trial of Cumanus, which immediately preceded the appointment of Felix, in A. D. 52, so that according to Tacitus, Felix must have become procurator of Judea late in the same year or in A. D. 53. Adding the least possible number of years during which Felix must have been procurator, we arrive at A. D. 58 or 59; making then due allowance for the appointment of Festus, we see again that Paul can not have been sent to Rome before the autumn of A. D. 58, and cannot have arrived in the city before A. D. 59. It is true that, according to Tacitus, Felix had been ruling even before the trial of Cumanus together with the latter. But not to speak of the strange fact that in the division of Palestine, as found in Tacitus, the most important part, Judea, is wholly omitted, we must draw attention to the testimony of Josephus,<sup>84</sup> according to which it was owing to the intercession of the high priest Jonathan that Felix was appointed procurator after Cumanus. Though Felix may have filled the post of an underling during the term of Cumanus (*iam pridem Iudaeae impositus*), and thus won the favor of the

<sup>79</sup> xxiv. 27; cf. xx. 17; xxvii. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Tacit. annal. xiii. 2.

<sup>82</sup> Annal. xii. 54.

<sup>80</sup> Annal. xiii. 23.

<sup>83</sup> Tacit. annal. xiv. 65.

<sup>84</sup> Antiquit. XX. viii. 5; Wars, II. xii. 6.

high priest, his proconsulship cannot have coincided with that of his predecessor Cumanus. In Palestinian affairs, therefore, it is in the light of the more detailed history of Josephus that the more general narrative of Tacitus must be interpreted.

The arrival of Paul in Rome A. D. 59 agrees with two other facts better than any earlier date of this event would do. First, according to Act xxiv. 24, Felix was married to Drusilla when Paul spoke before him at the beginning of his Palestinian captivity. Now Drusilla had been the wife of Aziz of Emesa,<sup>85</sup> and has been induced by Felix to leave her husband in order to live with himself. Her marriage with Aziz had taken place after her brother Agrippa II. had obtained from Claudius the former dominion of Philip, A. D. 53. It must have taken some time before the newly married woman tired of her first husband sufficiently to abandon him entirely for the Roman procurator. Again, there is not the least indication in Act xxiv. 24, that Drusilla had been lately married to Felix; the text produces rather the contrary impression. It is, therefore, highly improbable that the time between the first marriage of Drusilla and her appearance before Paul extends to less than three years, so that she cannot have heard Paul before A. D. 58, and the latter cannot have been sent to Rome before A. D. 58.

The second fact that demands the year 59 as the earliest possible of Paul's coming to Rome is also based on Josephus.<sup>86</sup> After completing his twenty-sixth year the writer went to Rome in order to secure the liberty of several Jewish priests that had been sent there for trial by the procurator Felix. If Paul had come to Rome before A. D. 59, in other words, if Felix had ceased to be procurator before A. D. 58, these priests would have been kept prisoners in Rome awaiting their sentence for more than six years. If the reader considers it improbable that Rome should have delayed her justice for the period of six years, he may extend the term of Felix down to the summer of A. D. 60; but there is hardly any probability that it will have to be pushed in the opposite direction.

Harnack<sup>87</sup> urges against our conclusion (1) the authority of Eusebius; (2) the authority of Josephus as studied in the light of Tacitus. As to the latter argument, we have seen already that Harnack reads Josephus' account of Palestinian affairs in the light of Tacitus' account of the same, and Tacitus' account of Roman affairs in the light of Josephus' views on Rome. It would be as reasonable to correct the home news of our daily papers according to the European reports of the same, and, vice versa, to modify the home news of the European dailies according to the European

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Joseph. *Antiquit.* XX. vii. 1-2.

<sup>86</sup> *Vit.* 3.

<sup>87</sup> Pp. 233 ff.

news in American papers. Hence we need only add a word about the authority of Eusebius.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius, according to the Armenian text, it is said that the recall of Felix took place in the last year of Claudius, A. D. 54;<sup>88</sup> in the Chronicle of Jerome it is placed in the second year of Nero.<sup>89</sup> All appear to agree that in the Armenian text there exists a confusion on the present subject, and that its dates must be corrected according to Jerome's Latin edition,<sup>90</sup> and Euthalius,<sup>91</sup> so that, according to the true reading of Eusebius, Festus succeeded Felix A. D. 56. Arranging all the dates of Pauline chronology consistently with the given year, we obtain the following series: Paul ended his Roman captivity, A. D. 59; came to Rome in the spring of A. D. 57; was taken prisoner in Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, A. D. 54; came first to Corinth, A. D. 49; attended the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, A. D. 47; was converted to Christianity, A. D. 30. These dates constitute the outline of the so-called new Pauline chronology.

In the first place, we may draw attention to the fact that according to the critically determined chronology of Eusebius, which is confirmed by the same writer's Ecclesiastical History,<sup>92</sup> the procuratorship of Felix reached into the reign of Nero; this is an additional proof that Harnack and Holtzmann are wrong in their interpretation of the text of Josephus concerning Pallas since according to this interpretation Felix's successor would have been appointed by Claudius. In the second place, it has been shown in the preceding pages that Josephus, Tacitus, and the author of Acts do not permit us to place the recall of Felix as early as A. D. 56, a conclusion confirmed by the chronology of two historical facts whose dates demand a later departure of Felix from Palestine. Are we then to be deaf to the unanimous voice of practically contemporaneous witnesses as to the date of the recall of Felix, and listen to the testimony of a fourth century writer in preference, a writer whose testimony is not textually certain in the present case, a writer whose testimony is not textually certain in the present case, a writer again whose testimony, even when it is textually certain, is acknowledged to be "often quite arbitrary?" We have seen above that Harnack prefers the testimony of a witness not locally present to that of an eye-witness; now we see that Harnack prefers the testimony of the fourth century after the event to that of the living age in which the event occurs.

<sup>88</sup> Euseb. Chronicon. ed. Schoene, ii. 152.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Vir. ill. 7.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. p. 155.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Zacagni, Monum. p. 531.

<sup>92</sup> II. xx. 1; xxii. 1.

3.] Thus far we have come to the conclusion that Paul cannot have come to Rome later than A. D. 61 or earlier than A. D. 59. If the reader will consider the series of arguments we have given for the one conclusion and the other, he will perceive that the arguments for the latest possible term do not urge us as much to push the date upwards as the arguments for the earliest possible term incline us to push the date downwards. It is for this reason that the so-called old chronology is right in assuming A. D. 61 as the year of the apostle's arrival in Rome, and in arranging the other dates accordingly. This does not touch the question of Paul's death, or rather of its place and time. But these points demand a separate paper, so that we now leave the apostle where the author of Acts leaves him, i. e., at the end of his Roman captivity.

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**SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE.**

**AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS  
ALIOSQUE LOCORVM ORDINARIOS**

**PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES**

**DE HOMINIBVS**

**SACRATISSIMO CORDI IESV**

**DEVOVENDIS**

**A**NNUM Sacrum, more institutoque maiorum in hac alma Urbe proxime celebrandum, per apostolicas Litteras, ut probe nostis, nuperrime indiximus. Hodierno autem die, in spem auspiciūque peragendaē sanctius religiosissimae celebritatis, auctores suasoresque sumus praeclarae cuiusdam rei, ex qua quidem, si modo omnes ex animo, si consentientibus libentibusque voluntatibus paruerint, primum quidem nomini christiano, deinde societati hominum universae fructus insignes non sine causa expectamus eosdemque mansuros.

Probatissimam religionis formam, quae in cultu Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu versatur, sancte tueri ac maiore in lumine collocare non semel conati sumus, exemplo Decessorum Nostrorum Innocentii XII, Benedicti XIII, Clementis XIII, Pii VI eodemque nomine VII ac IX: idque maxime per Decretum egimus die xxviii Iunii mensis an. MDCCCLXXXIX datum, quo scilicet Festum eo titulo

ad ritum primae classis eveximus. Nunc vero luculentior quaedam obsequii forma obversatur animo, quae scilicet honorum omnium, quotquot Sacratissimo Cordi haberi consueverunt, velut absolutio perfectioque sit: eamque Iesu Christo Redemptori pergratam fore confidimus. Quamquam haec, de qua loquimur, haud sane nunc primum mota res est. Etenim abhinc quinque ferme lustris, cum saecularia solemnia imminerent iterum instauranda postea quam mandatum de cultu divini Cordis propagando beata Margarita Maria de Alacoque divinitus acceperat, libelli supplices non a privatis tantummodo, sed etiam ab Episcopis ad Pium IX in id undique missi complures, ut communitatem generis humani devovere augustissimo Cordi Iesu vellet. Differri placuit rem, quo decerneretur maturius: interim devovendi sese singillatim civitatibus data factulta volentibus, praescriptaque devotionis formula. Novis nunc accedentibus caussis, maturitatem venisse rei perficiendae iudicamus.

Atque amplissimum istud maximumque obsequii et pietatis testimonium omnino convenit Iesu Christo, quia ipse princeps est ac dominus summus. Videlicet imperium eius non est tantummodo in gentes catholici nominis, aut in eos solum, qui sacro baptismo rite abluti, utique ad Ecclesiam, si spectetur ius, pertinent, quamvis vel error opinionum devios agat, vel dissensio a caritate seiungat: sed complectitur etiam quotquot numerantur christianae fidei expertes, ita ut verissime in potestate Iesu Christi sit universitas generis humani. Nam qui Dei Patris Unigenitus est, eandemque habet cum ipso substantiam, *splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius*<sup>1</sup>, huic omnia cum Patre communia esse necesse est, propterea quoque rerum omnium summum imperium. Ob eam rem Dei Filius de se ipse apud Prophetam, *Ego autem, effatur, constitutus sum rex super Sion montem sanctum eius. — Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Postula a me, et dabo Tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae*<sup>2</sup>. Quibus declarat, se potestatem a Deo accepisse cum in omnem Ecclesiam quae per Sion montem intelligitur, tum in reliquum terrarum orbem, qua eius late termini proferuntur. Quo autem summa ista potestas fundamento nitatur, satis illa docent, *Filius meus es tu*. Hoc enim ipso quod omnium Regis est Filius, universae potestatis est heres: ex quo illa, *dabo Tibi hereditatem tuam*. Quorum sunt ea similia, quae habet Paulus apostolus: *Quem constituit heredem universorum*<sup>3</sup>.

Illud autem considerandum maxime, quid affirmaverit de imperio

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. i, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. i, 2.

suo Iesus Christus non iam per apostolos aut prophetas, sed suis ipse verbis. Quaerenti enim romano Praesidi: *ergo rex es tu?* sine ulla dubitatione respondit: *tu dicis quia rex sum ego*<sup>4</sup>. Atque huius magnitudinem potestatis et infinitatem regni illa ad Apostolos apertius confirmant: *Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra*<sup>5</sup>. Si Christo data potestas omnis, necessario consequitur, imperium eius summum esse oportere, absolutum, arbitrio nullius obnoxium, nihil ut ei sit nec par nec simile: cumque data sit in caelo et in terra, debet sibi habere caelum terrasque parentia. Re autem vera ius istud singulare sibiue proprium exercuit, iussis nimirum Apostolis evulgare doctrinam suam, congregare homines in unum corpus Ecclesiae per lavacrum salutis, leges denique imponere, quas recusare sine salutis sempiternae discrimine nemo posset.

Neque tamen sunt in hoc omnia. Imperat Christus non iure tantum nativo, quippe Dei Unigenitus, sed etiam quaesito. Ipse enim eripuit nos *de potestate tenebrarum*<sup>6</sup>, idemque *dedit redemptionem semetipsum pro omnibus*<sup>7</sup>. Ei ergo facti sunt *populus acquisitionis*<sup>8</sup> non solum et catholici et quotquot christianum baptismum rite accepere, sed homines singuli et universi. Quam in rem apte Augustinus: *quaeritis, inquit, quid emerit? Videte quid dederit, et invenietis quid emerit. Sanguis Christi pretium est. Tanti quid valet? quid, nisi totus mundus? quid, nisi omnes gentes? Pro toto dedit, quantum dedit*<sup>9</sup>.

Cur autem ipsi infideles potestate dominatuque Iesu Christi teneantur, caussam sanctus Thomas rationemque, edisserendo, docet. Cum enim de iudiciali eius potestate quaesisset, num ad homines porrigatur universos, affirmassetque, *indiciaria potestas consequitur potestatem regiam*, plane concludit: *Christo omnia sunt subiecta quantum ad potestatem, etsi nondum sunt ei subiecta quantum ad executionem potestatis*<sup>10</sup>. Quae Christi potestas et imperium in homines exercetur per veritatem, per iustitiam, maxime per caritatem.

Verum ad istud potestatis dominationisque suae fundamentum duplex benigne ipse sinit ut accedat a nobis, si libet, devotio voluntaria. Porro Iesus Christus, Deus idem ac Redemptor, omnium est rerum cumulata perfectaue possessione locuples: nos autem adeo inopes atque egentes ut, quo eum munerari liceat, de nostro quidem suppetat nihil. Sed tamen pro summa bonitate et caritate sua minime recusat quin sibi, quod suum est, perinde demus, addicamus, ac iuris nostri foret: nec solum non recusat, sed expetit ac rogat: *Fili praebe cor tuum mihi*. Ergo gratificari illi utique pos-

<sup>4</sup> I oan. xviii, 37.<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxviii, 18.<sup>6</sup> Coloss. i, 13.<sup>7</sup> I. Tim. ii, 6.<sup>8</sup> I Petr. ii, 9.<sup>9</sup> Tract. 120 in Ioan.<sup>10</sup> 3a p. q. 59, a. 4.

sumus voluntate atque affectione animi. Nam ipsi devovendo nos, non modo et agnoscimus et accipimus imperium eius aperte ac libenter: sed re ipsa testamur, si nostrum id esset quod dono damus, summa nos voluntate daturos; ac petere ab eo ut id ipsum, etsi plane suum, tamen accipere a nobis ne gravetur. Haec vis rei est, de qua agimus, haec Nostris subiecta verbis sententia. — Quoniamque inest in Sacro Corde symbolum atque expressa imago infinitae Iesu Christi caritatis, quae movet ipsa nos ad amandum mutuo, ideo consentaneum est dicare se Cordi eius augustissimo: quod tamen nihil est aliud quam dedere atque obligare se Iesu Christo, quia quidquid honoris, obsequii, pietatis divino Cordi tribuitur, vere et proprie Christo tribuitur ipsi.

Itaque ad istiusmodi devotionem voluntate suscipiendam excitamus cohortamurque quotquot divinissimum Cor et noscant et diligant: ac valde velimus, eodem id singulos die efficere, ut tot millium idem voventium animorum significationes uno omnes tempore ad caeli templa pervehantur. — Verum numne elabi animo patiemur innumerabiles alios, quibus christiana veritas nondum affulsit? Atqui eius persona geritur a Nobis, qui venit salvum facere quod perierat, quique totius humani generis saluti addixit sanguinem suum. Propterea eos ipsos qui in umbra mortis sedent, quemadmodum excitare ad eam, quae vere vita est, assidue studemus, Christi nuntiis in omnes partes ad erudiendum dimissis, ita nunc, eorum miserati vicem, Sacratissimo Cordi Iesu commendamus maiorem in modum et, quantum in Nobis est, dedicamus. — Qua ratione haec, quam cunctis suademus, cunctis est profutura devotio. Hoc enim facto, in quibus est Iesu Christi cognitio et amor, ii facile sentient sibi fidem amoremque crescere. Qui, Christo cognito, praecepta tamen eius legemque negligunt, iis fas erit e Sacro Corde flammam caritatis arripere. Iis demum longe miseris, qui caeca superstitione conflictantur, caeleste auxilium uno omnes animo flagitabimus, ut eos Iesus Christus, sicut iam sibi habet subiectos *secundum potestatem*, subiiciat aliquando *secundum executionem potestatis*, neque solum *in futuro saeculo*, *quando de omnibus voluntatem suam implebit*, *quosdam quidem salvando*, *quosdam puniendo*<sup>11</sup>, sed in hac etiam vita mortali, fidem scilicet ac sanctitatem impertiendo; quibus illi virtutibus colere Deum queant, uti par est, et ad sempiternam in caelo felicitatem contendere.

Cuiusmodi dedicatio spem quoque civitatibus affert rerum meliorum, cum vincula instaurare aut firmitus possit adstringere,

<sup>11</sup> S. Thom. 1. c.

quae res publicas naturâ iungunt Deo. — Novissimis hisce temporibus id maxime actum, ut Ecclesiam inter ac rem civilem quasi murius intersit. In constitutione atque administratione civitatum pro nihilo habetur sacri divinique iuris auctoritas, eo proposito ut communis vitae consuetudinem nulla vis religionis attingat. Quod huc ferme recidit, Christi fidem de medio tollere, ipsumque, si fieri posset, terris exigere Deum. Tanta insolentia elatis animis, quid mirum quod humana gens pleraque in eam inciderit rerum perturbationem iisque iactetur fluctibus, qui metu et periculo vacuum sinant esse neminem? Certissima incolumitatis publicae firmamenta dilabi necesse est, religione posthabita. Poenas autem Deus de perduellibus iustas meritasque sumpturus, tradidit eos suae ipsorum libidini, ut serviant cupiditatibus ac sese ipsi nimia libertate conficiant.

Hinc vis illa malorum quae iamdiu insident, quaeque vehementer postulant, ut unius auxilium exquiratur, cuius virtute depellantur. Quisnam autem ille sit, praeter Iesum Christum Unigenitum Dei? *Neque enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri*<sup>12</sup>. Ad illum ergo confugiendum, qui est *viam, veritatem et vitam*. Erratum est: redeundum in viam: obductae mentibus tenebrae: discutienda caligo luce veritatis: mors occupavit: apprehendenda vita. Tum denique licebit sanari tot vulnera, tum ius omne in pristinae auctoritatis spem revirescet, et restituentur ornamenta pacis, atque excident gladii fluentque arma de manibus, cum Christi imperium omnes accipient libentes eique parebunt, *atque omnis lingua confitebitur quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris*<sup>13</sup>.

Cum Ecclesia per proxima originibus tempora caesareo iugo premeretur, conspecta sublime adolescenti imperatori crux, amplissimae victoriae, quae mox est consecuta, auspex simul atque effectrix. En alterum hodie oblatum oculis auspicatissimum divinissimumque signum: videlicet Cor Iesu sacratissimum, superimposita cruce, splendidissimo candore inter flammam elucens. In eo omnes collocandae spes: ex eo hominum petenda atque expectanda salus.

Denique, id quod praeterire silentio nolumus, illa quoque causa, privatim quidem Nostra, sed satis iusta et gravis, ad rem suscipiendam impulit, quod bonorum omnium auctor Deus Nos haud ita pridem, periculoso depulso morbo, conservavit. Cuius tanti beneficii auctis nunc per Nos Sacratissimo Cordi honoribus, et memoriam publice extare volumes et gratiam.

<sup>12</sup> Act. iv, 12.<sup>13</sup> Phil. ii, 11.



Itaque edicimus ut diebus nono, decimo, undecimo proximi mensis Iunii, in suo cuiusque urbis atque oppidi templo principe statae supplicationes fiant, perque singulos eos dies ad ceteras preces Litaniae Sanctissimi Cordis adiiciantur auctoritate Nostra probatae: postremo autem die formula Consecrationis recitetur: quam vobis formulam, Venerabiles Fratres, una cum his litteris mittimus.

Divinorum munerum auspicem benevolentiaeque Nostrae testem vobis et clero populoque, cui praeestis, apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die xxv Maii, An. MDCCCLXXXIX, Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER, LEO  
XIII., BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE.

TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF  
THE CATHOLIC WORLD IN GRACE AND COMMUNION  
WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE,

ON THE CONSECRATION OF MANKIND TO THE SACRED HEART OF  
JESUS.

*To Our Venerable Brethren, the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops  
and Bishops of the Catholic World in Grace and Communion  
with the Apostolic See.*

POPE LEO XIII..

*Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction.*

**B**UT a short time ago, as you well know, We, by letters apostolic, and following the custom and ordinances of Our predecessors, commanded the celebration in this city, at no distant date, of a Holy Year. And now to-day, in the hope and with the object that this religious celebration shall be more devoutly performed, We have traced and recommended a striking design from which, if all shall follow it out with hearty good will, We not unreasonably expect extraordinary and lasting benefits for Christendom in the first place and also for the whole human race.

Already more than once We have endeavored, after the example of Our predecessors Innocent XII., Benedict XIII., Clement XIII.,

Pius VI., and Pius IX., devoutly to foster and bring out into fuller light that most excellent form of devotion which has for its object the veneration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; this We did especially by the Decree given on June 28, 1889, by which We raised the Feast under that name to the dignity of the first class. But now We have in mind a more signal form of devotion which shall be in a manner the crowning perfection of all the honors that people have been accustomed to pay to the Sacred Heart, and which We confidently trust will be most pleasing to Jesus Christ, our Redeemer. This is not the first time, however, that the design of which We speak has been mooted. Twenty-five years ago, on the approach of the solemnities of the second centenary of the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque's reception of the Divine command to propagate the worship of the Sacred Heart, many letters from all parts, not merely from private persons but from Bishops also were sent to Pius IX. begging that he would consent to consecrate the whole human race to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. It was thought best at the time to postpone the matter in order that a well-considered decision might be arrived at. Meanwhile permission was granted to individual cities which desired it thus to consecrate themselves, and a form of consecration was drawn up. Now, for certain new and additional reasons, We consider that the plan is ripe for fulfilment.

This world-wide and solemn testimony of allegiance and piety is especially appropriate to Jesus Christ, who is the Head and Supreme Lord of the race. His empire extends not only over Catholic nations and those who, having been duly washed in the waters of holy baptism, belong of right to the Church, although erroneous opinions keep them astray, or dissent from her teaching cuts them off from her care; it comprises also all those who are deprived of the Christian faith, so that the whole human race is most truly under the power of Jesus Christ. For He who is the Only-begotten Son of God the Father, having the same substance with Him and being the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance (Hebrew i., 3) necessarily has everything in common with the Father, and therefore sovereign power over all things. This is why the Son of God thus speaks of Himself through the Prophet: "But I am appointed king by him over Sion, his holy mountain. . . . The Lord said to me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession" (Psalm, ii.). By these words He declares that He has power from God over the whole Church, which is signified by

Mount Sion, and also over the rest of the world to its uttermost ends. On what foundation this sovereign power rests is made sufficiently plain by the words, "Thou art My Son." For by the very fact that He is the Son of the King of all, He is also the heir of all His Father's power: hence the words—"I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance," which are similar to those used by Paul the Apostle, "whom he hath appointed heir of all things" (Hebrews i., 2).

But we should now give most special consideration to the declarations made by Jesus Christ, not through the Apostles or the Prophets but by His own words. To the Roman Governor who asked Him, "Art thou a king then?" He answered unhesitatingly, "Thou sayest that I am a king" (John xviii. 37). And the greatness of this power and the boundlessness of His kingdom is still more clearly declared in these words to the Apostles: "All power is given to me in heaven and on earth" (Matthew xxviii., 18). If then all power has been given to Christ it follows of necessity that His empire must be supreme, absolute and independent of the will of any other, so that none is either equal or like unto it: and since it has been given in heaven and on earth it ought to have heaven and earth obedient to it. And verily he has acted on this extraordinary and peculiar right when He commanded His Apostles to preach His doctrine over the earth, to gather all men together into the one body of the Church by the baptism of salvation, and to bind them by laws, which no one could reject without risking his eternal salvation.

But this is not all. Christ reigns not only by natural right as the Son of God, but also by a right that He has acquired. For He it was who snatched us "from the power of darkness" (Colossians i., 13), and "gave Himself for the redemption of all" (1 Timothy ii., 6). Therefore not only Catholics, and those who have duly received Christian baptism, but also all men, individually and collectively, have become to Him "a purchased people" (1 Peter ii., 9). St. Augustine's words are therefore to the point when he says: "You ask what price He paid? See what He gave and you will understand how much He paid. The price was the blood of Christ. What could cost so much but the whole world, and all its people? The great price He paid was paid for all" (T. 120 on St. John).

How it comes about that infidels themselves are subject to the power and dominion of Jesus Christ is clearly shown by St. Thomas, who gives us the reason and its explanation. For having put the question whether His judicial power extends to all men, and having stated that judicial authority flows naturally from royal

authority, he concludes decisively as follows: "All things are subject to Christ as far as His power is concerned, although they are not all subject to Him in the exercise of that power" (3a., p., q. 59, a. 4). This sovereign power of Christ over men is exercised by truth, justice, and above all, by charity.

To this twofold ground of His power and domination He graciously allows us, if we think fit, to add voluntary consecration. Jesus Christ, our God and our Redeemer, is rich in the fullest and perfect possession of all things: we, on the other hand, are so poor and needy that we have nothing of our own to offer Him as a gift. But yet, in His infinite goodness and love, He in no way objects to our giving and consecrating to Him what is already His, as if it were really our own; nay, far from refusing such an offering, He positively desires it and asks for it: "My son, give me thy heart." We are, therefore, able to be pleasing to Him by the good will and the affection of our soul. For by consecrating ourselves to Him we not only declare our open and free acknowledgment and acceptance of His authority over us, but we also testify that if what we offer as a gift were really our own, we would still offer it with our whole heart. We also beg of Him that He would vouchsafe to receive it from us, though clearly His own. Such is the efficacy of the act of which We speak, such is the meaning underlying Our words.

And since there is in the Sacred Heart a symbol and a sensible image of the infinite love of Jesus Christ which moves us to love one another, therefore is it fit and proper that we should consecrate ourselves to His most Sacred Heart—an act which is nothing else than an offering and a binding of oneself to Jesus Christ, seeing that whatever honor, veneration and love is given to this divine Heart is really and truly given to Christ Himself.

For these reasons We urge and exhort all who know and love this divine Heart willingly to undertake this act of piety; and it is Our earnest desire that all should make it on the same day, that so the aspirations of so many thousands who are performing this act of consecration may be borne to the temple of heaven on the same day. But shall We allow to slip from Our remembrance those innumerable others upon whom the light of Christian truth has not yet shined? We hold the place of Him who came to save that which was lost, and who shed His blood for the salvation of the whole human race. And so We greatly desire to bring to the true life those who sit in the shadow of death. As we have already sent messengers of Christ over the earth to instruct them, so now, in pity for their lot with all Our soul we commend them, and as

far as in Us lies We consecrate them to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In this way this act of devotion, which We recommend, will be a blessing to all. For having performed it, those in whose hearts are the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ will feel that faith and love increased. Those who knowing Christ, yet neglect His law and its precepts, may still gain from His Sacred Heart the flame of charity. And lastly, for those still more unfortunate, who are struggling in the darkness of superstition, we shall all with one mind implore the assistance of heaven that Jesus Christ, to whose power they are subject, may also one day render them submissive to its exercise; and that not only in the life to come when He will fulfil His will upon all men, by saving some and punishing others, (St. Thomas, *ibid*), but also in this mortal life by giving them faith and holiness. May they by these virtues strive to honor God as they ought, and to win everlasting happiness in heaven.

Such an act of consecration, since it can establish or draw tighter the bonds which naturally connect public affairs with God, gives to States a hope of better things. In these latter times especially, a policy has been followed which has resulted in a sort of wall being raised between the Church and civil society. In the constitution and administration of States the authority of sacred and divine law is utterly disregarded, with a view to the exclusion of religion from having any constant part in public life. This policy almost tends to the removal of the Christian faith from our midst, and, if that were possible, of the banishment of God Himself from the earth. When men's minds are raised to such a height of insolent pride, what wonder is it that the greater part of the human race should have fallen into such disquiet of mind and be buffeted by waves so rough that no one is suffered to be free from anxiety and peril? When religion is once discarded it follows of necessity that the surest foundations of the public welfare must give way, whilst God, to inflict on His enemies the punishment they so richly deserve, has left them the prey of their own evil desires, so that they give themselves up to their passions and finally wear themselves out by excess of liberty.

Hence that abundance of evils which have now for a long time settled upon the world, and which pressingly call upon us to seek for help from Him by whose strength alone they can be driven away. Who can He be but Jesus Christ the Only-begotten Son of God? "For there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv., 12). We must have recourse to Him who is, the Way, the Truth and the Life. We have gone astray and we must return to the right path: darkness

has overshadowed our minds, and the gloom must be dispelled by the light of truth: death has seized upon us, and we must lay hold of life. It will at length be possible that our many wounds be healed and all justice spring forth again with the hope of restored authority; that the splendors of peace be renewed, and swords and arms drop from the hand when all men shall acknowledge the empire of Christ and willingly obey His word, and "Every tongue shall confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father" (Philippians ii., 11).

When the Church, in the days immediately succeeding her institution, was oppressed beneath the yoke of the Cæsars, a young Emperor saw in the heavens a cross, which became at once the happy omen and cause of the glorious victory that soon followed. And now, to-day, behold another blessed and heavenly token is offered to our sight—the most Sacred Heart of Jesus, with a cross rising from it and shining forth with dazzling splendor amidst flames of love. In that Sacred Heart all our hopes should be placed, and from it the salvation of men is to be confidently besought.

Finally, there is one motive which We are unwilling to pass over in silence, personal to Ourselves it is true, but still good and weighty, which moves Us to undertake this celebration. God, the author of every good, not long ago preserved Our life by curing Us of a dangerous disease. We now wish, by this increase of the honor paid to the Sacred Heart, that the memory of this great mercy should be brought prominently forward, and Our gratitude be publicly acknowledged.

For these reasons, we ordain that on the ninth, tenth and eleventh of the coming month of June, in the principal church of every town and village, certain appointed prayers be said, and on each of these days there be added to the other prayers the Litany of the Sacred Heart approved by Our authority. On the last day the form of consecration shall be recited which, Venerable Brethren, We sent to you with these letters.

As a pledge of divine benefits, and in token of Our paternal benevolence, to you, and to the clergy and people committed to your care We lovingly grant in the Lord the Apostolic Benediction.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's on the 25th day of May, 1899, the twenty-second year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII.

INDICTIO UNIVERSALIS IUBILAEI ANNI SANCTI  
MILLESIMI NONINGENTESIMI. LEO EPIS-  
COPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.

*Universis Christifidelibus Praesentes Litteras Inspecturis Salutem et  
Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

**P**ROPERANTE ad exitum saeculo, quod annuente Deo Nos ipsi prope totum emensi vivendo sumus, animum volentes induximus rem ex instituto maiorum decernere, quae saluti populo christiano sit, ac simul curarum Nostrarum, qualescumque in gerendo Pontificatu maximo fuerint, extremum velut vestigium ostendat. IUBILAEUM MAGNUM dicimus, iam inde antiquitus in christianos mores inductum, decessorumque Nostrorum providentia sancitum: quem tradita a patribus consuetudo *Annum sanctum* appellat, tum quod solet esse caeremoniis sanctissimis comitatio, tum maxime quod castigandis moribus renovandisque ad sanctitatem animis adiumenta uberiora suppeditat. Testes ipsi sumus quanto opere is ad salutem valuit qui postremo actus est ritu solemnem, Nobis videlicet adolescentibus, Leone XII pontifice maximo: quo tempore magnum tutissimumque religioni publicae theatrum Roma praebuit. Memoria tenemus ac videre propemodum etiam nunc videmur peregrinorum frequentiam: circumeuntem templa augustissima, disposito agmine, multitudinem: viros apostolicos concionantes in publico: celeberrima Urbis loca divinis laudibus personantia: pietatis caritatisque exempla edentem in oculis omnium, magno Cardinalium comitatu, pontificem. Cuius recordatione memoriae ex temporibus iis ad ea, quae nunc sunt, mens acerbius revocatur. Earum quippe rerum quas diximus, quaeque si in luce civitatis, nulla re impediante, peragantur, mire alere atque incitare pietatem popularem solent, nunc quidem, mutato Urbis statu, aut nulla facultas est, aut in alieno posita arbitrio.

Ut cumque sit, fore confidimus ut salubrium consiliorum adiutor Deus voluntati huic Nostrae, quam in eius gratiam gloriamque suscepimus, cursum prosperum ac sine offensione largiatur. Quo enim spectamus, aut quid volumus? Hoc nempe unice, efficere homines, quanto plures nitendo possumus, salutis aeternae compotes, huiusque rei gratiâ morbis animorum ea ipsa, quae Iesus Christus in potestate Nostra esse voluit, adhibere remedia. Atque id a Nobis non modo munus apostolicum, sed ipsa ratio temporis plane videtur postulare. Non quod recte factorum laudumque

christianarum sit sterile saeculum: quin imo abundant, adiuvante Deo, exempla optima, nec virtutum genus est ullum tam excelsum tamque arduum, in quo non excellere magnum numerum videamus: vim namque procreandi alendique virtutes habet christiana religio divinitus insitam, eamque inexhaustam ac perpetuam. Verum si circumspiciendo quis intuetur in partem alteram, quae tenebrae, quantus error, quam ingens multitudo in interitum ruentium sempiternum! Angimur praecipuo quodam dolore, quotiescumque venit in mentem quanta pars christianorum, sentiendi cogitandique licentia deliniti, malarum doctrinarum veneno sitienter hausto, fidei divinae in se ipsi grande munus quotidie corrumpant. Hinc christiana taedium vitae, et late fusa morum labes: hinc illa rerum, quae sensibus percipiantur, acerrima atque inexplebilis, appetentia, curaeque et cogitationes omnes aversae a Deo, humi defixae. Ex quo fonte teterrimo dici vix potest quanta iam in ea ipsa, quae sunt civitatum fundamenta, perniciēs influxit. Nam contumaces vulgo spiritus, motus turbidi popularium cupiditatum, caeca pericula, tragica scelera, nihil denique sunt aliud, si libet caussam introspicere, nisi quaedam de adipiscendis fruendisque rebus mortalibus atque effrenata decertatio.

Ergo interest privatim et publice, admoneri homines officii sui, excitari consopita veterno pectora, atque ad studium salutis revocari quotquot in singulas prope horas discrimen temere adeunt pereundi, perdendique per socordiam aut superbiam caelestia atque immutabilia bona, ad quae sola nati sumus. Atqui huc omnino pertinet annus sacer: etenim per id tempus totum Ecclesia parens, non nisi lenitatis et misericordiae memor, omni qua potest ope studioque contendit ut in melius humana consilia referantur, et quod quisque deliquit, luat emendatrix vitae poenitentia. Hoc illa proposito, multiplicata obsecratione auctaque instantia, placare nititur violatum Dei numen, arcessere e caelo munerum divinorum copiam: lateque reclusis gratiae thesauris, qui sibi sunt ad dispensandum commissi, vocat ad spem veniae universitatem christianorum, tota in eo ut reluctantes etiam voluntates abundantia quadam amoris indulgentiaeque pervincat. Quibus ex rebus quid ni expectemus fructus uberes, si Deo placet, ac tempori accommodatos?

Augent opportunitatem rei extraordinaria quaedam solemnia de quibus iam, opinamur, satis notitia percēbuit; quae quidem solemnia excessum undevicesimi saeculi vicesimique ortum quodam modo consecraverint. Intelligi de honoribus volumus Iesu Christo Servatori medio eo tempore ubique terrarum habendis. Hac de re excogitatum privatorum pietate consilium laudavimus libentes ac probavimus: quid enim fieri sanctius aut salutarius queat? Quae



genus humanum appetat, quae diligat, quae speret, ad quae tendat, in unigenito Dei Filio sunt omnia: is enim est *salus, vita, resurrectio nostra*: quem velle deserere, est velle funditus interire. Quamobrem etsi numquam silet, imo perpetua viget omnibus locis ea, quae Domino nostro Iesu Christo debetur, adoratio, laus, honos, gratiarum actio, tamen nullae gratiae nullique honores possunt esse tanti, quin longe plures ei debeantur longeque maiores. Praeterea num paucos saeculum tulit immemori ingratoque animo, qui divino servatori suo pro pietate contemptum, pro beneficiis iniurias referre consueverint? Certe ipsa ab eius legibus praeceptisque vita discrepans plurimorum argumento est flagitiosae ingrattissimaeque voluntatis. Quid quod de ipsa Iesu divinitate Arianum scelus non semel renovatum nostra vidit aetas? Macti itaque animo, quotquot populari incitamentum pietati consilio isto novo pulcherrimoque prae buistis; quod tamen ita efficere oportet, nihil ut Iubilaei curriculum, nihil statuta solemnina impediât. In proxima ista catholicorum hominum significatione religionis ac fidei id quoque propositum inerit, detestari quaecumque impie dicta patratave memoriâ nostrâ sint, deque iniuriis, augustissimo Iesu Christi numini praesertim publice illatis, publice satisfacere. Nunc autem, si vera quaerimus, genus satisfactionis maxime optabile et solidum et expressum et inustum notis veritatis illud omnino est, deliquisse poenitere, et pace a Deo veniaque implorata, virtutum officia aut impensius colere aut intermissa repetere. Cui quidem rei cum tantas habeat annus sacer opportunitates, quantas initio attigimus, rursus apparet oportere atque opus esse ut populus christianus accingat se plenus animi ac spei.

Quapropter sublatis in caelum oculis, divitem in misericordia Deum enixe adprecâti, ut votis inceptisque Nostris benigne annuere, ac virtute sua illustrare hominum mentes itemque permovere animos pro bonitate sua velit; romanorum Pontificum decessorum Nostrorum vestigia sequuti, de venerabilium fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium assensu, universale maximumque Iubilaeum in hac sacra Urbe a prima vespera Natalis Domini anno millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono incohandum, et ad primam vesperam Natalis Domini anno millesimo noningentesimo finiendum, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Nostra, quod gloriae divinae, animarum saluti, Ecclesiae incremento bene vertat, indicimus per has litteras et promulgamus, ac pro indicto promulgatoque haberi volumus.

Quo quidem Iubilaei anno durante, omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere poenitentibus et confessis sacraque Communionem reffectis, qui beatorum Petri et Pauli, item Sancti Ioannis

Latêranensis et Sanctae Mariae Maioris de Urbe Basilicas semel saltem in die per viginti continuos aut interpolatos dies sive naturales sive ecclesiasticos, nimirum a primis vespers unius diei ad integrum subsequenti diei vespertinum crepusculum computandos, si Romae degant cives aut incolae: si vero peregre venerint, per decem saltem eiusmodi dies, devote visitaverint, et pro Ecclesiae exaltatione, haeresum extirpatione, catholicorum Principum concordia, et christiana populi salute pias ad Deum preces effuderint, plenissimam peccatorum suorum indulgentiam, remissionem et veniam misericorditer in Domino concedimus et impertimus.

Quoniamque potest usuvenire nonnullis ut ea, quae supra praescripta sunt, exequi, etsi maxime velint, tamen aut nullo modo aut tantummodo ex parte queant, morbo scilicet aliaque caussa legitima in Urbe aut ipso in itinere prohibiti; idcirco Nos pia eorum voluntati, quantum in Domino possumus, tribuimus ut vere poenitentes et confessione rite abluti et sacra communione refecti, indulgentiae et remissionis supra dictae participes perinde fiant, ac si Basilicas, quas memoravimus, diebus per Nos definitis reipsa visitassent.

Quotquot igitur ubique estis, dilecti filii, quibus commodum est adesse, ad sinum Roma suum vos amanter invitat. Sed tempore sacro decet catholicum hominem, si consentaneus sibi esse velit, non aliter versari Romae, nisi fide christiana comite. Propterea posthabere nominatum oportet leviorum profanarumve rerum intempestiva spectacula, ad ea converso potius animo quae religionem pietatemque suadeant. Suadet autem imprimis, si alte consideretur, nativum ingenium Urbis, atque eius impressa divinitus effigies, nullo mortalium consilio, nulla vi mutabilis. Unam enim ex omnibus romanam urbem ad munera excelsiora atque altiora humanis delegit, sibi que sacravit servator humani generis Iesus Christus. Hic domicilium imperii sui non sine diuturna atque arcana praeparatione constituit: hic sedem Vicarii sui stare iussit in perpetuitate temporum: hic caelestis doctrinae lumen sancte inviolateque custodiri, atque hinc tamquam a capite augustissimoque fonte in omnes late terras propagari voluit, ita quidem ut a Christo ipso dissentiat quicumque a fide romana dissenserit. Augent sanctitudinem avita religionis monimenta, singularis templorum maiestas, principum Apostolorum sepulchra, hypogea martyrum fortissimorum. Quarum rerum omnium qui probe sciat excipere voces, sentiet profecto non tam peregrinari se in civitate aliena, quam versari in sua, ac melior, adiuvante Deo, discessurus est quam venerit.

Ut autem praesentes Litterae ad omnium fidelium notitiam facilius perveniant, volumus earum exemplis etiam impressis, manu tamen alicuius notarii publici subscriptis ac sigillo personae in

ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eandem prorsus adhiberi fidem, quae ipsis praesentibus haberetur, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae indictionis, promulgationis, concessionis et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono, Quinto Idus Maii, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA, *Pro-Dat.*

A. Card. MACCHI.

*Visa de Curia:* I. DE AQUILA E VICECOMITIBUS. L. † P.

*Reg. in Secret. Brevium:* I. CUGNONIUS.

Anno a Nativitate Domini Millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono, die undecimo Maii, festo Ascensionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Leonis divina providentia Papae XIII anno vicesimo secundo, praesentes litteras apostolicas in atrio sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae de Urbe, adstante populo, legi et solemniter publicavi.'

EGO IOSEPH DE AQUILA E VICECOMITIBUS,

*Abbreviator de Curia.*

PROCLAMATION OF THE UNIVERSAL JUBILEE OF  
THE HOLY YEAR NINETEEN HUNDRED. LEO,  
BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.

*To all the Faithful of Christ who shall read these Letters, Health and  
Apostolic Benediction.*

THE century, which, by the grace of God, we have ourselves seen almost from its commencement, draws rapidly to its close. Willingly have we followed the institutions of our predecessors in so ordering things that they may redound to the good of all Christian peoples, and which may be perhaps for them the last proof of our care in the government of the Sovereign Pontificate. We speak of the Great Jubilee introduced in ancient times among Christian customs and observed by our predecessors, who bestowed upon the years of general jubilee the title of the Holy Year, because it was usual for such a year to be blessed by a greater number of holy ceremonies, as these furnish the most copious means of help for the correction of morals and the leading of souls to sanctity.

We have ourselves seen with our own eyes the fruitful result of the last solemn celebration of the Holy Year. It was in the Pontificate of Leo XII, and we were as yet in the years of our youth. It was truly a grand sight to see then the manifestations of religious fervor in Rome. We can remember as if the scene were still before our eyes, the immense concourse of pilgrims, the multitudes which flocked processionally to one or other of the great basilicas, the sacred orators who preached in the public streets, and the most frequented quarters of the city resounding with the Divine praises. The Sovereign Pontiff himself, with a numerous suite of Cardinals and in the sight of all the people, gave a noble example of piety and charity.

From such thoughts as these we turn with renewed sorrow to the times in which we now live; for such practices of piety, when without hindrance they were fulfilled under the eyes of all the citizens, augmented admirably the fervor and piety of the whole people; but now, on account of the changed condition of Rome, it is impossible to renew them, for in order to do so in any measure we must depend upon the arbitration of others. But however that may be, God, who ever blesses salutary counsels, will concede—such is our hope—success to this our design, undertaken solely for Him and for His glory. At what do we aim or what do we wish?

Nothing else truly than to render more easy the way of eternal salvation to the souls confided to us, and for this end to administer to the infirm of spirit those remedies which it has pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to place in our hands. This administration seems to us not alone a duty of our apostolic office, but a duty which is peculiarly necessary to our times. The present age, however, cannot be said to be sterile, either in regard to good works or to Christian virtues. Thanks be to God, we have examples of both in abundance, nor is there any virtue, however lofty and arduous its attainment and practice, in which many are not found to signalize themselves, because it is a power proper to the Christian religion, Divinely founded, inexhaustible and perpetual, to generate and nourish virtue. Yet, casting our eyes around, we see, on the other hand, with what blindness, with what persistent error, whole peoples are hurrying to eternal ruin. And this thought strikes bitterly to our heart—how many Christians, led away by the license of hearing and of thought, absorbing with avidity the intoxicating errors of false doctrine, go on day by day dissipating and destroying the grand gift of the faith! Hence arise repugnance to Christian living, that insatiable appetite for the things of this world, and hence cares and thoughts alienated from God and rooted in the world. It is almost impossible to express in words the damage which has already accrued from this iniquitous source to the very foundations of society. The minds of men ordinarily rebellious, the blind tendency of popular cupidity, hidden perils, tragical crimes, are nothing more to those who seek their source and cause than the unrestrained strife to possess and enjoy the goods of this world.

It is of supreme importance, therefore, to public no less than private life, to admonish men as to the duties of their state, to arouse souls steeped in forgetfulness of duty, to recall to the thought of their own salvation those who run imminent risk of perishing and of losing through their negligence and pride those celestial and unchangeable rewards for the possession of which we are born. This is the aim of the Holy Year. The Church, mindful only of her intrinsic benignity and mercy as a most tender Mother, studies at this time, with love and by every means within her ample power, to re-conduct souls to better counsels and to promote in each works of expiation by means of penance and emendation of life. To this end, multiplying prayers and augmenting the fervor of the faithful, she seeks to appease the outraged majesty of God and to draw down His copious and celestial gifts. She opens wide the rich treasury of indulgences, of which she is the appointed dispenser, and exhorts the whole of Christianity to the firm hope of pardon. She is purely

intent upon vanquishing with unconquerable love and sweetness the most rebellious wills. How, then, may we not hope to obtain, with God's help, rich fruits and profuse, and such as are most adapted to the present needs?

Several extraordinary solemnities, the notices of which we believe to be already sufficiently diffused, and which will serve in some manner to consecrate the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, greatly increase the advantage of the opportunity now given. We speak of the honors to be rendered at this time in every part of the world to Jesus Christ as our Redeemer. On this account we were profuse in our approbation and praise of a project which had its source in the piety of private individuals, and, in fact, what could be more holy and salutary? All that which man should hope for and desire is contained in the only-begotten Son of God, our Salvation, Life, and Resurrection. To desire to abandon Him is to desire eternal perdition. We could never silence adoration, praise, thanksgiving due to our Lord Jesus Christ, and without intermission they should be repeated everywhere, for in every place no thanksgiving, no honor, can be so great but that it may be increased. Our age produces perhaps many men who are forgetful and ungrateful, who ordinarily respond to the mercy of their Divine Saviour with disdain and to His gifts with offenses and injuries. Certainly the lives of many are so far removed from His laws and His precepts as to argue in themselves ungrateful and malicious souls. And what shall we say to see renewed again in these times and not once alone, the blasphemy of the Arian heresy regarding the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

Courage, then, and to work, all you who with this new and most beautiful proposition seek to excite the piety of the people to new fervor. Do what you can in such manner that you impede not the course of the Jubilee and the appointed solemnities. Let it be added that in the forthcoming manifestations of faith and religion this special intention shall be kept in view—hatred of all that which within our memory has been impiously said or done, especially against the Divine Majesty of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to satisfy publicly for the injuries publicly inflicted upon Him. Now if we are really in earnest, we must know that to repent of evil done, and, having implored peace and pardon of God, to exercise ourselves with great diligence, in the duties necessary to virtue, and to assume those we have cast aside, is the means of satisfaction most desirable and assured, and which bears upon it the impress of truth. Since the Holy Year offers to all the opportunities which we have touched on in the beginning, it is a necessary provision that the Christian

people enter upon it full of courage and of hope. For which reason, raising our eyes to heaven and praying from our heart that God, so rich in mercy, would vouchsafe to concede benignly His blessing and favor to our desires and works, and would illuminate with His Divine light the minds of all men, and move their souls to conform with His holy will and inestimable goodness, We, following in this the example of the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, with the assent of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman College, our Venerable Brethren, in virtue of these letters, with the authority of Christ, of the Blessed Peter and Paul, and with our own authority, order and promulgate from this hour the great and universal jubilee, which will commence in this holy city of Rome at the first Vespers of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ of the year 1899, and which will close at first Vespers of the Nativity of our Lord of the year 1900. May all redound to the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the good of the Church. During this year of jubilee we concede and impart mercifully in our Lord full indulgence, remission and pardon of sin to all faithful Christians of either sex who, being truly penitent shall confess and communicate, visiting devoutly the Roman basilicas of SS. Peter and Paul, St. John Lateran, and St. Mary Major, at least once a day for twenty days continuously or at intervals; that is, the obligation is to be fulfilled between the first Vespers of each day and the last Vespers of the day following, whether the faithful be Citizens of Rome or not, if they are residing permanently in Rome. If they come to Rome as pilgrims, then they must visit the said basilicas in the same manner for ten days, praying devoutly to God for the exaltation of Holy Church, for the extirpation of heresies, for peace and concord amongst Christian princes, and for the salvation of the whole Christian people.

And since it may happen to many that with all their good-will they cannot or can only in part carry out the above, being either, while in Rome or on their journey, impeded by illness or other legitimate causes, we, taking into account their good-will, can, when they are truly repentant and have duly confessed and communicated, concede to them the participation in the same indulgences and remission of sins as if they had actually visited the basilicas on the days appointed. Rome, therefore, invites you lovingly to her bosom, beloved children, from all parts of the world, who have means of visiting her. Know also that to a good Catholic in this sacred time it is fitting that he come to Rome guided purely by Christian faith, and that he should renounce especially the satisfaction of sight-seeing merely idle or profane, turning his soul rather to those things which predispose him to religion and piety. And

that which tends greatly so to predispose him, if he look within is the natural character of the city, a certain character divinely impressed upon her, and not to be changed by human means, nor by any act of violence. For Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, chose only, amongst all its cities, that of Rome to be the centre of an action more than earthly, consecrating it to Himself. Here He placed, and not without long and careful preparation, the throne of His own empire; here He commanded that the see of His Vicar should be raised to the perpetuity of time; here He willed that the light of revealed truth should be jealously and inviolably guarded, and that from here light should be diffused throughout the whole earth in such a manner that those who are alienated from the faith of Rome are alienated from Christ. The religious monuments raised by our fathers, the singular majesty of her temples, the tomb of the Apostles, the Catacombs of the martyrs, all serve to increase the aspect of holiness and to impress those who visit her in the spirit of faith. Whosoever knows the voice of such monuments feels that he is no pilgrim in a foreign city, but a citizen in his own, and by God's grace he will realize this fact at his going, more forcibly than at his coming.

We wish, in order that these present letters may be brought more easily under the notice of all, that printed copies, signed by a public notary and furnished with the seal of some ecclesiastical dignitary, shall be received with the same faith as would be given to the original by those who have heard or read it.

To no one will it be lawful to alter any word of this our disposition, promulgation, concession, and will, or to rashly oppose it. If any should presume to make any such attempt, let them know that they incur thereby the indignation of God Almighty and of His Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 11th of May, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1899, and the 22d of our Pontificate.

*C. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, Pro-Datary.*

*L. Card. MACCHI.*

*Witnessed on behalf of the Curia: G. DELL' AQUILA VISCONTI.*

*Registered in the Secretariate of Briefs, J. CUGNONI.*

In the year of the Nativity of our Lord 1899, on the 11th day of May, feast of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the 22d year of the Pontificate of our Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Leo XIII, by Divine Providence Pope, I have read and solemnly promulgated the present apostolical letters in the presence of the people, in the porch of the Holy Patriarchal Vatican Basilica,

*GIUSEPPE DELL' AQUILA VISCONTI,*

*Official of the Curia.*



## LAWFUL LIBERTY AND REASONABLE SERVICE.

"Hard Sayings"—A Selection of Meditations and Studies, By George Tyrrell, S. J.

**T**HIS work has two main aspects, the first which it presents to those without, the second to those within the Church. This is not to say that these two points of view can be sharply defined or separated, but that either may be distinguished, and that it has its own special value both for those not yet convinced of the truths it sets forth and for those who believe but need a richer and larger apprehension.

Now, without in any way preferring one of these ends to the other, we are here concerned chiefly with the latter. "Charity begins at home;" and perhaps the charity that, conforming to this rule, commences in the household, does finally the most for those also who are without; for the loveliness of the tabernacles and the evident blessedness of those who dwell in the courts of the Lord are the best inducement to enter. A life which is represented as a slavery may indeed be accepted by men under the stress of dire hunger and necessity, but a "reasonable service" can offer advantages to those who have not sunk to this lowest grade of destitution. The principles of this book, properly apprehended, will do much to establish, in the household of the faith, that "happy liberty of the children of God" so dear to the hearts of our wisest teachers and ascetics; and it cannot do this without, at the same time, removing many stumbling blocks from the path of those who do not believe, and convincing them that faith is not a thralldom, and that what seem like obstacles are often misapprehensions.

The title, as the author tells us in the introduction, is drawn from that Gospel scene "when many of the disciples of Jesus turned back and walked with Him no more, because of His doctrine concerning the great Mystery of Divine Love, in which all the other mysteries of the Catholic Faith are gathered up."<sup>1</sup> This very name will give us some promise of the manner in which the various subjects are treated. The "sayings" are "hard" and therefore it has been the endeavour of the writer to render them easier to understand, and, still more, easier to love. There are many to whom the entire drift of the work will be imperceptible, who will yet gain in breadth and freedom from the thoughts it presents. The various truths it treats are discussed from within and not from without; from within, that

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<sup>1</sup> P. XVIII.

is to say, not only as regards the doctrine under consideration, but also as regards the mind which is considering it.

Some reviews have praised this book chiefly as containing a kind of "up to date" asceticism. That a breath of the "Zeitgeist" blows through it is undeniable, for it is to the mind of to-day that it is addressed, it is the difficulties of our present age that are chiefly held in view. The "sayings" which are hardest to us are not necessarily the ones that were hardest to those that went before, or that will be hardest to those that follow. But mere modernity would be but a slight merit in a work which deals with eternal truths; a certain universality of time and place is an essential quality of true ascetic and spiritual teaching. Indeed it seems to us that there is much of the thought in this volume which breathes a spirit more of the past than of the present; and that it reminds us rather of the days when men wandered into woods and deserts to think, than of those now fleeting in which they hurry into towns to speak and write. In the words of the author himself:

"There is so much to be known nowadays if we would pass muster as people of even ordinary education, so much of the experiences and thoughts of other men to be stored away in our memories, that life in most cases is not long enough for the process, and no margin of leisure remains for digesting and assimilating the food with which we have been surfeited."<sup>1</sup>

When the body is suffering from one of those mysterious, wasting diseases, against which medicine is so powerless, the physician sometimes recommends as a last resource, a return to the native land. Mountains, woods and sea have all been tried and failed; perhaps the homely scenes in which the poor sufferer was born, the air which he first breathed into his feeble lungs, may help him more than all the rest; and if his life is not thereby prolonged he may at any rate, die in greater peace.

In somewhat the same way our tired race has at times to be brought back to the atmosphere in which it was born. It has wandered through many strange lands of thought, and looked at truth from a hundred different points of view. All at once it feels that its strength is failing, that too wide a stretch has weakened its grasp, too many objects have dazzled its sight; it turns towards home, and, taking up the lessons of its childhood, the truths on which its forefathers lived, finds in them a wealth it had never before suspected.

In this way the work before us brings back thoughts more habitual to the cloistered life of earlier ages than to the bustling present;

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<sup>1</sup> "The Higher Life," p. 25.

but they come before us with a fulness of fresh life, because the very variety of our experiences has fitted us to understand them better and appreciate them more. We look on them no longer with the unclouded eye of childhood, but with a vision purified by life and suffering.

If we ask ourselves why we wearied of many of these old truths as they were first presented to us, the answer is that not having had to seek them for ourselves we never attempted to fathom them, but accepted them as a kind of spiritual luggage which had to be borne on our backs, but not made part of ourselves. Certainly, as Catholics, we did not need to discover the doctrines which were authoritatively taught us; but we did need, according to the diversity of our temperaments, to *think* out, and to *work* out the truths on which we were to live. Not having done so, the result has been, in some cases such as the author indicates, when speaking of the loss of faith in certain souls:

"So we find many whose religion consists of a few platitudes remembered from childhood, seeds still lying by the wayside, which have never struck root so as to become a living growth, developing *pari passu* with the growth of the soul. Human respect may seal their lips, but in their hearts they wonder what others can find in religion, and why they speak of it as a necessity of life. Such minds are an easy prey to the shallow sophist, who has no difficulty in persuading them of the untenableness of their religious notions; nor is it with much of a wrench that they part with the faith which they have never understood, and never loved."<sup>3</sup>

There is much to be said for and against the principle of inheritance. It is certainly good to begin life with a start due to the labour of others, but only provided we walk forward on our own legs afterwards. If we choose to live on the labours of past generations, without making fresh capital of our own, our birthright becomes a simple disaster. And thus it sometimes happens that the only way to make men out of an effete race is to turn them into the backwoods, and force them to begin life again at the point from which their ancestors started. Let them learn, like savages, to count on their own fingers, to do their sums, however limited, with their own brains, instead of turning to a ready reckoner and accomplishing difficult calculations without any effort.

The founder of a great religious order once seriously hesitated as to whether or not he should provide his children with written rules. He feared lest the letter should injure the spirit, and lest

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<sup>3</sup> "Presence of God," p. 33.

the living bond should be sacrificed to what might become a dead one. Why should he devise means of fastening together those who were already united in heart and soul for the prosecution of one absorbing end? And if at last he complied with the more general usage, he was looking rather to the dangers of the future than to the needs of the present. Periods of intense life have not been times of very minute regulation. A body abounding in health and vigour has not much need of hygienic prescriptions, which are required rather to check the morbid tendencies of incipient disease, which seeks to nourish itself at the cost of nature. Living forces have their own natural living organs, and do not need the creation of artificial channels in which to expend themselves. Nevertheless the nature of the world in which we live obliges us sometimes to turn rivers into channels; the process of adaptation is inevitable in a society of mixed motive and action. But our period of loss begins when we pass from organization to artificiality, and turn our spiritual system into a kind of glorified machine. Then the very additional facilities we possess become our ruin rather than our gain, and our inheritance becomes in the spiritual order, what it has too often proved in the temporal one, a real misfortune. Then when the evil has become apparent, the reformers sally forth, but few, alas! are those who seek to infuse new life into the exhausted system, countless those who simply set themselves to demolish what they consider worn out and antiquated. It is rare to find any who know how to question in an age that questions, but also to preserve in an age that destroys.

"Cui Bono" is a question that has come from two opposite camps, directed by each side against the out-works of its antagonist. Recent ascetics have asked the question of nature and of art; with pure motives but excessive zeal, they have pruned, uprooted, felled, all that had no immediate and evident relation to the end in view. They have organized, re-organized, and simplified the path of perfection till there was little fear of doing actually wrong, but not enough space to do entirely right; faults have been avoided, but virtue has lost something of its native strength and heroism.

A sudden sense of this deficiency has arisen; some new measures were needed, some useless rigour must be abated, some unnecessary restrictions removed. But once again, from this new quarter, the fatal cry has been heard. "Cui Bono?" away with old world institutions! The mechanism of the past is used up and done for! Let the world be made new in spirituality as in politics!

Armed with axe and hatchet the new prophets come forth on their mission of reform and enlightenment; they undermine and batter

one outpost after another, finding that the destruction of each one involves the demolition of another also which depends on it. Having started they cannot stop, but must hack and burn to the bitter end; and then perhaps they stand stricken with remorse, and gaze sadly on their own handiwork. The old building is gone, the one they had planned is not yet ready and, meanwhile, many who had found in the first edifice all they needed, who had not suffered, as their would-be deliverers, from any sense of rigour or confinement, are standing by the charred and ruined walls, houseless and shivering.

"For my meat," said St. Paul, "shall the weak brother perish for whom Christ died?" Because I know my right and title to a larger liberty shall I force my own customs on those who do not need them? Because the clothes do not fit me shall I prevent others from wearing them who find perfect ease and comfort therein? Freedom is a condition, relative to the needs of each one, not an unchanging quantity or state. None can be said to suffer from oppression who can develop heart and mind in the sphere in which they find themselves. Our institutions are, after all, but of ephemeral value, the largest as well as the narrowest. The question to be asked in each age is not so much as to the value of a special government or organization in itself, but as to the liberty and peace which individuals find in it. If their lives run easily and naturally in the prepared channel, it cannot be said that the banks are too narrow.

But here an objection will arise which must not be overlooked. In the days of emancipation certain opponents of the movement urged that the slaves had all they needed, food, clothing and shelter; that they were contented with their lot and ought not to be disturbed in it. The advocates of freedom answered, on the other hand, that such content was, in itself, a reproach and degradation; that men *ought not* to be satisfied in a state of slavery, and that it was a good work even to make them discontented. The same is the avowed object of many social reformers at the present day, who openly endeavour to foster a certain spirit of restlessness and criticism in those whom they seek to benefit. Thus may it not also be said that it is good to arrest any kind of mistaken spiritual repression, even if the process involve a stage of temporary suffering and privation?

It is here, in the practical solution of this problem, that we need, more than anywhere, that silent, over-ruling respect for the individual which is advocated on all sides and exercised on few. When shall we learn, in things that concern the mind and heart,

that it is as tyrannical to shout in a man's ears when he does not want to hear, as forcibly to prevent him from listening when he would? That we can sin against a man's liberty as much in stripping him of what he likes to wear as in covering him with wraps he finds heavy and oppressive?

There are times when a neighbour may be deprived mentally as well as physically, of all power of self-help; when just as firemen have to partially stun frightened women, so as to overcome their resistance, and bear them away from a burning house, so must we act with those who have become momentarily helpless for their own good. But let us in such cases, never forget that we are acting as we should not normally act with our equals and peers; we are treating them provisionally as things inferior and subject to us; and our duty is to do all on our part to hasten the moment when they can regain their legitimate freedom, and stand with us once more on a footing of perfect equality.

The more we reflect on these truths the more clearly we shall see that it is in great part for the very protection of this personal liberty that authority exists. Anarchy, in the civil order, is a condition of things in which no man can be secure of his individual rights; in religion it means an intrusion of the public into our most private and sacred affairs. One great mission of the Church is to guard against this. Speaking of her office in this respect, and contrasting her discipline with the undefined powers granted to the Nonconformist minister, the writer says:

"Indeed he" (the Nonconformist) "tolerates far more than any Catholic would endure; for he leaves it to the mood and caprice of his pastor to determine on each occasion the substance of the public prayers, so that those present are willing to be represented before God as sad or joyful, as penitential or triumphant, as needing these graces rather than others, all according to the passing phases of the minister's own soul, and are ready to say Amen to whatever may come into his head. Also they are willing to listen patiently to his private interpretation of the word of God, and to accept it unless it manifestly disagrees with their own; they to a large extent trust him, and allow their minds to be formed by him in doctrinal and religious questions. In a word, he is not merely their delegate before God, but their representative; his mediation is not passive, as his who repeats by rote the words entrusted to him by another; but rather active as of one to whom we commit our will and judgment. The Catholic priest, on the other hand, is but the Church's delegate. Every word that he utters at the altar, nay every little gesture and intonation, is prescribed for him by the Christian re-

public not merely of to-day, but of the ages past; and even though the setting be his own yet the doctrine that he sets forth in the pulpit is not his own, but that of the Church who has sent him, whose mouthpiece he is. Were he a reprobate or an unbeliever, he might be guilty of sacrilege in preaching and praying, but not of insincerity or hypocrisy, since he is understood to speak not in his own name, but the Church's. The very vestments in which he blots out his personality when he approaches the altar, are an indication of her desire that in his official work he should put off himself and should put on the Church. We do not for a moment deny that the individual will break through and assert himself in spite of all precautions; that he, and still more his followers and admirers, will often put the man before the priest. But wherever this tendency prevails, whether in the popular preacher or the popular confessor; in the ministry of the word or in that of the sacraments; whether by the intrusion of merely personal views and opinions into priestly teaching and direction or by the substitution of personal tasks and fancies in place of the established liturgical observances of the Church, it is always felt to be uncatholic, an alien element hostile to that liberty from individual tyranny which the Church secures for her children."<sup>4</sup>

We who belong to the Catholic Church no more consider Her authority to involve a repression of our personal liberty than we should regard the law of gravity as an obstacle to movement and freedom. Our bodies rest on the earth in virtue of their own natural constitution; our minds conform to what we regard as infallible teaching in virtue of the law of our own conscience. In so far as the Church teaches certain and clearly defined truths, She appeals to the inward laws of our own spiritual constitution, and it is in their name that She exacts faith and obedience. But in other matters where, by reason of Her universality, She allows a variety of means and methods, it is one of Her most sacred tasks to guard Her children from the least invasion of personal tyranny and, while allowing that free play and initiative which it is Her joy to encourage, to prevent their degenerating into undue private influence.

And here it is that the supposed partizans of liberty may sometimes as much deserve Her reprimands as those they seek to depose, for, in their desire to repress repression, they sometimes engender it. True spiritual despotism is forcing a soul along a path which is not its own, and it begets an unrighteous dependence, because, in so far as a man is on a road where he cannot see, he is

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<sup>4</sup> "The Mystical Body," pp. 403-405.

forced to trust to the guidance of another; whereas if he walks where the light falls he needs no strange hand. Now this is the case when we, to use contradictory terms, compulsorily liberate anyone from what we regard as unjust servitude. Whereas they formerly knew their way, and went along it in ease and freedom, they now find themselves in strange lands, and are entirely dependent on foreign guidance. Had they brought themselves thither the light would have broken gradually, adapting itself to their own vision; but now they are blinded, and with each stumble grow more pitifully helpless.

Let us then open our minds to the fact that it is not only the opinion of one side or another, but the firm conviction of all, that freedom is one of our greatest and most essential goods, and, from a spiritual point of view, the inalienable right of every immortal soul. But let us then proceed to recognize also that this liberty is a thing inborn, fundamental, and most intimate to our personal being, and not so dependent on external conditions as some of our modern reformers would make it.

If we seek a parallel in things civil and political the same truth is equally apparent, though not always admitted. Freedom is, in fact, the ultimate goal, to which all forms of government are directed, and the preference in different minds for this or that kind of authority is based on the conscious or instinctive belief that it furnishes the largest measure of personal security or independence, the former being a condition of the latter. Some may be inspired also by a hidden love of power, by a desire not only to think and act as they themselves would, but to make others think and act in the same manner, but this impulse is not so fundamental and universal as the former. Some lean to a democracy, because they think to find the fewest impediments to individual liberty in a condition where all are reckoned to start on an equality and no external advantage or priority is conceded; others prefer monarchical or privileged forms of government because they think that thereby the tyranny of mere numbers is more effectually checked, and the rights of each one more carefully guarded. The conflict of interests will often make us differ as to the practical solution of the question, we may even err as to our own chief good, but we are, at bottom, all seeking the same thing.

How much more is this true with regard to that inward liberty of soul and mind compared with which mere civil freedom is but a bauble. "Do nothing against thy will," this maxim of a philosopher who, of all others, inculcated most the doctrine of moderation and self-control, has inspired the intellectual as well as the



spiritual struggles of all mankind. Those struggles have often been foolish, and wrong in their beginnings, unhappy in their results; the rebel has been led astray by his confusion of government with tyranny, of guidance with coercion. He has cast out one devil, or what he thought to be a devil, and let in seven others worse than the first. He has thought himself the victim of outside despotism, whereas he was really suffering from internal anarchy. But, none the less is the instinct, in itself fundamentally a just one, almost identical with that of self-preservation. It is the legitimate struggle of the soul to preserve its own virginity; to protect itself from all but its lawful master.

Who, however, can read the history of the past without seeing that the efforts for the attainment or conservation of liberty have often led to a directly contrary issue? and who can look out, on the political world of our day without acknowledging that there is a tyranny of the many as well as the few, and that the ballot is not a perfect guarantee of freedom? In like manner the soul can be invaded by the undisciplined forces of the multitude at the moment when she thinks herself freest from the yoke of external authority. In a remarkable, but not sufficiently noticed work, of one of our great writers,<sup>5</sup> there is described the strange and sad experiences of an unwilling "clairvoyant." Endowed with a faculty which enables him to perceive the thoughts and emotions of all around, the privacy of his own soul is destroyed, and his mind is continually flooded with the ideas of other men; he is the unwilling host of innumerable unwelcome guests; like the boy in Andersen's tale, he thrusts his fingers, metaphorically speaking, into his ears, but cannot exclude the thronging perceptions. He is the victim of a knowledge which is merely burdensome—the dullest and most trivial thoughts of others have a free entry to his very soul.

This intrusion of the outer on the inner world is a danger in days of political or spiritual democracy. We think ourselves safe because we may speak as we like; we forget that others may do the same and that, if they make noise enough, we cannot avoid hearing. There is no one to check our expansion, but neither is there anyone to guard our privacy; and of what use is it that the sun shines for all if someone thrusts a glaring paraffin lamp before my eyes, and prevents me from seeing it?

It comes then to this—the rebel, whether civil or religious, is *always* right in resisting compulsion, but is often wrong in his estimate of what compulsion really is.

"It is in thy power," says Marcus Aurelius, "to do nothing against

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<sup>5</sup> "Lifted Veil," George Eliot.

thine own proper god and inward spirit. For it is not in any man's power to constrain thee to transgress against him." True, but we sometimes yield to our own weakness or to the importunity of others, and admit the stranger, not indeed to the very centre of the fortress, for it is not in our power to do so, but to the surrounding outworks. No human hand can violate that inward "Temple and Sacraire" which is of its nature absolutely exclusive of everyone but its Maker, but there is undoubtedly at times too much clamour and disturbance in the outer courts, the avenues of which should be, like Cathedral cloisters, the still approaches to the sanctuary of sanctuaries, but are choked with noisy intruders, who trouble the stillness if they cannot destroy the solitude.

The principle of personal independence is based then on the presence of God in the soul, speaking by the voice of conscience, and if thus understood cannot be exaggerated. Many would find a great part of their difficulties in the matter of faith and obedience fall to the ground if they could but once thoroughly grasp this fact. There is often a hidden and instinctive dread of compulsion which, unknown to us, lies at the root of our intellectual and spiritual sufferings. There are two ways of avoiding this compulsion, the way of resistance and the way of submission. We can walk so as not to be dragged, or we can free ourselves entirely from the arms that encircle us. It is not by the pressure of outside force, but through obedience to the inward dictates of our own conscience that we are to adopt the one or the other.

But this we do not realize. We dread being forced to hold opinions of which we are not convinced, to do things not really commanded. And, bewildered by our own sufferings, we carry out the struggle on the external domain, and try, as it were to drag our soul from its own home, and force it to live on a strange soil. If we reversed the process, if we carried the suit at once into that inner court where all causes must at last be pleaded, the battle would soon be over. It is in that hall of conscience, that seat of the particular judgment, that the dispute must finally be terminated; it is there alone we can hope to hear the everlasting "Yea" and "Nay"; and it is by the word of that inward voice we stand or fall. Not according to the judgment of others shall we be judged, not because they spoke and we did not believe; but in this alone will be our condemnation that, hearing the inward word, "their teaching is true—their commands are just," we neither believed nor obeyed.

In the chapter on "God in Conscience" much of this is indicated. "It is much to be regretted," we read at the opening of the chapter, "that the word conscience or *dictate of conscience*, has come

to be used indiscriminately for two very distinct acts or utterances of the mind—for the moral judgment which indicates to us *what* is right or wrong in human conduct; and for the command which bids us follow that indication. In either sense conscience may be called the voice of God, though more properly in the latter.” And again: “Let us then carefully distinguish conscience as the sense of what is right from conscience as the sense of obligation or of a pressure exerted upon our will. In the former case God speaks to us indirectly, and often fallibly through our reason, and tells us ‘That is right, that is wrong.’ In the latter God reveals to us infallibly *His own will* and says ‘Do what you believe to be right, do not what you believe to be wrong;’ and by this revelation our will is brought into immediate contact with His, whether to yield to its pressure or to resist it. Who does not know, from human intercourse, the difference between a mere communication and exchange of ideas in conversation, and the far closer shock of soul with soul when anger or love is excited and will meets with will in conflict or embrace? It is as bringing us into will relations with God that conscience differs so generically from any other act of our mind.”\*

And thus we see that, independent of all choice on our own part, conscience is and must be the final tribunal—that we have not to force ourselves to say “this is true though I see it to be false—this is right, though to me it is plainly wrong,” but to fall on our knees in that inmost sanctuary and cry out “Lord, what *Thou* teachest, that will I believe; what *Thou* commandest that will I do.”

Words have been uttered here and there of late as though the opinion prevailed that both civil and spiritual liberty are a product of the present age. To say this, certainly as regards the spiritual element, would be to lower it, and make it far less fundamental than it really is. It is, in fact, as old as conscience itself. But just as there exists a political party which would force the public law into private affairs, and thrust the inquisitorial eye of municipal authority into the recess of home life, so has there also been a certain school of asceticism which would regulate the diverse and varying needs of the individual according to an iron law of common convenience and would crush personal energy rather than liberate the slightest divergence from the beaten track. “Travel in this manner,” they would say, “and you are at any rate safe,” and it is true that certain inconveniences are avoided, but who shall reckon the waste of powers and gifts which might have wrought great results had they been guided, and not merely restrained. The

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\* “God in Conscience,” pp. 45-52.

mechanism of the spiritual life is, in such hands, complete and faultless, but let us remember that machines are not organs of invention or progress, but simply of application: they fix our knowledge, but do not advance it.

The work now before us should do much to counteract any narrowing tendency. We have to justify what exists, for ascetic doctrines can never be mere changing fashions, and yet at the same time they may need new life and ampler boundaries. It is easy to demolish, it is not easy to repair and beautify, yet this is often the nobler work.

And so, if perhaps there may have been in the teaching of some modern ascetic writers too much of the instinct of repression; too much acceptance (in the words of a holy and gifted woman) of the *unnatural* for the *supernatural*; too great fearfulness of small evils to the neglect of great good; not for this is our whole spiritual edifice to be destroyed. Our minds are limited and faulty, and only by an occasional dipping of the balance to one side or another is equilibrium preserved. But if, for a little while past, our spiritual writers have spoken more of the ever present need of cutting and pruning, so now the hour may have come to bring again into prominence, not the new, but the old truth of the sacredness of the individual, and the holy liberty of the children of God.

This world does not always lead straight to the next, and we must shut our ears to earthly din to listen to the music of the spheres. But if nature must be tamed that grace may prevail, so also may she be introduced in lowly garb into the courts of heaven, to be illumined by their splendour. Our earth is a place of suffering and probation, of trial and weakness, but it has also been likened, and rightly so, to the "Great Altar Stairs that slope through darkness up to God."

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## THE FIRST PRIEST OF AMERICA.

THE current of European migration across the Atlantic flowed slowly at first. Twenty years after Columbus had revealed the New World to the Old, a single small colony in tropical San Domingo was the only American soil occupied by the white man. That island had been selected for Spanish settlement by Columbus on his first voyage, and the towns of Isabella and San Domingo founded by him on his second expedition, but no rush of colonists followed for some years. The experience of the first settlers with tropical fevers, and the hardships inseparable from life in new countries, soon quenched the popular enthusiasm which had greeted the great discovery of Columbus. Of twenty-five hundred men brought out by Ovando in 1502 over a thousand died in a few months. In Granada at an earlier period a crowd of returned emigrants besieged the King's Court for months and mobbed the sons of Columbus in the streets. When Diego Columbus came to San Domingo as Governor in 1509 the whole European population of the Colony did not exceed four or five thousand, mostly men, like the population of a California or Australian mining camp in our own days. It is significant that his wife was accompanied by a large number of marriageable young ladies of high birth and small fortunes, who came to find husbands among the colonists, as English ladies afterwards were wont to do in India. As in California and Australia, too, gold mining was the chief motive which brought immigrants to San Domingo. The resemblance to an Australian population was strengthened by the fact that many of the settlers of San Domingo were convicts, who had been given liberty on condition of emigration to the new lands. The details of early Spanish colonial life preserved in contemporary writings are very numerous. Oviedo and Las Casas, both historians of mark, were among the first settlers and their works, with others, enable a modern reader to form an almost photographic picture of early Spanish colonial life. Its resemblance to that of our own California pioneers is very striking. There was the same energy and contempt of danger or hardships, the same spirit of mutual helpfulness, and free spending, the same sudden changes from poverty to wealth and wealth to poverty, and the same rough recklessness of moral conduct mixed with generosity and often with strong religious feeling.

In political matters, this first colony of Europeans in America

was organized more fully than an ordinary Spanish municipality at home. The Governor represented the King with almost royal authority, an Audiencia, or Supreme Court, administered the laws of Castille, a royal agent superintended commerce, and each town had an organization modelled on that of a Spanish city, with elected Councilors, Mayor, Sheriff and other officials. The colony practically ruled its own destinies in spite of the loyalty to the crown, which was strong in every Spanish breast at that time. The wearer of the crown, in fact, had little time to interfere, except in a few general directions, with the doings of his subjects four thousand miles away in a land and among a people so foreign to European life. The relations between the colonists and the native Indians are a striking illustration of this fact. Isabella and Ferdinand had strictly enjoined on Columbus and his successors that the natives should not be molested or enslaved. Nevertheless both vassalage and actual slavery had grown up in San Domingo within five years after its discovery. It was the worst blot on the moral character of colonial life as compared with life at home, but it was not so regarded by the colonists themselves. It is easy for a community, as for an individual, to form a false moral conscience for itself where its material interests are concerned. We have no need to look far for instances to-day. The extermination of the Tasmanians followed closely the abolition of the slave trade by the English Parliament in the present century, and the kidnapping of South Sea Islanders has been freely practised under the English flag while British war vessels were hunting slavers on the African coasts. The early Spanish settlers of the West Indies persuaded themselves that it was a duty of humanity to make the Indians work—somewhat in the spirit that suggested the “White Man’s burthen” to a modern writer.

Among the twenty-five hundred settlers who came to San Domingo with the Governor Ovando in 1502 was a young man of twenty-eight years whose father had sailed with Columbus on his first voyage across the Atlantic, and who had himself seen the sailing of the famous Caravels from Palos. Bartholome Casas or Las Casas had made his studies in the University of Salamanca before seeking his fortune in America. His father had grown wealthy as a ship builder, and a brilliant career seemed to promise itself to him in San Domingo. He was a trained business man as well as a scholar, a good speaker and of a constitution which seemed to defy alike fatigue and illness. Whatever work came to his hand he threw himself into with untiring energy, and at the same time he had the art of making devoted friends among every

class of the colonists, from the Governor to the ticket of leave men. It was a surprise, then, when after eight years of active business Las Casas, at the age of thirty-six, asked for admission to the priesthood. Such vocations, indeed, appear to have been exceptionally numerous among the Spaniards of that century. Calderon, the Shakespeare of Spain, and his great rival, Lope de La Vega, both entered the Church at the age of fifty. Ignatius of Loyola had been a soldier, Francis Borgia a Viceroy of Catalonia, and Urdaneta, the founder of the Philippine Mission, a sea captain before taking Holy Orders. "Fraile que fue soldado sale mas acertado," "the old soldier makes the steadfast friar," was a common Spanish proverb and it was well borne out by the life of Bartholome Las Casas.

His wish was readily fulfilled. San Domingo had been made a diocese soon after its first settlement and the Bishop accepted the gifted candidate and ordained him with much solemnity in 1510. Las Casas was the first man to receive Holy Orders on American soil, and it was made the occasion of an enthusiastic celebration by the whole Catholic population of San Domingo. The Governor Diego Columbus attended the ceremony and the municipality of San Domingo declared a holiday and held a tournament to honor the first "New Mass" of America.

It was not to shirk labor or danger that Las Casas had become a priest, and his energies found plenty of employment in his new career. After eighteen years' experience of colonial life in San Domingo the Spanish people was about to spread over the great continent which Columbus had given to Castile and Leon. A few months before the ordination of Las Casas, Ojeda had sailed to found Darien, the first permanent settlement on the American continent. A few months later Velasquez was sent by Diego Columbus to occupy Cuba. There was some fighting with the Indians of that island at first, but it was soon ended by the swords and horses of the civilized invaders, and the exploration of the country went on rapidly. Las Casas was sent as chaplain to the little army of Velasquez in Cuba and shared in its toilsome work. In company with the captain, Naervaez, and a hundred soldiers, he made the first expedition to what is now Havana and took an active part in its foundation. He has left a lively description of this campaign in his history. He was associated in authority with Naervaez and found ample work in repressing the excesses of the soldiers and protecting the helpless natives. At an Indian town in Camaguey there was a sudden outbreak of violence. The party had marched for several hours under a broiling sun and the temp-

ers of the soldiers were in a state of nervous tension, like that among the American troops at Manila at the outbreak of hostilities with the Filipinos. When the Indian town was reached the inhabitants gathered around the strangers, and a soldier lost his head and attacked them with his sword. The excitement spread and a massacre of the Indians followed. Las Casas was in a large hut disposing the baggage and preparing for the issue of rations when the trouble began. Five Spaniards were in his company and they caught the panic and attacked the Indians in the hut. Las Casas stopped their violence and rushed out to the open, where he saw bodies lying like sheaves of corn all around. He dashed among the excited soldiers, struck the weapons from the hands of some, called the bewildered officers to their duty and finally stopped the slaughter. "What do you think these Spaniards are at," exclaimed Naervaez when Las Casas found him amid the turmoil. "I commend them and you to the devil," was the emphatic if somewhat discourteous answer. When the soldiers were at last got under control an investigation was made, but no reason could be given for the outbreak. It was simply an outburst of unreasoning alarm. Las Casas got the men into a new camp and through his Indian attendants opened communications with the fugitives who had completely deserted their town. After a few days a body of two hundred came to beg his protection, and the sight of their terror and misery made a deep impression on the sensitive heart of Las Casas. He assured them of safety and got them back to their homes, went among them, baptised the infants and did all he could to allay their fears. The expedition proceeded on to what is now the province of Havana, and Las Casas took every precaution to prevent the recurrence of massacres. The soldiers were kept strictly apart from the Indian attendants both on march and in camp and further bloodshed was prevented. In Havana Naervaez, who was nearly as reckless of native life as a modern naval officer in Samoa, seized about twenty chiefs on the charge of deserting their villages and proposed to execute them as an example of the power of civilized man. This atrocity was prevented by the energetic remonstrances of Las Casas and the Indian chiefs were restored to liberty.

Four towns were laid out by Velasquez at the end of his explorations, Havana and Santiago being among the number. A large part of the Indians were given to different Spanish settlers in "encomienda," a kind of feudal system copied from European practice in the middle ages. An Indian village was assigned, during the good pleasure of the Royal Government, to a private indi-



vidual to govern, protect, and develope, and incidentally to collect rent and service from the Indians. In much the same way William the Conqueror had partitioned out the Anglo-Saxons and their lands among his Norman soldiers after the conquest of England. The system was quite distinct from personal slavery, which also existed both of Negroes and Indians at that time. The Governor granted an Indian village near the site of the actual city of Cienfuegos to Las Casas in partnership with a friend, Pedro de la Renteria. They started a plantation there like other colonists, with their Indian vassals as laborers. The duties of Las Casas as a priest among the scattered and scanty population left him a good deal of leisure, and active occupation was a necessity for his nature. The Indians in his encomienda were treated with kindness, but the scrupulous Las Casas confesses that he devoted himself too much to mere worldly business during this period.

While Las Casas was thus engaged in Cuba a movement in behalf of the Indians under Spanish rule had been begun in San Domingo. The first American convent of the Dominican order was founded in the last island a few months after the ordination of Las Casas. The community came from San Esteban in Salamanca, a house famous in Spanish colonial history, and its rule and practice were highly austere. Besides abstaining from meat the friars in San Domingo excluded the ordinary Spanish provisions, wine, oil and wheaten bread, from their refectory, and lived in the greatest poverty. There were several excellent preachers among them, and the thatched chapel of their convent attracted large audiences and fervent penitents. It is worth noting that the Prior Pedro de Cordova was also charged with the functions of Inquisitor and the first representative of the famous Spanish Inquisition in the New World. It is strange that his first work should have been the defence of the heathen Indians against his fellow Christians. The Dominicans were shocked at the treatment of the natives from their first arrival. The community consulted together and Father Montesinos, as the result, astonished the public of San Domingo by a vigorous condemnation of their treatment of the Indians. A deputation at once went to the convent and complained of the preacher, as crazy, to the Prior. They told him that if his community held the same sentiments they had better return to Spain. The Prior promised an answer on the next Sunday, when Father Montesinos again mounted the pulpit and not only repeated his former discourse but added that no Dominican priest would absolve any man who made incursions on the Indians. The colonial authorities took up the matter and sent an

agent to Spain to report the Inquisitor to the Court as a stirrer up of Sedition. Pedro de Cordova sent Father Montesinos to Spain to plead the cause of the natives and afterwards went himself on the same mission. Father Montesinos succeeded in getting an audience with the King, Ferdinand, and laid a written statement before him. Ferdinand called a Junta to examine the case, composed of some of the ministers and some theologians. The Junta decided positively that the Indians were by right freemen and should be treated as such and paid for any work done for Spaniards. A code known as the Laws of Burgos was drawn up for their protection and officially published on the 27th of December, 1512. These laws were not by any means perfect, but they were the beginning of a system of legislation which ultimately rooted out Indian slavery in Spanish America.

Las Casas, with all his sympathies for the Indians, had not at first seen the injustice of the vassalage imposed on them. He had held Indian vassals himself in San Domingo, and was once refused absolution by a priest of some order on that ground, but he considered it a mere scruple on the confessor's part. When settled in Cuba on his plantation the thought that after all the friar's doctrine might be the simple truth came strongly upon him. He had to prepare a sermon for Whitsunday in 1514 and was then alone, his friend Releria being away in Jamaica on business. Certain texts in Ecclesiasticus struck him forcibly and after some days' reflection he decided, both from considerations of abstract right and of the occurrences daily happening around him, that the whole system of vassalage and slavery of the Indians was tyranny and injustice. His mind once made up he waited on Velasquez and told him his conclusion, adding that he believed it was one which affected the salvation of Velasquez and the other colonists as well as his own. He declared that he felt bound in conscience to give up his Indian vassals, and only asked the Governor not to publish it before the return of Renteria.

He did not wait for that event, however, to make known his belief to the world. On the Feast of the Assumption he published it from the pulpit and warned his hearers of the danger to their souls if they retained the natives in slavery. Some were as much surprised as if he had told them it was sinful to work their oxen or horses, but others were sincerely affected by his discourse. The great majority treated him as a well meaning crank. Quite enough had been done for the Indians, they thought, by the Laws of Burgos. These laws, in fact, as applied by the local authorities, were scarcely of more value to the natives than the Poor Law of O'Connell's time to the rack rented Irish peasantry.

Renteria, the partner of Las Casas, was of a very different opinion when he returned. During his absence he had thought much and seriously on the miseries of the natives under their civilized masters. He had made a retreat in a Franciscan community, and the decision he had then come to in Jamaica was the same as that formed by Las Casas on his Cuban ranches. On the night of his return he astonished his partner by the announcement that he intended to go to Spain and get a royal license to establish schools for the Indian children where they might be saved from the destruction which seemed hanging over their race. Las Casas, in reply, told his own projects, which were to also go to Spain and seek efficient legal protection for the abused natives. Renteria begged him to do so, and offered his whole property to carry out the plan. The Indians were given up, the stock and farm sold and with the money Las Casas started for Spain to begin a life-long struggle for justice to the Indian race.

He found active allies in the Dominicans of San Domingo, where Pedro de Cordova had returned after the publication of the Laws of Burgos. He had got permission to found missions along the coast of South America, away from the violence of the ordinary settlers, and he brought fourteen Dominicans for that purpose from the Convent of San Esteban. The first mission was sent to the coast of Venezuela, near Trinidad, and was conducted by Father Montesino, the same who had so energetically denounced the oppressions of the San Domingo colonists. Montesinos, however, was attacked by fever at Puerto Rico and had to remain there for a time while his two companions went on. They landed near Cumana, were well received by the natives and took their abode among them. A short time afterwards a vessel touched at the coast, and kidnapped several Indians. The Dominicans were at once seized by the other natives and after some time put to death. One was a near relative of the Prior.

It was just after this martyrdom that Las Casas reached San Domingo on his way to Spain. Father DeCordova was preparing to establish another mission undaunted by his cousin's death, but he cordially approved the project of Las Casas. He warned him, however, from his own experience, to expect little from the officials then in charge of American affairs, especially Bishop Fonseca, the President of the Council of the Indies. He also sent Father Montesinos with him as one not unfamiliar with the ways of politics in Spain, of which the American priest had no experience. They sailed from San Domingo in 1515 and got safely to Seville. Father Montesino introduced Las Casas to the Archbishop of that

city, who had been a Dominican. The Archbishop gave him letters of introduction to some of the courtiers and to Ferdinand himself. The chaplain from the jungles of Cuba had to figure in the highest political circles of Europe.

His experience is graphically told in his own history. The administration of the Spanish Government in the sixteenth century appears in a very different light in his pages from what it does in popular history. The Court of Ferdinand had more resemblance to the Cabinet of an American President like Jackson than to the stately surroundings of royalty in our own times. Private individuals like Las Casas or Father Montesinos made their way into the King's apartments and got attention to their statements, if worth it, in a very direct way. Public affairs were referred to committees to thresh out and report upon, and the interested parties talked to ministers and dignitaries with as much freedom as ordinary citizens to-day address a Governor. The statesmen of the day had their hands full of business also. Las Casas once sat up four nights in the private room of the Chancellor of Spain examining papers which that official would not let out of his own possession, but was ready to let his visitor examine while he worked himself at other business. The King's preachers, on another occasion, walked into the Council of the Indies and warned the members of that body that they were risking the loss of their souls if they did not do justice to the Indians of America. There was no lack of freedom or energy among the men who governed Spain in these days.

Las Casas, with Archbishop Beza's letter, got an audience with Ferdinand in person and laid a statement of the wrongs of the Indians and colonial misgovernment before him about Christmas of 1515. The King heard him attentively and promised a longer hearing at a later day, but he was old and ill and never had the chance to give it. His death within a month threw back any consideration of the Indian problem for the present. Bishop Fonseca, the President of the Council of Colonial Administration, was much more of a politician than a priest and took little interest in humanitarian projects. At an interview with Las Casas, when the latter told how seven thousand Indians had perished in three months in consequence of some Spanish expedition. Fonseca rudely said: "What is that to me or the King, you queer fool?" "If it is nothing to you or to the King that all these souls should perish to whom is it then? O great and eternal God," was the answer, and with that Las Casas left, feeling convinced that the cause of right had little chance in the Council of the Indies while Bishop Fonseca ruled.

Fonseca's influence, however, was waning. On the death of Ferdinand the heir to the Crown of Castile was his grandson, afterwards the famous Charles V, but then a boy of sixteen, living in his native Flanders. Pending his coming of age a Regent, with royal powers, had to take the government of Castile. For this post Ferdinand named the Primate, Cardinal Ximenes, unquestionably the ablest public man of Europe. Ximenes was then seventy-eight; about the same age as the late Mr. Gladstone when he retired from public life. Like Gladstone, Ximenes was a scholar as well as a statesman, and like him, too, he kept the fire of youth and a marvelous capacity for work in his age. The Flemish ministers of Charles accepted his appointment, but sent an Ambassador to represent the young King in Spain. The Ambassador was the Dean of Louvain, Adrian, a Belgian by birth and afterwards Pope under the title of Adrian VI. Within a few months after the death of Ferdinand Las Casas got an introduction to Adrian, and gave him a full statement in Latin of the condition of the Indians in the colonies. The Dean, reared in the orderly life of the Belgian free cities, was astounded at the tale. When he had read it he walked directly into the apartment of Ximenes and asked him could such things occur. Ximenes had not taken much part before in the affairs of America, but when his attention was thus called to them he felt the same indignation as Dean Adrian. In spite of his years and other labors he at once took up the task of reform. Las Casas was called in within a few days, and the Cardinal, a keen judge of men, quickly decided that a sweeping change in the government of the West Indies was required by justice. To decide with Ximenes was to act. He at once named a committee of four, on whose honesty and experience he could rely, to examine thoroughly the facts of the colonial administration. Las Casas was called repeatedly before this body, at whose meetings the Regent himself was often present. Ximenes was soon convinced of the ability of the priest from the colonies and he empowered him and a member of the Council of the Indies, a skilled lawyer, to draw up a new code of Indian administration. At the request of Las Casas Father Montesinos, the fearless preacher of San Domingo, was made a third member of the committee. With all his fervid enthusiasm Las Casas was eminently practical in business and Ximenes likewise. The committee met almost every day for several hours. Las Casas, as best acquainted with the actual state of things in America, drafted the heads of the needed reforms. Father Montesinos added suggestions drawn from his own experience in the Indies and Dr. Rubio, the lawyer member, contributed others

from his knowledge of Indian administration at home, he having been a member of the Council of the Indies. When the committee had thus put the different points of the proposed legislation into practical form they were carefully examined and amended by Ximenes and Dean Adrian, his colleague. There was no lack of criticism on the part of the numerous parties about the Court interested in Indian plantations and mines. The Regent heard objections and decided promptly on their worth. He suggested that a plan of European immigration should be prepared, but he waived it for the time, not to complicate the work in hand. On the point of the right of the Indians to freedom he was thoroughly decided. Las Casas, who feared at first to assert broadly his own judgment, asked at a meeting once: "With what justice can these things be done whether the natives are freemen or not?" "Who doubts they are free? Of course they are," was the emphatic answer of the Cardinal Regent.

The work to be done and quickly was of its own nature enough to try the ablest minds. The first settlement of the West Indies had been undertaken with the best intentions for the welfare and conversion of the Indians. Isabella's instructions to Columbus strictly forbade oppression or violence, and when Indian prisoners of war were sent to Spain as slaves she condemned the act in indignant language, and ordered their immediate restoration to their country and freedom. Men of high character had been sent out as Governors and each of them, Bobadilla, Ovando, and Columbus himself had received the strictest orders to protect the natives, yet in spite of all a colonial system had grown up which was destroying them at an unparalleled rate. Of forty thousand natives of San Domingo placed under Spanish grantees in 1510 only fourteen thousand could be found four years later. The colonists themselves had become demoralized by their surroundings, and men of good character at home were committing atrocities in the West Indian islands. This experience was new to the statesmen of the sixteenth century, though it has been so often repeated in the history of European colonization since as to have become a commonplace. To give the native Americans knowledge of the Christian faith and to raise them to the level of Europeans in Christian colonization had been the object of Isabella and Columbus as it was of Las Casas. He might well ask if it were likely that where they had failed he, a simple priest, without wealth, rank or political experience, could succeed. He fully appreciated the difficulties before him, but he felt that duty called and through fifty years he continued his self-appointed task.

At the moment it looked as if it were near accomplishment. The abilities of the greatest statesmen of the age, and the virtual sovereign of Castile were devoted to finding a practical system of civilizing the Indians without oppression. In brief outline the plan adopted by Ximenes was to stop the grants of Indian districts to individual Spaniards and to organize the Indians into village communities under their own chiefs. The powers of the chiefs were to be limited. They might punish by whipping, but no higher penalty, and were only to get a larger share in the common property of the tribe as the profits of office. Each native was to have his own cabin and garden, but the bulk of the land was to be held and cultivated in common. Provision was made, however, that with the progress of civilization among the Indians, individuals might get land and cattle in direct ownership. Mining was to be carried on under Indian overseers and for the profit of the natives themselves after payment of a royalty to the government. In every village there was to be a church, a school for the children and a hospital and poor house. Indian schoolmasters were to be trained as soon as possible and meantime Europeans were to be employed and paid out of the village common fund. A Spanish administrator was to have charge of every group of three or four villages, to administer justice and promote public works, but neither the administrator nor other Spaniards, except the priests and schoolmasters, might reside permanently in the Indian villages. The enslaving or oppressing of any natives was forbidden under heavy penalties. The Spanish colonists might cultivate their own farms or work mining claims with the help of their negro slaves, but they were forbidden to employ the Indians as laborers under any pretext. An exception was made of Caribs, a particularly fierce and cannibal race. It was allowed to keep them as slaves on the ground of protection for other Indians from their attacks. Las Casas objected flatly to this enslaving of Caribs, but Ximenes did not feel warranted in following his advice in the face of the numerous representations in a contrary sense. On the other hand Ximenes objected to the importation of negroes as dangerous, while Las Casas did not agree with him. Cattle and tools were to be furnished the Indian villages by the government, the price to be repaid afterwards from the revenues of each community.

The details of administration determined, it remained to find competent administrators. Ximenes desired Las Casas to select them, but he declined on the ground of his little acquaintance with European public life. He gave, however, a statement of the qualifications required and Ximenes read it and decided to select a gov-

erning commission from the Jeronymite Friars. They were a body in high reputation, and had no previous connection with the West Indies, hence he had reason to expect they would be competent and impartial. His action was characteristic and rapid. He wrote at once to the General of the order, stating his wishes and asking for twelve names to be submitted to himself. The General called a chapter, made the list and forwarded it by two Priors to Madrid. Ximenes came the same day to the Jeronymite Convent, in that city, with Dean Adrian and a number of courtiers. He and Adrian were received in the Sacristy of the Church by the Prior and after thanking the General for compliance he ordered Las Casas to be called in. Bishop Fonseca and the other courtiers were left outside. Ximenes handed the list of names to Las Casas and desired him to set out that evening to the residence of the General of the Jeronymites and there select three administrators from the twelve and bring the first at hand immediately to Seville, where the Regent was himself going. He added that the necessary funds were ready then. Las Casas modestly declared that he had enough for his own expenses, but Ximenes laughed and remarked: "Go away, Father, I am richer than you." Las Casas lost no time in carrying out his instructions. He made his selection and brought the three Jeronymite priors to Seville in a few days. They got full powers to govern and were instructed to begin by taking away all grants of Indians from non-residents, officials and corporate bodies. They were also to examine the conduct of the colonial officials, especially the judges, strictly, and to remove all guilty of injustice from office. A veteran lawyer of high character, Zuazo, was appointed Supreme Judge for all the West Indies, with absolute power to remove any official without appeal. The three commissioners were directed to call a convention of all the chief colonists and lay before it the new legislation and the reasons for its adoption. They were to take the opinions and advice of this body, but the final decision was left with themselves. They were also to visit the Indian villages, explain the plans of the government for their future administration and get the opinions of the leading men among them on these points. They were to use every means to gain the confidence of the natives and convince them of their own good will and ability to protect them against oppression. After these investigations they were to commence the establishment of the Indian village communities on the plan of Las Casas and Ximenes. If they found it best, for a time, to leave Indians under the authority of their actual encomenderos, they might do so, but Ximenes strictly charged that none but men of good character should be left in



possession of such grants. His own desire was that the system of *encomiendas* should be abolished and the Indians made absolutely free from any authority except the general government.

The energy with which Ximenes worked, even in his eightieth year, pushed this legislation into speedy action. The Jeronymite Commissioners and Las Casas, who was appointed to the new office of Protector of the Indians, sailed from Spain with full powers and reached San Domingo before the end of the year in which Ferdinand died. The Commissioners got to work at once, but their progress was somewhat slow for the zeal of Las Casas. They took away the Indian vassals from all absentee grantees, including several members of the Council of the Indies and other powerful men in Spain. They went among the natives and got a good deal of their confidence, so that gross oppression was considerably lessened. They wrote to the Governor of Darien, Pedrarias, to stop incursions on the native population and to set free the slaves made unjustly already. They were, however, slow to take away the Indian vassals of the resident officials. The colonists protested that to do so was to put a mark of disgrace on the most prominent of their number, and the Commissioners suspended action in the matter for the time. Las Casas, with his more thorough knowledge of the country, felt that vigorous and immediate action was needed to save the Indian population. While the officials in San Domingo professed obedience to the new laws, kidnapping of Indians was going on in Trinidad and other outlying points with their connivance. As "Protector of the Indians" Las Casas brought charges of specific acts of tyranny against the members of the Colonial Council. The Commissioners thought his action hasty and did not support him. Las Casas consulted with Father de Cordova, the Provincial of the Dominicans, and also with the Supreme Judge, Zuazo, both men who shared his own views, and by their advice he determined to return to Spain five months after his arrival in San Domingo. It was at the Court that the work must be done while Ximenes yet ruled. The system of grants of Indians had, he felt, to be entirely abolished and imperative laws to that effect could only be got in Spain. The Commissioners went on with the work of gathering the natives into settlements to some extent, but Las Casas sailed for Europe and got to Seville by July, 1517.

He found Ximenes dying, but still at work like a young man. The Regent was carried to his official duties muffled in furs with hot water bottles under his feet and a globe filled with water to relieve his hands from the chill of age, but he still showed his old

fearless energy in everything. He saw Las Casas, but before any new measures could be prepared the end came and the great Cardinal passed away from the work of American legislation just as the young King Charles landed in Corunna on his first visit to Spain. He brought with him the ministry which had governed his native Flanders, and a Flemish Chancellor and Chamberlain became heads of the Government of Castile and Arragon in place of the Spanish Cardinal.

The death of Ximenes was a sore blow to Las Casas. He was thoroughly familiar with the condition of the West Indies and, had he lived, the reforms required would have been secured in a few months, but America and Spain were both new to the Flemish Ministers. They did not even understand Spanish, and the young King himself was only learning the language. The old Council of the Indies and its head, Bishop Fonseca, were, not unnaturally, called back to the management of American affairs, and they were strongly opposed to the plans of Las Casas. Yet he was not daunted by the difficulties, nor did he abandon his self-imposed task of protecting the Indians. Among other papers he had brought letters from some French Franciscan missionaries in the Indies who were acquainted with Monsieur Selvage, the new Chancellor. These served as an introduction. Las Casas spoke French and Latin and he had a wonderful power of making friends at all times of his life. Within a few months he was on terms of intimacy with the Chancellor, had gained his sympathy for his own plans, and won his confidence to such a degree that all important papers and dispatches from America were submitted to Las Casas. He translated them into Latin and added his own comments for the benefit of the Chancellor. The latter brought them to the notice of the King, Charles, who though only eighteen, was beginning to take an active part in the government. Charles was greatly impressed with the story told of the New World and became interested in Las Casas. The Chancellor had caught a share in the American priest's enthusiasm and pleaded the cause of the natives constantly in his interviews with the King. There was little leisure indeed at the time for either King or Chancellor. The King's grandfather, Maximilian, was dying, and the Austrian dominions would fall to Charles at his death as well as Flanders, Naples and Spain, each with their own difficulties. With the administration of nearly half Europe on their shoulders it is remarkable that both Charles and his Ministers should have given attention to the government of the West Indian islands, which were hardly of more importance in the Empire than Alaska is to-day

in our own government. They gave it, however, and after some months the Chancellor gladdened the heart of Las Casas with the information: "The Master bids you and me find reforms for the "Indies. Get your statements ready."

Las Casas was at work immediately. He took as a basis the system being carried out by the Jeronymite Commissioners, and added provisions for abolishing all grants of personal service, and securing the Indians the same rights as the Spanish subjects of the King. The provisions for their instruction and training were even ampler. He also suggested a scheme of immigration of free European farmers and laborers, assisted by government. His memorials were read and approved by the Chancellor, who submitted them to Charles. The Council of the Indies opposed Las Casas at every step, but the Chancellor supported him, and at last a Council was called to settle the matter. With the favorable disposition of the King and Chancellor, Las Casas had full hopes that now the cause of Indian rights would be won. A terrible disappointment came. The Chancellor was taken ill a few days before the day named for the meeting and died after three days' illness. The meeting was never held. A new Council of the Indies, with Bishop Fonseca as its President, was appointed, and left full control of the colonies. A respectable but easy-going dignitary became Chancellor, and he listened patiently to the pleadings of Las Casas, but did nothing. The King had his attention fully occupied and Fonseca was left a free hand in American affairs. He used it to recall the Jeronymite Commissioners after an administration of less than two years in the West Indies. The system of Ximenes was abandoned practically and Las Casas, in his own words, "went down to the depths."

Still he did not give up. With a firm confidence in the justice of the cause he had taken up he continued to bring it before the Council of the Indies and his friends around the Court. The plan of sending out a peaceful colony of Spanish farmers was what he now devoted himself to. Bishop Fonseca declared it impracticable and Las Casas offered to get three thousand settlers of good character if the government would guarantee them free passage, land and a year's support after landing in San Domingo. The Bishop declared it would cost as much as to raise an army, and hot words passed in the Council between him and Las Casas. The latter secured more friends among the young French and Belgian companions of the King. One was the Master of the Household, De Laxao, a particular favorite with Charles. He and his friends took warmly to Las Casas and furnished him money to remain at Court.

His own funds, got from the sale of his farm in Cuba, were quite gone and it was only by the help of friends he was able to find food and lodging while battling alone against the forces of the Colonial office and the West Indian planters. While he was hard pushed to pay for his lodgings Father de Cordova and the other protectors of the natives thought him all powerful at Court. The Inquisitor wrote telling of various cruelties committed by the Spanish adventurers in Darien, and on what was called the Pearl Coast, now Venezuela, and asking Las Casas to get a grant of a hundred leagues of that coast as a field for exclusively mission work. No Spaniards were to be allowed to enter this territory except the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were ready to go alone among the natives to convert and civilize them. Las Casas brought this proposal before the Council, but Fonseca rejected it. "The King would be a wise man," he said, ironically, "to give away a hundred leagues of land for nothing." Las Casas argued in vain on this point.

A new Chancellor was appointed to fill the post of Selvage. This was Gattinara, one of the famous statesmen of the Sixteenth Century and prominent in the wars and treaties of Charles V. and Francis I. of France. Las Casas got introduced to him by Cardinal Adrian, of Louvain, the former colleague of Ximenes. He made an equally favorable impression on Gattinara as on his predecessor and Fonseca was forced to give way a little. Las Casas was empowered to collect emigrants willing to go to the West Indies. He travelled through Castile, collected the people in the different villages and towns and published the advantages offered. The numbers willing to go were far greater than the three thousand he had undertaken to find, but Fonseca blocked all further progress of this plan, which might have made San Domingo a European instead of a negro land. An officer placed under Las Casas by the Council left him by permission of Fonseca and gathered a couple of hundred loungers of the cities as emigrants. This ill selected crowd was shipped off by the Indian Council on the first vessel without provision for its support either on shipboard or after landing. Numbers died in consequence. Las Casas, by dint of complaints, got some supplies sent after them, but as the Council refused to provide sufficiently for the emigrants he had enrolled he refused to proceed further in the business. Such was the end of the first attempt at assisted emigration to America.

Finding it impossible to get his emigration plan carried out under the management of the government the unwearied Las Casas devised a new project, based on the suggestion already made by

Father Cordova. He applied for a grant of land on the South American continent, to be settled entirely under his own authority. He would organize a company of fifty colonists possessed of sufficient means to defray the necessary cost of ships, provisions and tools, and he would compensate them by land grants in the colony and the right of mining for gold and fishing for pearls. He demanded that the natives within his province should be granted full freedom forever, and that such of them as had already been carried as slaves to the West Indies should be placed in his charge to return to their homes. He also required twelve Franciscan and Dominican priests to be sent with him for the instruction and conversion of the Indians, and that no soldiers or adventurers should be allowed to land without his permission. The Council of the Indies had rejected Father Cordova's request for territory on the ground that no profit was to be given to the Government. Las Casas offered to raise a revenue of fifteen thousand dollars at the end of three years, to be increased to seventy-five thousand in ten and to further build three forts in that time, keep the Indians in peace and establish the rule of Spain through the province which corresponded nearly with the actual Republic of Venezuela. It was then wholly unsettled by white men, though there was a station of Spanish pearl fishers on the Island of Cubaqua, near Trinidad. For himself Las Casas asked nothing in the way of either compensation or dignity. His plan was very like that carried out by the Franciscans in California two hundred and fifty years later, or by Lagaspi in the Philippines. In both cases the result was to build up a large population of Christian natives fairly civilized and had Las Casas been fairly treated he would, in all likelihood, have done the same in Venezuela.

As it was, he met with opposition on every hand. Some of his clerical friends were shocked at the worldly details of the project which they thought hardly consistent with a true missionary spirit. The King's confessor, Father Aguirre, who had always supported Las Casas in his work, was one of these friendly critics. Las Casas answered him characteristically: "Tell me, Father," said he, "were you to see our Lord in captivity and abused would you ask his 'liberty from his captors urgently?' " "Certainly," replied Father Aguirre. "Then," continued Las Casas, "if they would only release him for a price, would you pay it, if in your power?" "By all means," said Aguirre. "Well, then, that is what I am doing 'now,'" was the final argument. "I see our Lord daily maltreated 'and scourged in the persons of His Indian human creatures. I 'have asked those in power to grant them to me for the sake of

"the Holy Gospel, but they have refused unless I would pay a "price in gold. So now I am raising that price for the end of freeing our Lord in his creatures." One thinks of the words of a modern writer on another old Catholic hero: "The great heart "of the man so like a child's in its simplicity; so manlike in its "earnest strength." Father Aguirre cordially agreed with Las Casas on his explanation, as well he might.

It was different with the opposition of the officials and money hunters around the Court. Bishop Fonseca, in contrast with most of the clergy, fought the cause of monopoly and slavery stoutly. He blocked the application of Las Casas with endless delays in the Council, with sneers at its practicability, with the arguments of men of every kind interested in keeping up the slavery of the Indians. There were hot words often between him and Las Casas both in the Council of the Indies and before the Privy Council of Charles. "A lucky man, indeed, is a Councillor of the King," broke out Fonseca once, when arraigned in plain language before a royal council, "if he has to give an account of what he does in the King's service to Casas." "And a more lucky one is Casas," was the energetic answer, "if he has to come two thousand leagues from the "Indies to show the Council what infamies are being done in its "name and to save the King and his councillors from eternal perdition if for this he has to face the anger and ill words of the "Council." On another occasion, when the emigration from Spain was under discussion, the Bishop objected to spending money on supporting the emigrants. "It would cost the King more," he said, "than to raise an army." "It seems that your Lordship, having "caused the death of so many Indians, wants to be the death of "Christians as well," was the immediate retort. At a meeting of the Cabinet Las Casas boldly told the King that he was not working to please him, but to do the will of God, and that except for that he would not cross the room for the sake of the royal favor. He added that he then and there renounced and refused any personal reward from the Government, including the salary that had been assigned him as Protector of the Indies by Ximenes. Charles V. showed no irritation at this remarkable declaration, so unusual in courts or cabinets at any time.

Fonseca tried red tape when beaten in argument. He brought forward a higher offer from another party for the province asked by Las Casas. He quibbled over its description and altered its boundaries. Time and again he postponed meetings of the Council and tried to wear out his persistent opponent with the "laws' "delays." After nearly two years had thus been consumed the

Council of the Indies got up a list of objections, thirty in number, to the proposed grant. Most of them were frivolous, some skillfully framed from the notes of the colonial authorities. One was, that Las Casas being a priest, was not a full subject of the Spanish Crown. It is amusing to find the theory of Mr. Gladstone's "Vaticanism" thus used by a Spanish Bishop to prevent the emancipation of heathens in the Sixteenth Century. Another was that he might sell out to the Venetians or Genoese and make off with the wealth of the country if he got the grant. The Council added that they had many other objections to make which could only be told privately to the King himself. Chancellor Gattinara told Las Casas of these charges and that he must answer them. Las Casas was ready, but the Council kept them back, under different pretexts, for months. Finally they were handed to the Chancellor, who showed them to Las Casas and asked him to reply. The papers he could not let out of his hands, and for four nights, as Las Casas tells, he visited Gattinara in his apartments and read over and replied to the official documents. The Chancellor and he worked together till eleven, when a collation was brought in and Las Casas then went to his inn to sleep. When both sides were ready the two papers were submitted to Charles, who ordered the grant of Venezuela to be made to Las Casas. The Council still opposed and a Council was held in the presence of Charles, now elected Emperor of Germany, as well as Monarch of Spain, to give a final decision. After a session of several days, in which the Colonial officials, the newly returned Bishop of Darien, the Admiral Diego Columbus and Las Casas were all heard at length, the plans of Las Casas were fully approved. The grant was signed by the Emperor the day before he left the Spanish Capital for Germany, where he was crowned Emperor.

Las Casas was left to begin his colony with what resources he could raise on his own account. He borrowed from friends, bought a vessel, collected a number of prospective settlers and sailed a few months after the signing of his grant. But if he had conquered the obstacles before him in Spain, new and more dangerous ones awaited him in America. The Dominicans and Franciscans had established missions near Cumana the year before and were living unprotected among the Indians. They had succeeded in learning the language and gaining the confidence of the tribes around them when a Spanish vessel from Cubagua made a raid to seize Indian laborers for the pearl fisheries. The Indians broke out, destroyed the two convents, killed the two Dominicans and a Franciscan and then attacked Cubagua and drove out the Spanish

settlers. When Las Casas and his colonists reached Puerto Rico he received news of this outbreak in the land where he was about to try his plan of peaceful colonization. An expedition was on its way to Venezuela to avenge the hostilities of the natives and make as many slaves as possible among them. Las Casas protested against the further progress of the expedition and showed the grant made to himself, but to no purpose. He then had to leave his colonists in Puerto Rico while he went to San Domingo to demand the suspension of hostilities from the governing body there. The Audience did not openly refuse; they delayed sending the necessary orders and they further declared the vessel belonging to Las Casas unseaworthy and so prevented him going on to Venezuela. Finally they proposed to give him two vessels and put the soldiers then on the continent under his authority on his giving them a share in the profits to be drawn from the trading concession within his province. He had to agree, very reluctantly, but when he got to Puerto Rico he found his colonists all scattered. They had been talked over by the planters, who regarded Las Casas and Indian Emancipation with about the same feelings as the Irish rack renting landlords regarded O'Connell and Repeal. The expedition sent to Venezuela did its part to make his peaceful colonization project impossible. The soldiers ravaged the country and sent six hundred Indian prisoners as slaves to San Domingo in defiance of the royal orders. When finally Las Casas reached Cumana he had only forty or fifty hired men to aid in the settlement of a territory as large as Germany and France combined. The Franciscans had restored their convent, but it was the only settlement on the main land. The pearl fishers of Cubagua did everything to add to the already enormous difficulties of the task of Christianizing the Indians. They brought liquor to the Indians and kidnapped them for work in the island. Las Casas went to Cubagua, showed the Royal Order and demanded that these incursions should be stopped, but the officials paid no heed to him. He decided to go to San Domingo for redress, and sailed in a merchant vessel, which was wrecked on the way and it was only after a journey of many days through the swamps that he reached the Capital. Meantime a tribe of Indians attacked his new settlement, killed his manager and one of the Franciscans, and destroyed the whole of the stores provided with so much labor. When Las Casas reached San Domingo it was only to find his colonists there before him and all hope of peaceful intercourse with the natives destroyed for the time.

The blow was terrible even to his indomitable nature. He knew



that his own purpose was right, but he doubted whether God willed its success or whether he was the instrument chosen to carry it out. He took up his quarters in the Dominican Convent, where he was sure of sympathy, though his former ally, Father De Cordova, had passed to his reward while Las Casas was away. A young priest of remarkable character, Father Betanzos, afterwards the Provincial of Mexico and one of the most notable men of that country, had lately come to San Domingo. He urged Las Casas to enter the Dominican Order, and after long reflection he took the solemn vows of obedience and absolute poverty. After prominence in Courts and favor won with the greatest men of the world, with the Emperor Charles V. and the then Pope Adrian he found no more suitable course than to place himself under absolute obedience to the will of a community as strict in its mode of life as La Trappe. The austerities of the Spanish Dominicans were at least as great as those of De Rance in later years. Not only was abstinence from meat perpetual, but also from oil, wine and wheaten bread in the community of San Domingo. Las Casas was nearly fifty when he entered it and many years later, when a Bishop in Central America, he continued to observe all the austerities of the Rule.

For five years he remained almost unnoticed in his convent after the terribly energetic work of former days. He was forbidden to preach by the Audience of the island, but he was not idle. In 1527 he commenced his "History of the Indies," one of the chief sources of information regarding the settlement of this continent. The Dominican authorities continued their efforts to obtain just treatment for the Indians in the meanwhile, and after some years they called Las Casas to Spain and sent him again to the Court of Charles V. on his old mission. Pizarro was then conquering Peru and Las Casas obtained a decree forbidding the enslavement of the natives. He was sent out shortly afterwards to Peru to notify Pizarro and Almagro of this law. On the way he passed through Mexico and took part in a Chapter of the Dominicans there to settle some disputes over the jurisdiction of the Superior in San Domingo. From Mexico, with two companions, he traveled on foot to Realejo, in Nicaragua, found a ship there and sailed to Peru. Having warned the Spanish officials there of the decrees against Indian slavery he returned to Nicaragua, where he founded a convent and devoted himself to missionary work among both Indians and Spaniards for the next four years. He was sent again to Peru during that time, but driven back by storms, and he was called to San Domingo, where he found a congenial work. A

Christian chief had revolted against the oppression of his Spanish feudal lord and kept up a war in the mountains for fourteen years. Las Casas visited him and negotiated terms of peace by which the remnant of the natives of the island were secured their freedom and a large reservation. This task ended, Las Casas returned to his convent in Leon, but not for long. A new Governor, Contreras, was named for Nicaragua in 1534, and shortly after his arrival he planned an expedition against the tribes along the San Juan to establish Spanish dominion there. Las Casas regarded such attacks as simple murder by whatever name they might be gilded. He denounced the proposed campaign so forcibly that many of the soldiers refused to take part in it, and it had to be dropped. On the question of the rights of uncivilized man Las Casas wrote a remarkable work in Latin at this time, "*De Unico Modo Conversionis*," "*The Only Way to Convert*." In it he lays down emphatically that unbelievers can only be made Christians by persuasion, not by force, and secondly, that Christians have no right to make war on unbelievers unless in self defence. This was translated into Spanish and widely circulated through the colonies in 1534. The same year, in England, Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More were sent to the block for declining to acknowledge the religious supremacy of Henry VIII. The contrast is worth noting.

Contreras, however, was not an English statesman and the liberty of Las Casas was not interfered with. However, the relations between him and the Governor became so strained that Las Casas removed his community to Guatemala the following year. In the latter country he got an opportunity to put his theory into practice. A tribe of natives had been attacked by the Spanish troops unsuccessfully and Las Casas offered to convert and civilize this warlike tribe on the condition that no one but his own religious brethren should be allowed to enter their territory, and that if converted the Government should guarantee them perpetual liberty and possession of their lands subject only to the general laws of Spain. His offer was accepted formally. He set about his task with every precaution which over thirty years' of acquaintance with the natives suggested. He learned their language, composed a statement of the principal Catholic doctrines in it and spread it among the warriors by means of Indian Christians. The chief invited a visit from the Spanish priests, and professed himself a Christian after some time. The majority of the unconquered Indians of the district which was known as the "*Land of the War*," followed his example. Las Casas got his converts, who were wandering savages, to collect into settlements which he organized on

the plan that he had suggested to Ximenes twenty years before for the natives of the West Indies. There it had never been carried out, owing to the death of the great Cardinal. In Guatemala at last Las Casas had a free field to carry it out practically, and he showed that it was thoroughly practical. The Indians of Vera Paz have continued a free Catholic population to our own day.

For the accomplishment of this remarkable work the indefatigable Las Casas had less than two years' time. He was called to Mexico on business of his order, and from Mexico to Europe to secure Franciscan and Dominican missionaries to carry on the work of conversion. In Spain he was kept five years. The Emperor desired his advice on American affairs and he was kept busy with the work of his own order. He found time to write his most remarkable or rather most widely known work, "The Destruction of 'the Indies,'" within a year of his return. In it he summed up with burning earnestness the misdeeds of the European settlers against the native races. The atrocities he chronicled have, indeed, been repeated in almost every other new colony, but they were none the less abhorrent to Las Casas and the statesmen of Spain. It is strange that this work was widely reproduced by the English and Dutch enemies of later Spanish Governments as a proof of the cruelty of the Spanish character. The fact that those cruelties were repressed by the conscience of the Spanish rulers in a way unknown in other lands was ignored. The destruction of the Indians was stopped in Spanish-America, while it continued to the end in the Northern Continent, but neither Holland nor England had a Las Casas to speak for the wronged natives.

Charles V. sympathized fully in the work of Indian Emancipation. He confirmed by public edict the agreement for the perpetual freedom of the Guatemalan converts, and sent titles and presents to their chiefs somewhat to the disgust of the settlers there. Paul III. issued a remarkable brief in 1537 declaring the natives of America capable of receiving all the privileges of Christians and forbidding any Catholic to either enslave or plunder them under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*. The Spanish Government called a special Assembly in 1542 to provide suitable legislation for the colonies, which now included Peru and Mexico, instead of being confined to a few islands as at the death of Ximenes. A body of laws known as the "New Laws" was enacted and received the signature of Charles in 1542. Las Casas had sixteen measures before this body and had a great, possibly the greatest share, in shaping its decisions. The new legislation consisted of forty clauses. One was as follows:

"We order and command that henceforth, for no cause or pretext, whatever, whether war, rebellion, ransom, or any other reason, can any Indian be made a slave."

Other clauses provided that all grants of Indian villages made to the Spanish conquerors on the basis of serfdom, not slavery, should end with the lives of the original grantors and that, meanwhile, no personal service should be allowed on that ground. The grantees might only collect a reasonable rent from the Indian tenants. This measure was similar in character to the Emancipation of the Russian serfs by the late Czar Alexander.

It provoked the most violent opposition through Spanish-America. The brother of Pizarro broke into rebellion in Peru, defeated and killed the viceroy and tried to set up an independent Kingdom in South America. Something similar was threatened in Mexico and three years later Charles V. had to suspend the execution of this part of the "New Laws" through simple inability to enforce it. It was two centuries before the last vestiges of serfdom or peonage were obliterated by Charles III., of Spain, but personal slavery among the Indians at least was abolished by the efforts of Las Casas. At this very time the Parliament of England, under the Protestant rule of Henry, was enacting that any English workman found begging, for want of work, should be made a slave for life to any informant. The contrast speaks sufficiently for the views on human liberty of Catholic Spain and Protestant England. <sup>15</sup>

An unexpected burthen was laid on Las Casas as soon as the New Laws were passed. He was nominated Bishop of Cuzco, in Peru, and though he declined that dignity he was finally obliged by the entreaties of the Dominican Superiors to accept the diocese of Chiapa, in Central America. Again, this time in his seventieth year, he crossed the Atlantic in 1544. Forty Dominican missionaries accompanied him to extend the work he had begun of conversion and civilization. The Episcopal dignity made no change in the austerity, which had marked his life as a Dominican. He wore the plainest dress, touched no meat, had no personal furniture except the plainest kind, plate being rigorously excluded from his table. A library was his chief possession, but unfortunately it was lost by shipwreck on the voyage to Guatemala.

His reception in his diocese is graphically told by Remesal, the historian of Guatemala and almost a contemporary. The wealthy colonists regarded Las Casas as the main agent in the hated Emancipation laws. They called him a half trained student; made abusive verses on him, and had their children sing them around

his house, and even fired guns at his windows to scare him. To his demand for the liberation of the slaves, colonists and officials turned a deaf ear. He had to go to Guatemala and appeal to the Judges of the Audience there for the enforcement of the laws. The president of that body roundly abused the fearless bishop and told him he was a scoundrel without shame, a bad man, bad friar, bad bishop, and one that ought to be hanged. "I deserve all your Lordship says," was the half sarcastic answer of Las Casas, who, however, still insisted that a judge should be sent to Chiapa to enforce the law. The Audience was cowed by his courage and promised to send one.

The citizens of Ciudad Real, his see, determined to prevent the Bishop's return by force when they learned of this last measure. Their proceedings, as told by Father Remesel, have a modern Hibernian flavor. When they heard the judge was coming to take their Indians from them the prominent citizens held a meeting and resolved that they had no assurance that Las Casas was really their bishop, as he had never shown them his Bulls. It was further resolved that if he were their bishop he should act like other bishops and if not they would not pay him any temporalities. The final resolution was that they would not let him enter the city unless he would let them be absolved like Christians (Las Casas had forbidden his priests to admit slaveholders to the sacraments) and not try to take away their slaves or fix their rents. A party of Indians were ordered to watch the roads and keep him out meanwhile.

The Bishop was making his way from Guatemala on foot, accompanied by a Dominican, Father Vicente, and a couple of Spaniards, besides a negro servant. The latter was known as little Johnny, Juanillo, because he was very tall and his duty, like St. Patrick's "strong man" of old, was to carry the Bishop across the deep fords on his way. In this fashion he reached a monastery some miles from Ciudad Real, where he heard news of the proceedings. The monks begged him not to go on as he might be killed. The Bishop would not stop. "If I don't go to Ciudad Real," he said, "I banish myself from my Church. Men's minds change every hour, and is it possible that God will be so hard with the men of Ciudad Real as to let them commit such a crime as murdering me. In fine Reverend Fathers, I am going to my diocese trusting in the mercy of God and the help of your prayers." With that he gathered up his cassock and took the road again though it was late in the evening.

He travelled all night and caught the Indian sentinels asleep.

They naturally did not share in their master's feelings and when awakened they begged his blessing and excused their work. The Bishop was only afraid they might be made to suffer for not stopping him, so with his own hands, aided by Father Vicente, he tied them in a rope and marched them behind himself as prisoners. He reached Ciudad Real at dawn and went straight to the Church, where he called the town councillors to meet him. They came with the whole white population in very bad humor. There had been a smart shock of earthquake during the night and some declared it was a sign of the ruin that was coming on them with the Bishop's arrival. They got to the Church, however, but when the Bishop came out of the sacristy no one saluted him and a notary got up and read the resolutions lately adopted. The Bishop answered with firmness but gently and with his usual eloquence, and was making some impression when a town councillor interrupted him with a saucy speech, declaring it a piece of presumption for the Bishop, whom he described as a private individual, to call them instead of going to the Town Hall. "Look you here, sir," said Las Casas with energy, "when I want anything from your property I will go to your houses to ask it, but when I have to talk to you of the services due to God and the concerns of your souls it is my duty to call you to where I may be, and it is yours to come there fast lest worse happen you." The councillor was silenced and Las Casas stood up to leave when he was asked to name confessors. "With all my heart," said the Bishop, and he gave out four names of priests, all of whom he could rely on in the matter of slaveholding. Father Vicente did not know this and thought Las Casas was giving way, so he caught his vestment and begged him rather to die than do such a thing. This led to a general disturbance among the audience. Two monks of the Order of Mercy came in and brought Las Casas away to their convent for much needed rest. He had travelled all night without food and was getting a breakfast of bread when a mob came around the convent and some forced their way into the cell where he was eating. They had just found their Indians tied up as prisoners and came to urge this new grievance. The Bishop took all responsibility on himself, when another aggrieved citizen burst out with: "O the ways of some people. He is the protector of the Indians, and look how he binds them, and still he will go and write against us to Spain." Another gave him the vilest language he could command, which Las Casas took with dignified coolness. In the meantime the crowd outside the building fell foul of "Little Johnny" and one of them knocked him down with a pike. Two

energetic young lay brothers now took a hand and drove the angry citizens out of the premises. All this was before nine in the tropical morning, but by midday a change had come over the public mind either from the Bishop's eloquence or the weight of the lay brothers' hands. The Alcaldes came in a body to apologize and the populace at large accompanied them to beg pardon. They went further and carried him off to one of the principal houses, regaled him there in the evening and next day held a tournament in honor of his return. His words about the changeableness of men's minds were certainly verified.

This sudden popularity was not, however, of long duration. When the judge arrived shortly afterwards from Guatemala he told Las Casas respectfully that the unpopularity of the New Laws was enhanced by the fact that he was regarded as their chief author. He begged him to leave his diocese for a while on that account during the prevailing excitement and urged him to go to the Synod then convened at Mexico. Las Casas yielded, went on to Mexico, where his arrival nearly caused a tumult and attended the Synod there. It laid down some very emphatic principles on the question of Indian slavery. One was that unbelievers of every class had, in spite of their unbelief, absolute right over their persons and property, and could not be deprived of this right by Christians without grievous sin. Another was that the Spanish sovereigns had been granted jurisdiction in America by the Holy See solely in order that the Indians might be made Christians by lawful means, not to increase the power or revenues of Spain. A third point was that this grant of supreme national authority did not authorize the taking from the Indian Chiefs of any class their properties or the authority which they possessed already. These principles are in striking contrast to the Acts of Edward the Sixth's English Parliament, at the same time touching the rights of Catholics who refused to accept the Royal Supremacy as the rule of belief.

From Mexico Las Casas returned to Spain, where he resigned his bishopric. His episcopal career was only four years' active duration.

Having resigned his diocese Las Casas took up his residence in the Dominican Convent at Valladolid, but not to rest there in quiet. He was officially recognized as "Protector of the Indians" and no important measure of colonial administration escaped his energetic attention. When Philip II. succeeded his father on the Spanish throne a measure of vital importance to the native race was proposed by an agent of the American grantholders. These

grants, as has been already told, were revoked by Charles V. in 1542, but the revocation had been suspended in consequence of the rebellions in Peru. The policy of the Government was to abolish the whole system as soon as possible and the wealthy proprietors were anxious to have the grants made perpetual. For this they offered a sum of many millions, apparently about three years' revenue of Spain, to Philip, who at the time was confronted with an empty treasury and a formidable war with France. The temptation to establish a system of Russian serfdom in America was very great and Las Casas used all his energies to prevent it. Philip was in England at the time and Las Casas wrote directly to his confessor there asking that his letter should be laid before the King himself. It was a document such as very few rulers ever have addressed to them, and a strange contrast to the servile addresses of the English Parliament to its sovereigns at the same time. Las Casas told Philip that it would be in the highest degree rash for him to make any decision on American policy in England, where he had no means of learning the truth about the Spanish colonies from reliable sources. "What right," he asks, "have our Kings to wring taxes from the toil of the Indians to pay their debts?" "What an atrocity to seek to forward the interests of the King in defiance of God's law." A few sentences in the same letter are remarkable as showing how strict a rule Las Casas applied to his own actions. "A few days since," he wrote, "a member of the Council, hearing this proposition, threatened me with God's justice and charged me with not half doing my duty if I did not go and protest effectually against those tyrants even if I had to beg my way to England with a stick in my hand and a beggar's sack on my back. What would he have said had he seen all I have during the last sixty years?" This was strong language for a bishop of over four score years to use of himself and it may serve to explain the severity of his denunciations in his "Destruction of the Indies."

Philip received this bold letter well and wrote in reply asking further information. Charles V., who had retired to a monastery, shared the opinion of Las Casas and his last interference in political affairs was to warn his son against sacrificing the liberty of his subjects. The proposal of the colonial magnates was definitely rejected despite the deficit in the treasury. Spanish honor, after all, has not been an empty word.

The other tasks of Las Casas during the last years of his life are too numerous to tell here. He published his famous "Destruction of the Indies" in 1550 and dedicated it to Philip himself in

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spite of the freedom with which it treated royal and feudal rights. Like the present Sovereign Pontiff, Las Casas retained his capacity for work, especially literary work, to the age of over ninety. He wrote the last chapters of his great History of the Indies in 1561 at eighty-seven, and three years later he published a monograph on Peru which shows all the energy and indefatigable investigation of his works written forty years earlier. His correspondence with every part of Spanish-America was enormous all through this time. Bishops and missionaries wrote to him from Peru, from Mexico, from Central America, the West Indies, Florida and other regions telling the wants of their people or the wrongdoing of officials. The redressing of these wrongs received his active care to the last and his death came in the discharge of a task for that Guatemala where he had established personally the first converted Indian province. The Supreme Court of Central America had been suppressed for motives of economy and the Bishop informed Las Casas that in consequence the poor, especially the Indians, found it impossible to get legal redress for the wrongs inflicted by the wealthy. Las Casas at ninety-two journeyed to Madrid, laid the case before the Ministry and pleaded it so effectually that the Court was restored. On his return to his convent he contracted a burning fever and passed away among his Dominican brethren in 1564.

There were many notable men among the first conquerors and settlers of America, but none more remarkable in every way than America's first Catholic priest, Bartolome de Las Casas.

BRYAN J. CLINCH.

San Francisco.

THE LAST TEN YEARS OF THE TEMPORAL POWER.—  
FROM CASTELFIDARDO TO MENTANA.

1. Charles Garnier, *Le Royaume des Deux Siciles*. Paris, 1866.
2. L. A. de Becdelievre, *Souvenirs d'Armée Pontificale*. Paris, 1867.
3. Prof. Antonio Vitali, *Ledici giornate di Monte Rotondo*. Roma, 1868.
4. Paolo Mencacci, *La Mano di Dio nell' ultima invasion contro Roma*. Roma, 1868.
5. Felice Carallotti, *Storia dell-insurrezione di Roma nel 1867*. Milano, 1869.
6. LeBaron de Mevius, *Histoire de l' Invasion des Etats Pontificaux en 1867*. Paris, 1875.
7. Paolo Mencacci, *Memorie documentate per la Storia della Rivoluzione Italiana*. Roma, 1879.
8. A. M. Bonetti, *I Martiri Italiani, Storia dei Mezzi Morali della Rivoluzione Italiana*. Modena, 1891.
9. The O'Clery, *the Making of Italy*. London, 1892.
10. René Bittard des Portes, *Histoire des Zouaves Pontificaux*. Paris, 1894.
11. *Battles of the Nineteenth Century*, published by Cassell & Co. London, 1895.

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**A**FTER the defeat of the Papal army at Castelfidardo and the fall of Ancona, the conquest of the States of the Church went no further than the occupation of the provinces of the Marches and Umbria by the troops of Victor Emmanuel. It suited the vacillating policy of Napoleon III, who probably feared to irritate too violently the Catholic and conservative elements of the French nation, to uphold for some time longer the throne of the Holy Father, and the presence of a French garrison in Rome sufficed to stop the advance of the invaders and assure the independence of the territory known as the Patrimony of St. Peter, the poorest and most thinly inhabited portion of the Papal dominions. The Italian army was thus at liberty to hasten to assist Garibaldi in his Neapolitan campaign which, up to that moment, he was officially supposed to have undertaken against the will of Victor Emmanuel, and in spite of the efforts of Cavour to restrain him. And here, perhaps, it may be allowed to digress from the chief subject of this paper, and cast a glance at the condition of the Kingdom of Naples under that House of Bourbon which the Protestant Press of England and the atheistical press of the Continent have always conspired to revile and calumniate. The Bourbons, it is true, did not rule according to the forms of constitutional government so revered and cherished by Anglo-Saxon communities, but the same methods of administration are not necessarily adapted to all races. Among the easy-going and enterprising populations of Southern Europe, the government is expected to lead the way in all social movements, as well as in all industrial undertakings, and Ferdinand II, the father of Francis II, the sovereign whose rule Mr. Gladstone

so blindly and passionately denounced as the "negation of God," labored strenuously throughout his whole reign to promote in every way the interests and the welfare of his subjects.

To him is due the construction of the first railway opened in Italy; of the first suspension bridges made in Italy; of the first electric telegraph laid in Italy; of the first light-houses on the dioptric system raised on the coasts of Italy, and under his reign the first steamer built in Italy was launched from a Neapolitan dockyard. When Ferdinand II came to the throne in 1830, there were only 1,505 miles of road in his kingdom, only 64 miles of which had been made by the French revolutionists during their nine years occupation of the country, and by the end of 1855 he had opened 3,082 more; besides building many bridges, embanking torrents, and draining lagoons and marshes near Taranto, Brindisi, Nola, and Policastro. To Ferdinand II are due the military schools of Maddaloni and Gaeta; the veterinary and agricultural school of Naples, an academy for the navy, and naval schools at Procida and Gaeta, besides numerous colleges, orphanages, and hospitals in the principal cities of his States.<sup>1</sup> The reorganization of the Neapolitan Mint; the establishment of manufactories of arms and ammunition, and of the cannon foundry of Naples, are additional proofs of the activity and energy of a sovereign under whose rule trade and commerce flourished, the taxes were light, and the funds, a sure indication of the prosperity of a country, were always above par.

But the overthrow of the Bourbons had been resolved by the conspirators who were bent on uniting all Italy, whether under a monarchical or republican form of government, and to carry out their designs they recoiled from neither calumny nor treason. A single example of their shameless mendacity will suffice; the case, namely, of Baron Poerio, the political prisoner whose defence Mr. Gladstone took up with so much enthusiasm about 1852, making all Europe resound with the tale of his sufferings. Since then, a Radical deputy, Petruccelli della Gattina, has frankly confessed that when he and his fellow-conspirators were seeking to excite public opinion against the Bourbons, they selected Poerio as the embodiment of their hostility to that dynasty; the infidel press of France and England took up the question quite seriously; so did Gladstone, who exaggerated both the reputation of the prisoner and the nature of his punishment, and Poerio, the victim of Ferdinand II, was literally fabricated by means of newspaper articles at three half-pence a line.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Garnier. *Le Royaume des Deux Siciles*.

<sup>2</sup> Menaccci. *Memorie documentate*, vol. II., p. 162.

While the kingdom of Naples was in this thriving condition it was invaded by Victor Emmanuel, without a declaration of war, when the way had been opened for him by the filibustering expedition of Garibaldi, whose army before Capua, mostly composed of northern Italians, had already been strongly re-enforced by detachments of *bersaglieri* and artillery landed at Naples from Admiral Persano's fleet. It was on October 11, 1860, that Cialdini coming from Ancona led his troops across the frontier, and after defeating and capturing at Isernia, a small body of Neapolitan troops and armed peasants commanded by General Scotti, he shot in cold blood the peasants who had fallen into his hands, sparing only the soldiers. This act of cruelty was the beginning of the sanguinary atrocities which during the next four years desolated the provinces of the Abruzzi, the Capitanata, and Molise, where a very large proportion of the population still remained faithful to their king, and though treated as outlaws, offered a stubborn opposition to their annexation to Piedmont. From Isernia Cialdini marched to Gaeta, and began the siege rendered famous by the prolonged and gallant resistance of France II and his heroic Queen, leaving the suppression of the royalist guerrilla warfare to his lieutenants, among whom General Pinelli, Major Fumel, and de Ferrari, the prefect of Foggia, distinguished themselves by the ferocity of their proclamations and their acts. The first decreed in the month of November, 1860, that all unlicensed persons found with firearms, poignards or even knives in their possession, should be instantly shot, as well as those who excited the peasants to revolt, or who, by their deeds or their words, insulted the arms of Savoy, the portrait of the king, or the national flag. In Calabria, Major Fumel prohibited under pain of death not only to give food or shelter to a brigand, that is to say, to a royalist in arms, but even to carry bread out of a village. As in the province of Capitanata the royalist bands were generally mounted, the prefect de Ferrari decreed that the blacksmiths should only shoe horses at certain forges and in virtue of a special license; they were not to quit their village without a pass, nor even to have horses or tools for shoeing in their possession without leave from the authorities: any infraction of this law was to be considered as proof of complicity with the brigands.<sup>3</sup>

It was by this system of merciless repression that the Kingdom of Naples which, according to the Liberal press of Europe, was longing to be emancipated from the despotism of the Bourbons was annexed by the House of Savoy, and although the full details of

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<sup>3</sup> Garnier. *Le Royaume des Deux Siciles*, pp. 180, 184, 190.

these atrocities will probably never be known, it has been estimated that the number of so-called brigands summarily executed amounted to 17,000,<sup>4</sup> and that up to November, 1862, no less than sixteen towns, situated in seven different provinces, with a total population of 49,366 souls, had been sacked and burned.<sup>5</sup>

Even Napoleon III, without whose connivance the invasion of the Papal States and consequently of the Kingdom of Naples could never have taken place, could not restrain his indignation on hearing by what methods was being established the unity of Italy, that cause for which he had squandered the gold and shed so lavishly the blood of France, and in a letter to General Fleury in July, 1862, he stated that he had written to Turin to express his horror at the cruelties of the Piedmontese generals, and he declared that the Bourbons had never been guilty of similar acts.<sup>6</sup>

While the rule of Victor Emmanuel was being thus brutally imposed on a people whom he was supposed to have come to enfranchise, the Papal Government, protected in its diminished territory from its exterior enemies by the presence of the French, was gradually reassembling and reorganizing the remains of its army. The Franco-Belgian battalion which had suffered such heavy losses at Castelfidardo was soon raised by the arrival of fresh recruits to the number of 600 men; on January 1st, 1861, its name was changed to that of Pontifical Zouaves and Major de Becdelièvre was raised to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Towards the end of the same month the battalion was sent under his command to carry out a project devised by Mgr. de Mérode, the Minister of War, namely, the invasion of the province of Rieti and the re-establishment of the authority of the Papal Government. The surprise of the post which held the bridge at Passo di Correse, a village on the northern frontier of the province of Rome, was the only result of this expedition, for when, a few days later, the pontifical soldiers were advancing towards Rieti, they were stopped by a message from General de Goyou, the commander of the French troops in Rome, who undertook to hold the outposts along the limits of the Patrimony of St. Peter and prevent any aggression on the part of the Piedmontese. It was to be regretted that the General's solicitude for the safety of the territory confided to his care had not been aroused sooner, for in the same month of January, the Piedmontese general, de Sonnaz, who commanded a division at Sora in the Kingdom of Naples, crossed the Papal frontier in pursuit of a band of royalists composed of Neapolitan soldiers and armed peasants

<sup>4</sup> Bonetti. part II., p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> O'Clery. p. 305.

<sup>6</sup> Garnier. p. 181.

under the command of a Swiss officer, Count de Christen, seized the monastery of Casamari, plundered both it and the church and set it on fire.<sup>7</sup> It was this general who in the previous month of September had taken Perugia, and who, on the following day, had tried by court-martial and condemned to death the Rev. Baldassare Santi, falsely accused of having fired on the Piedmontese and killed a soldier. It was in vain that the Bishop of Perugia, Cardinal Pecci, now His Holiness Pope Leo XIII, and the principal citizens of the town interceded for the unfortunate priest, and bore witness to his piety, his charity, and his virtuous life. The sentence was executed within twenty-four hours, but a few days later the falsity of the denunciation and the innocence of the victim were fully recognized.<sup>8</sup>

General de Sonnaz crossed the frontier again with several thousand men soon after his sacrilegious aggression on Casamari, and attacked Bauco, a village surrounded by a mediæval wall and standing on the summit of a steep hill, where Count de Christen had taken refuge with his band. The general bombarded the village for some hours, and then sent his troops twice to the assault; they were repulsed on each occasion with a total loss of 500 killed and wounded, and the position seemed impregnable; yet the general's pride forbade him to withdraw from before a mere village defended by irregulars while he feared that the arrival of French or Papal troops might compel him to make an ignominious retreat. He therefore offered to allow the band which had nearly exhausted its ammunition to retire without being pursued, promising to return to his side of the frontier, on condition that Count de Christen should give his word to refrain from further hostilities.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless the Piedmontese government continued to show its contempt for the principles of international law by allowing the troops to make frequent incursions into the Papal territory, though sometimes the invaders were made to pay dearly for their aggression. Thus on July 28, 1862, a patrol of seventeen Pontifical zouaves, led by Lieutenant Mousty, surprised a body of 200 *bersaglieri* who had entered the territory of the Church near Ceprano in pursuit of a body of Neapolitan royalists, and by their sudden onslaught drove them back across the frontier in disorder and with heavy losses. The village was immediately occupied by a detachment of French troops in order to guard against any future attacks, but the *Civiltà Cattolica* asserts that between December 31, 1864, and July 1, 1865, Piedmontese patrols crossed the limits of the Papal states no less than eight times and usually for the purpose of arresting

<sup>7</sup> O'Clery p. 246. Bonetti. *Martiri Italiani*, part 1.

<sup>8</sup> Bonetti, part II, p. 36. O'Clery, p. 248.

Papal subjects accused of brigandage, though the General in command of the French army of occupation never failed to protest against these violations of international law.<sup>10</sup>

In the meanwhile the adherents of Mazzini and Garibaldi were not idle, but continued to agitate and conspire to bring about the annexation of Rome and Venice. An expedition which was organized in the month of May, 1862, to invade the Venetian provinces, seems to have been at first connived at, if not, indeed, encouraged by the Italian Government, and it was not till the last moment that Rattazzi, then prime minister, thought fit to arrest the leaders. In the month of August of the same year Garibaldi put himself at the head of a similar movement with the openly avowed intention of marching upon Rome. The facility with which he was allowed to organize an army of about 3,000 men in Sicily, made him apparently believe that Rattazzi would allow him to prepare the way to Rome for him as he had prepared the way to Naples for Cavour; and, indeed, the feeble opposition he met with from the Piedmontese generals in Sicily, and from Admiral Albini at Catania, must have encouraged him in that belief, as he sailed from Catania on August 24, with 2,000 volunteers, and landed in Calabria the next morning. But to attack Rome was a far more serious matter than to invade the kingdom of Naples, and the determination manifested by France to defend what remained of the Papal territory must have made the Italian government understand that the treacherous policy of Cavour which had caused the downfall of Francis II would, in this case, have no chance of success. Energetic measures were therefore immediately taken to stop the march of the general, who had thrown himself with his band among the dense woods and the intricate ravines of the mountainous region known as Aspromonte which forms the southernmost extremity of Italy, and Colonel Pallavicini was sent from Reggio with several battalions of *bersaglieri* to arrest him, or even, according to General Ciadini's words, to destroy him, if he attempted to resist.<sup>11</sup> The royal troops met the Garibaldians on the 29th of August, and, though Garibaldi had ordered his volunteers not to fire, a skirmish took place in which some fifty men were killed and wounded, and, among the latter, Garibaldi himself. The General was brought as a prisoner to the fort of Varignano, near La Spezia, but after an imprisonment of a little over a month, he and his followers were set at liberty.

The resolution, however, of the ministers of Victor Emmanuel

<sup>10</sup> *Civiltà Cattolica*. series 6, vol. iv, p. 487.

<sup>11</sup> O'Clery. p. 331.

to annex Rome was not in any way diminished because they had been obliged to repress the indiscreet ardor of a too zealous instrument: they sought, therefore, to obtain by diplomatic methods the victory which it was impossible to achieve by force as long as the French troops guarded any portion of the States of the Church, and they began to negotiate with the Court of the Tuileries with the object of inducing the Emperor to put an end to the occupation on condition that the independence of the Holy See should be recognized. Their first overtures were firmly rejected by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, but in June, 1864, he informed them that his government was willing to discuss the question, and after secret negotiations conducted between the Emperor, the Italian Ambassador Cavaliere Nigra, and the Marchese Pepoli, a special envoy, but without the intervention of Pius IX, who was not even consulted on the occasion, a convention was signed on the 15th of September, 1864, which, under the fallacious appearance of a guarantee for the independence of the Holy Father, prepared the way for the final abolition of his temporal power.

According to this agreement, the Italian Government pledged itself not to attack the territory still remaining to the Church and to hinder by force any attempt at an invasion: it promised not to protest against the organization of a Papal army even though composed of foreigners, sufficient to maintain order in the Papal States and on their frontiers, provided it did not become a means of aggression against Italy; and it consented to take upon itself a proportional part of the debt of the former States of the Church. The French Government on the other hand, agreed to withdraw its troops gradually, according as the Papal army was increased, and to complete the evacuation within two years. By a secret protocol annexed to the Convention it was stipulated that it was to become executive after the publication of a decree transferring the capital of Italy from Turin to Florence, and that this transfer was to take place within six months of the date of the Convention.

No one, however, was deceived by the guarantees contained in this document: the unprovoked invasions without declaration of war of the States of the Church and of the kingdom of Naples had shown the methods by which the Italian Government intended to carry out its resolution to unite all the Peninsula under the Crown of Savoy: and if any doubt remained on the subject, the outspoken declarations of the Italian press, of the Italian ministry, and even of the diplomatists who had drawn up the Convention, would have manifested its utter worthlessness as a safeguard for the Temporal Power. They all agreed in asserting that no intention of abandon-



ing the aspirations of the nation had been expressed in this document, that it severed the last link of the chain which bound France to their enemies; and even M. Drouyn de Lhuys observed that the possibility of a revolution bursting out spontaneously in Rome had not been foreseen by the Convention. He added, it is true, that in case such an event took place, France reserved her liberty of action, but the successors of Cavour knew very well how easily spontaneous revolutions could be brought about. They nearly succeeded in causing one against themselves, for the first result of the publication of the Convention was to excite an intense irritation among the people of Turin, when suddenly informed of the approaching transfer of the capital to Florence. The turbulent demonstrations of anger to which this irritation gave rise were suppressed with a ferocity and an amount of bloodshed unknown under the much calumniated governments of Pius IX and Francis II, and the immediate dismissal of the ministry alone saved Turin from civil war.

In view, therefore, of the approaching departure of the French army of occupation, it became necessary to take steps for the reorganization and increase of the small army on which the Holy Father would thenceforth have to rely for the defence of the diminished territory of the Church. General de La Moricière who, though still retaining the title of commander-in-chief, had lived since the capitulation of Ancona at his country house in France, died suddenly on the 10th of September, 1865, and in the month of October following, General Kanzler, who had distinguished himself at the combat of San Angelo during the campaign of 1860, was promoted to the supreme command of the Papal army, and became Minister of War in the place of Mgr. de Mérode. About the same time was formed a regiment named from the town, where it was enrolled, *La Légion d'Antibes*. It was composed of French officers and soldiers authorized by the Emperor to enter the service of the Holy See but who still retained their French nationality and their respective ranks in the French army. Major de Becdelièvre, who had formed the battalion of Pontifical Zouaves and had led it at Castelfidardo, had resigned his command in 1861 in consequence of a misunderstanding with Mgr. de Mérode, and had been succeeded by Colonel Allet, a Swiss officer and one of those who had been longest in the service of the Holy Father. During the following years, the Zouaves, like the rest of the Papal troops, had been scattered in small detachments among the villages situated along the Neapolitan frontier, and were unceasingly engaged in pursuing the bands of brigands which infested that mountainous region. These

marauders had then lost all political significance; they were no longer recruited from the partisans of the Bourbons, fighting for their king and the independence of their country, but were merely gatherings of outlaws and desperadoes such as has for centuries formed the usual elements of Italian brigandage.<sup>12</sup> After the departure of the French troops who embarked at Civitá Vecchia on December 11, 1866, the Zouaves began to receive numerous accessions from all parts of Europe; a large number of these recruits bore the names of the most illustrious houses of France where the aristocracy principally distinguished itself by its devotion to the Holy Father; those still more numerous, from Belgium and Holland, who formed about two-thirds of the entire regiment, came generally from the peasantry. Ireland, which in 1860 had sent a contingent of 1,200 men to the army of La Moricière, was now represented in the regiment of Zouaves by Captain d'Arcy and Captain Delahoyd, who had served in the battalion of St. Patrick, by Surgeon-Major O'Flynn who had taken part in the defence of Spoleto under Major O'Reilly, and by several recruits who hastened to join the Papal standard when the Garibaldian invasion began.

By October 1, 1867, the Papal army amounted to nearly 13,000 men; 8,415 of whom were Papal subjects, and many of them from the provinces which had been annexed by the Kingdom of Italy. The foreign element was represented by 2,237 Zouaves, 1,233 Swiss carabineers and 1,096 French serving in the *Légion d'Antibes*. The effective force, however, capable of taking the field, did not amount to more than 8,000 men, but these were far better organized and disciplined than those whom La Moricière had commanded in 1860, and they were animated with a spirit of loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Holy Father which amply compensated for their deficiency in numbers.

In the spring and summer of 1867 Garibaldi visited the chief cities of North Italy with the openly avowed intention of enrolling volunteers for an invasion of the Papal States, proclaiming everywhere the necessity of abolishing the Temporal Power, and boasting that he would seize Rome in spite of the protection of France and the vigilance of the Italian troops which guarded the frontiers. In answer to his appeal a small band commanded by Galliano of Genoa, a former Garibaldian officer, left Terni in the month of June and advanced as far as Monte Rotondo, but fled on the arrival of a detachment of Papal troops.<sup>13</sup> This expedition was blamed and

<sup>12</sup> G. Galtiano, *Spedizione di Terni*, p. 8. 17.

<sup>13</sup> Bittard des Portes p. 69. O'Clery, p. 3

disavowed both by the Italian ministry and by Garibaldi, probably because it was unsuccessful, but it served to reveal the approaching danger to the Papal Government and to put it on its guard. Rattazzi, who was then prime minister, had a different game to play. He wished to make use of Garibaldi for the purpose of exciting in the Papal States a revolutionary movement which would serve as a pretext for the entrance of the Italian army, while on the other hand he could not afford to quarrel with the Emperor who seemed determined to maintain the independence of the Holy See, and who insisted that the Papal frontier should be carefully watched and the Convention of September faithfully observed. Rattazzi, indeed, gave repeated assurances of his respect for the Convention and of the care with which he sought to carry out its stipulations; he even affected to believe that Garibaldi had changed his mind, that he had abandoned his projected expeditions and was about to return to Caprera,<sup>14</sup> though, meanwhile, crowds of volunteers were allowed to assemble in the towns and villages of Tuscany and prepare for the invasion of the Papal territory. On September 16th Garibaldi issued an inflammatory proclamation calling on the Romans to rise, and Rattazzi foreseeing the imminent danger of another French intervention and probably a war with France, ordered Garibaldi and his staff to be arrested at Sinalunga near Arezzo on September 23d. The General was brought to the fortress of Alexandria in Lombardy, but, after a few days, Rattazzi, intimidated by the noisy demonstrations and the menaces of the advanced Radicals, allowed him to return to his home on the Island of Caprera, without exacting any conditions or promise, but to prevent his escape, the island was watched by two cruisers and after a short time their number was increased to seven.

The arrest of its leader did not stop the Garibaldian expedition. According to the General's orders the bands which formed the right wing of his forces, commanded by General Acerbi, were to advance from Orvieto towards Viterbo; those of the centre, under Menotti Garibaldi, from Terni towards Monte Rotondo and Tivoli, and those of the left wing under Nicotera, were to enter from the Kingdom of Naples and march towards Velletri. By this skilfully devised plan of campaign Garibaldi hoped that if the Papal troops were dispersed in various directions to guard the frontier against simultaneous invasions at widely distant points, the people of Rome would be free to rise, while if they remained on the defensive in Rome, the three divisions of his army would unite and attack the city.<sup>15</sup> Their numbers alone would have rendered them formidable, for no less than 30,000 men are said to have been enrolled.

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<sup>14</sup> Mevius, p. 101.<sup>15</sup> Cavallotti, p. 317.

The first band of volunteers comprising somewhat over 20 men crossed the frontier coming from Orvieto on the evening of September 28th. Galliano of Genoa was again their leader and the next day he surprised a small post of gendarmes at Grotte San Stefano; the villages of Bomarzo, Soriano, and Caprarola, also held by a few gendarmes, were taken in the course of the following days; but the band, which had been increased by fresh arrivals to the number of 60 men, was defeated near Ronciglione by a company of the line and a detachment of gendarmes, and forced to retreat to Bagnorea. Other bands apparently acting independently of each other entered the northern portion of the Papal territory about the same time coming from different directions; one was beaten at Canino, not far from Viterbo; others at Ischia and Valentano close to the Tuscan frontier; another of over 300 men led by Count Pagliacci, an officer of Acerbi's staff, took Acquapendente after a vigorous resistance from the garrison of 27 gendarmes, but it was surprised a few days later at the neighboring village of San Lorenzo by Colonel Azzanesi, the military governor of the province, and defeated with the loss of many prisoners.

The first serious resistance by the Papal troops was at Bagnorea, a walled village to the north of Viterbo, strongly situated on the summit of a steep hill and accessible only by a single road passing over a bridge. As the town was not held by a garrison a Garibaldian band seized it on October 1st, sacked the Churches, broke the images of the saints, insulted and ill-treated the clergy, took possession of the municipal treasury and proclaimed the dictatorship of Garibaldi.<sup>18</sup> The arrival of other bands soon raised their numbers to 500; and they proceeded to strengthen the defences of the town; they loopholed the walls of the houses which commanded the bridge, fortified the convent of San Francesco outside the gates and raised barricades on the roads. They were thus able to repulse a reconnaissance made by a detachment of 20 Zouaves, 4 gendarmes and 45 soldiers of the line which succeeded in storming one of the barracks and killing many of its defenders, but was obliged to retire before the heavy fire from the houses, and with the loss of some prisoners. The triumph of the Garibaldians did not last long. On October 5th Colonel Azzanesi marched from Montefiascone with two companies of Zouaves commanded by Captain Le Gomidec, and four companies of the line under Captain Zanetti, together with a few dragoons and two guns, in all about 460 men; and after a sharp combat drove the Garibaldians from their barri-

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<sup>18</sup> Mencacci, vol. 1, p. 35.

cares into the town, and took the convent at the point of the bayonet. The artillery then came into action; after a few discharges the Garibaldians fled through the ravines surrounding the town and the citizens flinging open their gates welcomed their liberators. This victory cost the Papal troops only six wounded, while the Garibaldians lost 96 killed and wounded and 110 prisoners.

In spite of these reverses the invasion continued and band after band entered the Papal States at many points, hastening back when defeated to take refuge on the Italian side of the frontier. Victor Emmanuel's troops, which were supposed to guard the frontier, rarely made any attempt to arrest the volunteers who arrived in crowds at Perugia, Orvieto and Terni, mostly provided with free passes over the railways, and were allowed to receive arms and ammunition from the National Guards of the adjacent villages. It would be tedious to enter into the details of the many skirmishes which took place every day; from that where Menotti Garibaldi was defeated near Monte Libretti in the north, to Subiaco in the east, where the Garibaldian leader, Major Blenio, was killed, and to Vallecorsa in the south where Nicotera's Neapolitan volunteers were beaten and dispersed after having plundered the village of Falvaterra, but the attack on Monte Libretti on October 13th is more worthy of notice.

The band of Menotti Garibaldi which had been defeated and driven across the frontier on October 6th, shortly after it had invaded the Papal territory, had returned in much greater strength, and occupied Monte Libretti, a walled village built around a castle of the middle ages, on the summit of a steep and isolated hill. At the foot of the hill a bridge crosses a deep ravine, and from the gate of the town a street leads to it commanded on one side by the walls of the castle. Menotti Garibaldi was known to be advancing towards the village and Lieut.-Col. de Charette had ordered three detachments to march from different points to intercept him. One of these columns had already been sent in a different direction and did not receive the counter-order; another came too soon to the point where the three were to meet and after waiting some time withdrew; the third column composed of 90 Zouaves under Lieutenant Guillemin, on arriving near Monte Libretti about six in the evening, surprised the Garibaldian advanced posts, and attacking them at once drove them back into the town. Guillemin then sent a section of his men under Sub-Lieutenant de Quélen to turn the enemy's position, and at the head of the others dashed forward through the vineyards which covered the approaches, and on through the narrow street, under a heavy fire from the windows of the castle,

to the open space before the gate which was filled with Garibaldians. Here he fell with a bullet through the brain, and a furious hand to hand fight ensued between the small body of Zouaves and their far more numerous opponents. Major Fazzari, a Garibaldian officer, was wounded and made prisoner; Corporal Alfred Collingridge, of London, fought desperately, hemmed in by six Garibaldians, till he was mortally wounded, and Peter Yong, a tall and athletic Dutchman, killed sixteen Garibaldians with his clubbed rifle, then sank down exhausted with fatigue, and was immediately bayoneted. When the fight had lasted for about a quarter of an hour the section of de Qu  len came up, and drove the Garibaldians into the town, but de Qu  len fell mortally wounded, and though the Zouaves made three attempts to pass the gate, their efforts failed before the shower of bullets directed upon it from all sides, and the Garibaldians closed and barricaded the door. Seventeen Zouaves had been killed and eighteen wounded, and night having fallen a part of the survivors retreated to the village of Monte Maggiore, but Sergeant-Major Bach, a Bavarian, who, along with some Zouaves had been separated from the others in the darkness, took possession of a house near the gate, and continued to exchange shots with the enemy till dawn next morning, when he too withdrew to Monte Maggiore, while Menotti, who had no less than 1,200 men, believing that this handful of Zouaves were the advanced guard of a larger force, retreated in the opposite direction to Nerola.

Like Monte Libretti, Nerola is a walled village situated on the summit of a steep hill and defended by a strongly built castle, impregnable except with the help of artillery, and the approaches had been fortified by barricades. Lieut.-Col. de Charette received orders to dislodge Menotti Garibaldi from this formidable position, and he marched from Monte Rotondo with one gun and about 900 infantry drawn from the Zouaves, the *L  gion d'Antibes* and the Swiss carabineers. He arrived before Nerola on the morning of the 18th and found that Menotti Garibaldi had withdrawn to a position nearer to the frontier leaving 200 men to defend the village. The Garibaldians were soon driven back into the castle from which they maintained a heavy fire for some time, till finding that the gate was on the point of being blown open and that there was no hope of assistance from Menotti, they laid down their arms.

On the same day another victory was achieved by the Papal soldiers near the village of Farnese, on the Tuscan frontier, where after a sharp combat, in which Lieutenant de Fournel was killed, a small body of Zouaves, gendarmes, and chasseurs, in all 110 men, drove a numerous band of Garibaldians from their advanced post

in a farmhouse and afterwards from the village of Farnese; but the Garibaldians who had lost heavily, and were rendered furious by their defeat, murdered two Capuchin fathers in a neighboring monastery.

After taking Nerola, Colonel de Charette had intended to pursue Menotti Garibaldi, break up his band and drive him across the frontier, but a dispatch from General Kanzler recalled him to Rome where it was found necessary to concentrate the scattered detachments of the Papal army. It was not merely against the incursions of armed bands that the Papal Government had to guard; it was well aware of the presence in Rome of Garibaldian emissaries actively engaged in preparing an insurrection which would afford a pretext for the intervention of the Italian troops and the occupation of Rome, and it saw the importance of taking every precaution to assure the tranquility of the Eternal City and the safety of the Holy Father. The city was therefore declared to be in a state of siege; the bridges over the Aniene were mined; most of the gates were closed and barricaded; earthworks armed with guns were thrown up outside those left open; artillery was placed in position on Mount Aventine and the ditches of the castle of St. Angelo were filled with water. Even the two companies of recruits in the *dépôt* at San Callisto were called on to share the duties of the garrison, and remained under arms for the greater part of each night in readiness for any emergency.

In spite of the vigilance of the police there were at that time in Rome, three secret committees actively engaged in conspiring against the authority of Pius IX, but their efforts to overthrow his government were happily counteracted to a great extent by their mutual jealousies and their incessant disputes. The origin of these committees may be assigned to the revolution of 1848, for the last act of Mazzini and his fellow triumvirs before leaving Rome on the entrance of the French troops in July, 1849, was to found a secret society under the title of *il Comitato Centrale* for the purpose of spreading republican principles among the people, and fostering a spirit of hostility towards the rulers of Italy, and more especially towards the Sovereign Pontiff.<sup>17</sup> As dissensions soon broke out in this committee, Mazzini dissolved it and instituted another, *la Direzione Centrale interna*, the special object of which was to make ready for a general insurrection throughout Italy, and which did, in fact, cause a rising in Milan in February, 1853. This outbreak was quickly suppressed by the Austrian troops, and its failure, by

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<sup>17</sup> Cavallotti, p. 29.

manifesting the incapacity of Mazzini, weakened his authority among his followers and produced an irritation against him which split up *la Direzione* into two factions; the *puri* or thorough-going republicans, who remained faithful to their leader's ideal of an Italian republic, and the *fusionisti* who aimed at uniting all shades of opinion under the constitutional government of the House of Savoy. This latter section founded in Rome in 1853 the *Comitato Nazionale* which soon brought under its influence many citizens whose opinions were liberal but who were averse to violence, and in return for the services it rendered to the liberal party it received from the Piedmontese ministry a monthly subsidy of 5,000 francs.<sup>18</sup>

The temporising policy of the *Comitato Nazionale* which deprecated and hindered any attempt at an insurrection in Rome, and hoped to achieve the unity of Italy solely by diplomacy and through the intervention of Piedmont, seemed contemptible to the more enthusiastic members of the revolutionary party. They derided the childish manifestations by which the *Comitato* sought to remind the public of its existence and annoy the police without incurring any danger; such as exploding noisy but harmless fireworks, burning tri-colored lights in public places, or letting loose dogs with tri-colored cockades tied to their tails, and in 1861 they founded the *Comitato d'azione*, which printed secretly a newspaper entitled *Roma o Morte*, entered into correspondence with Garibaldi and made preparations for a revolt. Garibaldi's defeat at Aspromonte put an end to this project, and several of the conspirators were arrested to the great relief of the more cautious committee which was even accused of having aided the Roman police in its investigations, and of having taken advantage of the misfortune which had befallen its fellow-conspirators, to steal their clandestine printing-press.<sup>19</sup> Three years later, when the departure of the French troops seemed to present a favorable opportunity for a rising, the *Comitato d'azione* was again established, and to hasten on still more the revolutionary movement, it was soon followed by a third Committee named *il Centro d'insurrezione*. The *Comitato Nazionale*, always hostile to the idea of a revolt, issued in vain protestations and warnings against the dangerous tendencies of its new rival; it was rapidly losing its influence and the subsidy it received from Piedmont, which Baron Ricasoli, when prime minister, had raised to 10,000 francs a month, was withdrawn in 1867 by his successor Urbano Rattazzi. Some of the members of the discredited *Comitato* then resigned, and forming a coalition with the *Centro d'insurrezione*, founded in July, 1867, a

<sup>18</sup> Cavallotti, pp. 40, 164.

<sup>19</sup> Cavallotti, p. 41.



new Committee, which under the name of the *Giunta Nazionale Romana* took upon itself from thenceforward the direction of the conspiracy. The insurgents were mostly composed of Garibaldians from different parts of Italy who had entered Rome secretly, and remained there in hiding; their principal leaders were Colonel Francesco Cucchi, of Bergamo, who held the supreme command, and Guerzoni, a member of the Italian parliament, who acted as his lieutenant; but only a small proportion of the Roman people belonging, almost without exception, to the dregs of the populace, took part in the rising.<sup>20</sup>

The long expected insurrection, which was intended to serve as a pretext for the intervention of the Italian troops, began on the evening of October 22d, in several parts of Rome simultaneously, but it was speedily suppressed before any serious injury had been caused, with the exception of the destruction of the Serristori barracks not far from St. Peter's. The conspirators had planned to undermine and blow up all the barracks in Rome; among others, those of the Swiss Guard in the Vatican, and even the powder magazine of the Castle of St. Angelo;<sup>21</sup> but Rattazzi ordered Colonel Cucchi to change the date of the rising from the 27th, which had been originally fixed, to the 22d before all was ready, and his impatience saved the city from ruin. At the Serristori barracks two barrels of powder had been deposited in a workshop on the ground floor and when, at 7 o'clock, the mine was fired, a large portion of the building sank in ruins, crushing in its fall thirty-four Zouaves, nineteen of whom were Italians, mostly bandsmen. The loss of life would have been far greater had not the company quartered in the barracks been sent some hours previously to seize a store of arms and ammunition concealed in a villa three miles beyond the Porta San Paolo. At the same time a band of Garibaldians commanded by Guerzoni, surprised and disarmed after a short resistance, the corporal's guard at the Porta San Paolo, intending to bring in the arms and ammunition which they did not know had been already discovered and carried off, and Cucchi led other detachments to the attack of the Capitol. There the guard held its ground, and being quickly re-enforced, the Garibaldians were repulsed with loss, while Guerzoni and his band were soon after driven from the post which they had taken and where they had raised a barricade. Attempts were also made by other bodies of insurgents to seize the gas works and the military hospital, and some soldiers returning alone to their barracks were set upon and murdered, but by midnight the Gari-

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<sup>20</sup> Mencacci, vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>21</sup> Mevius, p. 212.

baldians had been everywhere beaten and dispersed, and the 3,500,000 francs which the Italian Government had given to organise this revolt, as was proved in the following year at the trial of Monti and Tognetti, the assassins who had blown up the Serristori barracks, had been spent in vain.<sup>22</sup>

The absence of an important reinforcement which, happily for Rome, failed to arrive in time, contributed not a little to this speedy suppression of the insurrection. Two Garibaldian officers, Enrico and Giovanni Cairoli, the latter a captain in the Italian army, had promised to introduce a convoy of arms into Rome, and, accompanied by 74 volunteers, all picked men, they descended the Tiber, and before dawn on the 23d they were about two miles from Rome, at the spot where the Aniene falls into the Tiber, where they seized a boat with some custom house officers on guard. Not meeting, however, with the guide they expected, they hid themselves in a villa surrounded by a vineyard situated on the Monte Parioli, which rises abruptly from the banks of the Tiber. They were not discovered till the afternoon, and at dusk they were attacked by a company of Swiss Carabineers. A desperate fight ensued, in which Enrico Cairoli was killed, and his brother and seven others wounded, the remainder of the band escaped, helped by the darkness and recrossed the frontier.

Rome was not yet, however, quite out of danger. It was only on the morning of the 25th that the police discovered the existence of another *dépôt* of arms, ammunition and Orsini bombs concealed in the Trastevere, in a cloth manufactory, an isolated building of great extent and strongly barricaded. A large number of Garibaldians amounting to 80 or 100 and mostly from outside Rome, were assembled there and intended to make another attempt to excite a revolt. That afternoon the house was attacked by the Zouaves of the 1st company of the *dépôt* and some gendarmes; the doors were broken open and the Garibaldians who made a determined resistance were driven from one part of the building to another, losing 16 killed and 30 wounded; till the survivors laid down their arms.

Though the Papal troops had already begun to return to Rome they still held Viterbo where Colonel Azzanesi had a small garrison of about 400 men, mostly Italian soldiers of the line, with 52 Zouaves, 50 gendarmes, a few dragoons and two guns. He was attacked on the night of the 25th by a band of 1,500 volunteers led by General Acerbi, the commander of the right wing of the Gari-

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<sup>22</sup> Mevius, p. 201.

baldian forces, who, until then, had remained in the strong position of Torre-Alfina, organizing and drilling his men, and who had been given to understand that the citizens of Viterbo were ready to rise against the Papal garrison. The combat lasted the greater part of the night, the Garibaldians succeeded in setting fire to one of the gates, and advanced to the assault, driving before them as a screen, the monks whom they had dragged from two neighboring monasteries, but their repeated efforts to force an entrance were repulsed each time, and as, in spite of the promises of the revolutionary committee of Viterbo, the citizens showed no intention of rising, Acerbi withdrew his men, many of whom were made prisoners next day during their retreat.

Meanwhile Garibaldi who on the 2d of October had already made an attempt to escape from Caprera but had been stopped and brought back by one of the cruisers, succeeded in leaving the island in a canoe on the night of the 13th. On the coast of Sardinia a fishing boat provided by his friends was in readiness for him, and on the 19th he landed near Leghorn. On the 21st he was in Florence, where Rattazzi, who had just given in his resignation, refused to take on himself the responsibility of ordering his arrest, and so did General Cialdini, the new minister, who had not yet formed his cabinet.<sup>22</sup> At last, at the request of the French ambassador, the King himself directed Rattazzi to seize Garibaldi, who, after addressing the people from the window of the house of his friend Crispi, had left for the frontier by special train. Rattazzi's telegram to the prefect of Perugia ordered him to pursue the General, but so as not to overtake him, and Garibaldi, crossing the frontier at Correse on the evening of the 23d, took the command of the bands which had been assembled there from all directions, and which formed an army of at least 10,000 men, divided into 22 battalions. The majority of these were drawn from the populace of the cities of Northern Italy, their own leaders spoke of them with the utmost contempt,<sup>23</sup> and their conduct in every town or village which they took showed that they were attracted mainly by the hope of plunder, but there were also among them many soldiers and officers of the regular army who had been given leave of absence, and many veterans who had fought under Garibaldi in his previous campaigns.

The road from Correse to Rome passes through Monte Rotondo, a small town situated on a height. Only one-third of its circuit is protected by a wall, in which are three gates, the remainder has no other defence than the houses and gardens which line the brow of

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<sup>22</sup> Mevius, p. 192.

<sup>23</sup> Mevius, p. 298.

the hill. Near the centre is the palace of the Prince of Piombino, a massive building of three stories from which rises a tall tower. Colonel de Charette when retreating on Rome had left in the town as garrison under the command of Captain Costes of the *Légion d'Antibes*, two companies of that regiment, one of Swiss rifles, some gendarmes, dragoons and artillerymen, in all 323 men with two guns. At daybreak on the 25th the Garibaldians were seen advancing in three strong columns and taking up their positions round the town; they were under the command of Menotti Garibaldi, while his father remained in the rear with the reserves. Captain Costes, who had received orders to defend the town as long as possible, posted his small garrison at the gates and in the houses on the outskirts of the town so as to command every approach, and when, at 6 o'clock, the attack began, the Garibaldians were everywhere received with such a heavy fire, that though frequently rallied by their officers, they were finally repulsed after three hours of continuous fighting. Garibaldi then brought up fresh troops, took the command in person, and recommenced the attack on all sides, but in vain: his volunteers were repeatedly driven back both from the gates and from the open part of the town by the well directed fire of the Papal troops, especially the Swiss rifles, and after a combat of eight hours they gradually withdrew wearied and discouraged.

Garibaldi had not expected this obstinate resistance; he had hoped to have stormed the town in a few minutes and then, by making a forced march, to have taken Rome by surprise. He gave orders, therefore, to renew the attack that night, and about 9 o'clock a cart laden with faggots and bags of sulphur was rolled up against one of the gates by a party of volunteers who lost heavily on the occasion, and set on fire. The gate was soon enveloped in flames, but whilst it was burning, Captain Costes raised barricades in the streets leading from it, and when the gate fell and the Garibaldians rushed into the town it was only after two hours of desperate fighting that the Papal troops, yielding to superior numbers, were driven back into the Palace. The combat began again with the return of daylight; the Garibaldians had occupied the surrounding houses, and from the roofs and windows fired upon the Palace, till at 9 o'clock, when Captain Costes, finding that the building was being undermined, and seeing no hope of help from Rome, was obliged to capitulate after a resistance of 27 hours, during which the loss of the garrison had been only 4 killed and 20 wounded, while the Garibaldians, as their leader stated, had lost 500 killed and wounded, though the number is known to have been much greater. It is but just to add that the prisoners were treated with courtesy by Gari-

baldi and his two sons who protected them against the brutality of their undisciplined followers: they were brought to Correse and handed over to the Italian troops guarding the frontier, whence they were brought to La Spezia and kept there till the end of the campaign. The Garibaldians were, however, allowed to plunder and desecrate the Churches of the town and the monasteries outside it, to ill-treat the clergy, to smash the crucifixes and the images of the saints, and to carry away the sacred vessels.<sup>25</sup>

Up to this time the indecision of the Emperor of the French and the uncertainty as to what line of policy he would ultimately adopt had caused the government of the Holy Father much uneasiness; it seemed as though he were anxious to allow the Italian troops following in the track of Garibaldi to occupy Rome, and then accept the downfall of the Temporal Power, as an accomplished fact never more to be discussed. On the 16th of October Napoleon III had, indeed, declared his intention of upholding the throne of Pius IX, and orders had been given to embark troops at Toulon but the negotiations with Italy still continued, and when Rattazzi who, it is assured, had made overtures to Prussia for the formation of a defensive and offensive alliance against France,<sup>26</sup> gave in his resignation on the evening of October 9th, the Emperor seemed to take it for granted that the complicity of the Italian Government with Garibaldi was at an end, he countermanded the departure of the expedition and the troops were again landed. As, however, General Cialdini who was called upon to succeed Rattazzi was unable to find colleagues who were willing to execute the stipulations of the Convention of the 15th of September, the Emperor once more ordered the expedition to start. Even then he showed irresolution, for the fleet was again stopped when on the point of leaving, and it was only on the evening of the 26th that it sailed from Toulon.

Garibaldi was detained at Monte Rotondo till the 27th by the necessity of reorganising his troops after their heavy losses, and on the evening of that day he marched with his whole army to Foronovo, about 8 miles from Rome, but did not advance again till the 29th when he found that the Ponte Salaro, one of the three bridges over the Aniene had been blown up, and that the other two were strongly guarded, and he withdrew. On the 30th he again advanced, intending to seize the Ponte Nomentano, but his battalions were stopped by the troops which guarded the bridge, and after skirmishing all day without making a serious attack he drew off his men at night-fall and retreated to Monte Rotondo. He had

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<sup>25</sup> Vitali, pp. 30, 43, 97.

<sup>26</sup> Mevius, p. 187.

been already apprised of the landing of the French expedition at Civita Vecchia and that afternoon their first brigade entered Rome, while by order of Victor Emmanuel the Italian troops crossed the frontier and occupied the towns which had been taken by the Garibaldians.

Although many volunteers, disheartened and irritated by the retreat from the very gates of Rome, had thrown away their arms and deserted, fresh bands of volunteers continued to arrive and Garibaldi still hoped to prolong the struggle. He at first intended to fortify Monte Rotondo and await there the attack of the Papal army; considering, however, that Tivoli situated on the slopes of the Sabine hills with a river in front and the mountainous district of the Abruzzi in the rear was a much stronger position, after much hesitation and many changes of plans, he gave orders to his son Menotti to march for that town at dawn on the 3d of November, but his departure was delayed till 11 by the necessity of distributing shoes and clothing to his followers. According to the most trustworthy calculations he had still at that moment at the very least 10,000 men.<sup>27</sup>

The army which General Kanzler led out from Rome that morning was divided into two columns: the first composed exclusively of Papal troops and commanded by General de Courten, reckoned 2,913 men, 1,500 of whom were Zouaves; in the second column were a little more than 2,000 of the French soldiers under the order of General de Polhés, in all about 5,000 men with ten guns. The troops were called to arms at one o'clock, but it was already four when the Papal forces marched out of the Porta Pia, followed at a short distance by the French contingent. The morning was rainy and dark, the soldiers in heavy marching order and carrying two days rations, advanced slowly over the muddy road. After crossing the Ponte Nomentano, about three miles from Rome, General Kanzler sent Major de Troussures with three companies of the 2d battalion of Zouaves by a road to the left towards the valley of the Tiber, there to march on a parallel to that followed by the main body, so as to turn the right flank of the Garibaldians. The remainder of the column then went on though mud and rain till it reached the farm of Capobianco halfway on the road to Mentana, where it halted to let the men get some food, and dry their clothes; and when, after an hour's rest, they had again formed their ranks and resumed their march, the rain had ceased and the sun shone out brightly in a cloudless sky.

On leaving Capobianco the road gradually ascends towards a

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<sup>27</sup> Mevius, p. 365.

more elevated region of the Campagna and then winds along the lower slopes of several hills covered with brushwood, till near Mentana, where it is commanded on the right by Monte Santucci, a high table-land where there is a large vineyard, and on the left by Monte Guarnieri a wooded height with some farm houses. The vineyard, the woods and the farmhouses had been strongly occupied by the advanced guard of the Garibaldian army composed of battalions of riflemen from Genoa, Lombardy and Leghorn, commanded by Major Burlando, Col. Missori and Captain Meyer, as soon as the approach of the Papal army had been discovered and Garibaldi had found himself obliged to stop his march towards Tivoli and accept battle at Mentana. The rest of his troops were assembled in and around the village.

The dragoons who preceded the Papal column as scouts came upon the Garibaldian outposts about half past twelve, exchanged shots with them and galloped back to give the alarm. General de Courten immediately extended the first company of Zouaves under Captain d'Albiousse, and the second under Captain Thomalé to the left and right of the road in skirmishing order; the third under Captain Alain de Charette and the fourth under Captain Le Gonidec following as supports. The Garibaldians were soon driven from the woods, but the Leghorn rifles of Captain Meyer and a Genoese battalion under Captain Stallo, held the tableland to the right of the road, where their heavy fire checked the advance of the Zouaves till their line was strengthened by the companies of Captain de Moncuit and Captain de Veaux; and when Lieut.-Col. de Charette hastened up with the company of Captain Lefebvre he led a furious bayonet charge which swept the Garibaldians before it. They tried in vain to rally and reform their ranks behind farm-buildings or clumps of trees, their positions were stormed one after another and the shattered battalions were driven back upon the Santucci vineyard, leaving behind them a long line of killed and wounded.

The Santucci vineyard, an extensive walled enclosure, in which stands a large farm-house which had been loop-holed, was held by the battalion of Major Ciotti. It defended the approach to Mentana from the East across the high ground which dominates that village, while the road running in a hollow at its feet, was swept by the fire from the Castle of Mentana, and Monte Guarnieri on the opposite side of the road, served as an outpost to the vineyard and protected its flank. This position had, therefore, to be seized first and the company of Captain Alain de Charette climbed its steep sides and dislodged the Garibaldian sharpshooters from their hiding places among the trees. A piece of artillery directed by Count Bernardini

then opened fire on the Santucci vineyard, from a farm which had been just taken by the company of Captain d'Albiousse and a company of Swiss, while Lieut.-Col. de Charette at the head of his Zouaves supported on their right by five companies of Swiss attacked the vineyard in front. The walls of the enclosure were soon scaled and the Garibaldians driven back into the farmhouse, where they held out for some time till the doors were broken in, when they laid down their arms, but this success cost the Zouaves one of their officers, Captain de Veaux, who had distinguished himself at Castelfidardo, and who fell during the assault struck by a bullet through the heart.

There were still large bodies of Garibaldians in the woods to the left of the road, but the company of Captain d'Albiousse, that of Captain de Charette, a company of Swiss and the Légion, which then came into line, soon drove them from their shelter out on the slopes which descend towards Mentana, and poured a heavy fire on the fugitives who were hastening from all sides towards the village.

It was then two o'clock, there was a cessation of hostilities for a few minutes, during which the wounded were picked up and carried to the ambulance, and General Kanzler, who had established his headquarters at the Santucci Vineyard, prepared to attack Mentana.

The castle of Mentana, a mediaeval fortress belonging to the Borghese family, stands on a rock with precipitous sides which advances from the high road into a deep valley; it was held along with the village in its rear and the barricades at its entrance, by four battalions of Garibaldians under Lieut.-Col. Friggyesi, a Hungarian; the high ground above the village to the East, where there was a large farm house, with stacks of hay and corn, was occupied by Colonel Elia, Lieut. Col. Paggi and Major Valzania with nine battalions; Major Cantoni, with three battalions was stationed to their left on the road leading to Monte Rotondo, and the two guns which had been taken at that town were drawn up on Monte San Lorenzo, some distance in the rear.

General Kanzler placed on Monte Guarnieri three guns, two of which were French, and escorted by two companies of chasseurs, another gun on the high road and two more in the Santucci vineyard, in order to silence the fire of the Garibaldian artillery and throw their forces into disorder. The Zouaves then advanced from the vineyard, the companies of d'Albiousse, de Charette and de Veaux (the latter commanded by Lieutenant Fabri) leading in skirmishing order, followed by three companies under Major de Lambilly. Five companies of Swiss carabineers and the *Légion*



*d'Antibes* covered their left flank. The Zouaves drove the Garibaldians out of a building called the Conventino, from which the ground rises towards Mentana, but when they came in sight of Colonel Elia's battalions, it was no longer possible to restrain them; and too impatient to wait till the fire of the artillery had disorganized the ranks of the enemy, they broke away from their officers and charged, heedless of the commands of their Colonel or of the sound of the bugles, they dashed forward, driving the Garibaldians from every hedge or clump of trees which they tried to defend, and flung them back into the houses of the village. There the hail of bullets which was poured from the loop-holed walls stopped the impetuous charge, but they held their ground, and sheltered by the haystacks, returned the fire of the Garibaldians. A sudden attack of the enemy dislodged them for a while from their position, but Major de Lambilly's three companies hastened to their relief, they quickly reoccupied their post, and at this spot, which was several times lost and retaken, the combat lasted till nightfall.

The attack on the village of Mentana having thus been stopped. Garibaldi sent two strong columns to turn the flanks of the Papal army. The first, composed of three battalions, marched from the northern end of the village and nearly succeeded in surrounding two companies of Swiss carabineers which had been sent from the left to the extreme right of the line. They retired slowly and in good order, firing as they went, until they were re-inforced by two more companies of their regiment, two of the *Legion d'Antibes* and a company of Zouaves, when they dashed forward again, broke up the Garibaldian ranks and pursued them as far as the road leading to Monte Rotondo. The second column, which advanced from the southern end of the village, did not meet with greater success. It was repulsed by three companies of the *Legion*, which followed it as far as the entrance of the village, broke into a house and made some prisoners, but was forced to retire in presence of superior numbers. It was then that the detachment led by Major de Trousures was seen advancing in the rear of the village towards the road leading from Mentana to Monte Rotondo. Garibaldi at once perceived that the battle was irretrievably lost, and that his line of retreat was in danger of being intercepted; he hastened therefore to provide for his safety and left Mentana, while his son, Menotti, still continued to defend the village.

It was then half past three; the Garibaldian chiefs resolved to make another effort to surround the wings of the Papal army; they assembled all the men still able to fight and again sent forward a column from each end of Mentana. All General Kanzler's troops

were by that time engaged and dispersed here and there over a great extent of broken ground; he had no reserves to meet these battalions which advanced in good order like well disciplined soldiers; and he therefore requested General de Polhès to bring his infantry into line. A French battalion of the line and three companies of Chasseurs, led by Colonel Fremont, marched at once to take up their position on the right of the Papal troops, and for the first time the "*Chassepot*" was brought into action. The combat ceased for a few minutes over the rest of the field, as the soldiers on both sides paused to listen to its rapid fire, as incessant as the rolling of a drum, before which the Garibaldians broke their ranks and fled back to Mentana or towards Monte Rotondo in spite of the efforts of Menotti Garibaldi and his officers to rally them. The column on the enemy's right wing met with the same fate, being attacked in front by a battalion of French infantry of the line, and on its right flank by Major de Troussure's Zouaves.

Mentana was now completely surrounded, and General Kanzler resolved to give the assault, though the Castle had as yet suffered but little from the fire of the artillery, and was defended as well as the village by some of the best soldiers of the Garibaldian army. The principal column of attack was led by General de Polhès; it was composed of two battalions of the line and three companies of chasseurs, but it was unable to force the strong barricade erected at the entrance to the village, and crushed by the fire from the Castle and from the surrounding houses, it retreated after losing several killed and wounded.

The fight then ceased, for night had fallen, the Garibaldian army was utterly defeated and scattered, and those who still held out in the Castle could hope for no assistance. The Papal and French troops then lit their watch fires round the village, threw out strong advanced posts and sentinels, and took every precaution against a surprise. The next morning at dawn, Major Fauchon entered Mentana with a French battalion, when some hundreds of Garibaldians laid down their arms, and about 800 others who formed the garrison of the Castle capitulated and were allowed to recross the frontier. The Garibaldians had left on the field over 1,100 killed and wounded, besides 1,398 prisoners in the hands of the Papal troops, while the loss of the latter was but 30 killed and 114 wounded, and that of the French 2 killed and 36 wounded.

Garibaldi continued his retreat to Correse on the evening of the battle, and crossed the frontier the next day with 5,000 men who were disarmed by the Italian troops; 900 others under Colonel Salomone escaped into the Abruzzi, while the General was arrested

on his way to Caprera and brought to the fort of Varignano, in the Gulf of La Spezia. The band of Acerbi, which, on the recall of the Papal troops to Rome, had entered Viterbo, where it had plundered the Municipal Treasury and exacted large sums of money from the Bishop and the religious communities, as well as the bands commanded by Nicotera, which had seized Frosinone, Velletri, Palestrina and Tivoli, had been followed as they advanced by the Italian troops which entered the Patrimony of St. Peter at different points, to the number of 5,948 men.<sup>7</sup> As soon, however, as the arrival of the French expedition and the victory of Mentana allowed the Papal Government to reoccupy these towns, the Italian soldiers were withdrawn, the Garibaldians fled across the frontier without fighting, and peace reigned once more in the territory of the Holy Father, while the whole Catholic world felt reassured by the solemn declaration made on December 4th, by M. Rouher, in the Corps Législatif, in the name of the Imperial Government, that France would never allow Italy to seize Rome or the territory still remaining to the Holy See.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London.

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<sup>77</sup> Cavallotti, p. 664.

## WISEMAN'S MIND AS REVEALED IN FABIOLA. ✓

A GREAT man will prove his greatness in what may seem to many trivial acts; sometimes the more because of the very smallness of the act he performs. In his leisure hours, when he is least on his guard as to what men may think or say of the deed he performs, when his mind is relaxed and we are allowed to enter and examine for ourselves, then it is that we often get a grasp of the true soul and character of a man which is hard to gain from his other more elaborate and perhaps better known doings. Above all may this be said to be true of writers. We see a man nowhere more truly than in his letters; and after these, perhaps the works of his idle moments—those which from circumstances, and because of their own very slight substance, are most likely to be passed over or forgotten—perhaps these are the second best sources of knowledge we can have when we would inquire into the soul of a man. At all events this is true; if we would know a writer as he is, with all that is great and good and all that is human and small in him, we cannot afford to pass over the works of his less strained powers.

For this reason, one who would see into the inner soul of Wiseman may study with advantage the one prose story he has given to us. Written, as he tells us himself, in his leisure moments, at long intervals during a year, and at a time when he was in the fullest vigor of his vigorous life, it is bound to contain traits of strength and weakness the more apparent because the more undisguised and the more rough-hewn. In other works we may expect to find the workman with his labor done; here we may hope to catch him in his study in the midst of his tools, trying his hand upon work to which it is unaccustomed, failing here and succeeding there, drawing upon his best resources of talent and of learning to help him in his unusual but self-imposed task, and therefore with his interest fully awake, and his energies all active, for us to study at our leisure.

The first impression one must receive of Wiseman under whatever aspect one looks at him, must be that of his intense laboriousness, his great capacity for work. As a boy at Ushaw he seems to have left that impression behind. There he did not appear as a lad of learning, nor as a genius, nor as a wag; all that seems able to be recorded of him is that he was a hard student. At the English College, too, his early years were seemingly unmarked by any other

striking characteristic; and when at length, at the age of twenty-six, he did burst forth into public notice, it was by a volume every page of which is stamped with the prints of hard, unceasing, patient labor. After that, his toiling never ceased. Whether in his private study, or on the public platform, in Rome or in England, we find the spirit of intense, sacrificing labor about everything he has left to us. No book but is full of references, no sermon but gives proof of hard reading and deep meditation, no work undertaken for his fellow-men but means for him toil of mind and body to the utmost of their capabilities.

"Fabiola" is no exception to the rule. Its very history and origin is enough. Other men make the writing of a story their life's work, and are held, and rightly held, to be men of labor. Wiseman began his romance, as he tells us, "with an understanding that it was not to be an occupation, but only the recreation of leisure hours." And so it was written. At times when most men find it a necessity to rest altogether from work of any sort, the author found the means to carry on his little book;—"early and late, when no duty urged, in scraps and fragments of time, when the body was too fatigued or the mind too worn for heavier occupation, in the roadside inn, in the halt of travel, in strange houses, in every variety of situation and circumstances—sometimes trying ones."

Nor is it only the history of the book which brings out this characteristic. Every page speaks of intense labor—labor of study, labor of assimilation, labor of combination. It was written "generally with few books or resources at hand;" then he must needs have been master of his subject before he began. The story must in its main features, at least, have been clearly before the writer's mind during the whole time of its being committed to paper; this involved no small strain upon the mind. Constantly during the development of the narrative situations are made simply to allow the author the opportunity of bringing home some useful fact of history or antiquity, or of teaching some lesson of religion. All this, again, called for constant watchfulness and care, and that, if it is not to be a serious effort, must imply that labor, in the ordinary acceptance of the word, has become a second nature in its possessor.

No man will work long and severely who has not a whole heart in his labor; this, then, will be a second trait we may expect to find in Wiseman. And it is so. Whatever task he undertook, to that task he devoted himself body and soul. At first it was the silent study of his early training; later, it grew into the examination of Eastern manuscripts. Then his superiors appointed him to rule and to guide others, and here again he knew no half measures, he

left no stone unmoved that he might do his duty to the full. Lastly, the good of England and of Englishmen occupied his thoughts, and to this end he devoted all his energies, all his stores of past knowledge. So it is in "*Fabiola*." It teems with knowledge, with earnestness. He keeps nothing back, he spares no pains. Many will impute it to him for a fault that he overcharges his story with information, that he writes too evidently "for a purpose," as critics word it. He cares not; from the outset he has avowed his intention of writing to instruct, to rouse interest in an age that should be instinct with profitable food for thought, and every other consideration must be sacrificed. He knows that he has not the leisure to prune and rearrange and consult the refinements of art and literary taste; so, poet and refined master of art criticism as he has proved himself to be already, he makes this lesser end give way to the greater. He has set an object before himself, and to that he will adhere, come what may of injury to his own reputation as an artist. "It is indeed earnestly desired," he has said, "that this little work, written solely for recreation, be read also as a relaxation from graver pursuits; but that, at the same time, the reader may rise from its perusal with a feeling that his time has not been lost, nor his mind occupied with frivolous ideas. Rather, let it be hoped, that some admiration and love may be inspired by it of those primitive times, which an over-excited interest in later and more brilliant epochs of the Church is too apt to diminish or obscure."

This seriousness of purpose governs all his words and actions, and is the one guide in his choice of scenes and events. And what so strikes us in the book appears no less truly in the life of the man. There was a time when it must have seemed that Wiseman was destined to play a large part in the development of Oriental studies. He began life as such, and he proved the power that was in him for the task; but he did not carry out his work to the full. It had captivated him in the beginning, but it failed to occupy his whole energies. He was born for something else—for the busy, active, serious life that is lived among men who live about him, not for the passive life of books. Again, he had shown that there was in him the poet and the artist, but again these could not satisfy him. Not even could he be content with the peaceful academic life which he lived in Rome—those happiest of his days, as he himself has told us. He could be satisfied with none of these. One thing alone was enough—active life for the souls of his fellow-men in the busy thoroughfares of an English city. Thus did his nature guide him to his proper place. Every step must have meant a great sacrifice to a man whose affections were so strong, and whose heart was so wholly in his work. Yet he never hesitated. Cheerfully, without

demur, he stepped from one platform to another, sacrificing, but not throwing away, curing the wound that each sacrifice made, by further devotedness in a wider and more congenial sphere, yet never losing the interest and the love which had held him of old. And so, when he comes to the height of his power, he is able to look back upon the work of his early days and draw from it that which will help on the work of the present; and "Fabiola" is the result—a story in a true sense, but more than a story. Had it been that alone, he would have put it down a failure. His vigor of mind and his longing of heart for the good, and not merely for the pleasure of his fellow-men—their lasting as opposed to their passing happiness—drove him to more than this. That he could have written a more perfect story had he chosen is apparent from the outset. Again and again we find him deliberately laying aside the tools of the novelist. His conversations are stilted, and often unnatural, His descriptions of character are clipped, often to mere outline.

Even Fabiola's figure must be only touched upon. On her first introduction to the reader, the author warns him, "It is by no means our intention, nor our gift, to describe persons or features; we wish more to deal with mind." As for the first of these, we may wish that he had intended otherwise; as to the second, that he had no gift for such writing, we may surely be allowed to doubt. The author of the "Last Four Popes" needs no words of ours to prove that he knew the persons of men, and knew how to describe them. Nay, even the characters themselves in the book before us would seem to have developed themselves, in all their personality and in all their features, almost in spite of the writer's intention. Fabiola, dark, handsome Fabiola, with her prim Roman features, and her thoughtful, high forehead, clothed in her usually dark robes, that clung about a slender, but not weak figure, reserved to her equals, stern to her inferiors, acknowledging no superiors, haughty and unbending with all and even with the emperor himself, with all the good and all the bad that is in her revealing itself in every look and action; the character is as true and real as any from the pen of a Thackeray or a Stevenson. So, too, with Agnes, so with Sepa, and his men are not less striking. Sebastian is a soldier, every inch of him, not, perhaps so firm in the details of his portrayal as Fabiola, but none the less standing clear before us, a tall, straight, handsome fellow, with his auburn hair hanging loosely about his shoulders, a face open and frank, and happy, but seldom smiling, with that expression of thought which wins confidence and draws the weaker towards it, a body vigorous and well-shapen and strong, that is made the more admirable, though not affectedly so, by the glittering armor of a centurion of the body-guard—such a man as an

emperor would be proud to know was standing behind his throne. Pancratius, too, that silent yet impetuous school-boy, whose step is so light, and whose eye is forever lit with the fire of talent and of innocence, and of brimming youth all combined, whose face is flushed with a ruddy glow, and whose hand is restless when not occupied in work on which his soul is intent, whose thoughts are too old for his years, but yet who proves his real youth by his trusting confidence—we see him as he stands with Sebastian on the balcony in the summer evening, and recognize him without a doubt.

So in spite of himself, Wiseman has succeeded. He knew what was in man, and his knowledge compelled him to go aright. But it is not only here that we feel he has let the story-teller give way to the instructor. From time to time he leads us up to some vivid piece of scenery, or frames some exceptional action, of which a modern novelist would have made much, and rightly. For instance, that first recognition of her brother by Syra, the slave.

"She was in the court below, returning to her blind friend, when she saw one of the noble guests of her mistress' table alone, and, with a mortified look, crossing towards the door, and she stepped behind a column, to avoid any possible, and not uncommon. rudeness. It was Fulvius, and no sooner did she, unseen, catch a glimpse of him, than she stood for a moment as one nailed to the spot."

The scene is dramatic in the extreme—a slave girl, once a lady in her own land, who has been betrayed by a worthless brother and indirectly brought so low, recognizing among the guests in her master's house that very brother in honor and good repute, and yet submitting to let him pass by without a word of inquiry from herself. Yet the language is not equal to the subject; it falls behind and lags into the mere didactic narrative. The author has deliberately made light of his chance; deliberately, for all the while we feel there is a nervousness and even vividness in the style which could have risen higher, had it so chosen.

More true to the action is the description of the wretched Fulvius' dream.

"Both threw themselves on their couches; Fulvius on a rich bed, Eurotas on a lowly pallet; from which, raised upon his elbow, with dark but earnest eye, he long watched, by the lamp's light, the troubled slumbers of the youth—at once his devoted guardian and his evil genius. Fulvius tossed about, and moaned in his sleep, for his dreams were gloomy and heavy. First he sees before him a beautiful city in a distant land, with a river of crystal brightness flowing through it. Upon it is a galley weighing anchor, with a figure on deck, waving towards him, in farewell, an embroidered

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scarf. The scene changes, the ship is in the midst of the sea, battling with a furious storm, while on the summit of the mast the same scarf streams out, like a pennant, unruffled and uncrumpled by the breeze. The vessel is now dashed upon a rock, and all with a dreadful shriek are buried in the deep. But the topmast stands above the billows, with its calm and brilliant flag; till, amidst the sea-birds that shriek around, a form with a torch in her hand, and black flapping wings, flies by, snatches it off from the staff, with a look of stern anger, displays it, as in her flight she pauses before him. He reads upon it, written in fiery letters, NEMESIS."

Once more we have a good idea, and once more the language, though failing to come up to the subject-matter, yet shows vigor and power enough to do great things had time and convenience allowed. Such passages could be multiplied. Sometimes he even goes out of his way to introduce scenes and passages that would be more likely to catch a modern reader; but seldom does he do them full justice. They are all rather suggestive of being a provision of material to work upon, than of being the finished work itself.

That his imagination was vivid and true requires little proof. Wiseman's sermons and lectures, his meditations and essays, are sufficient evidence. And in *Fabiola* we find abundant instances, small indeed at times, as though the author grudged their showing themselves, but they would come forth in spite of him. For instance Pancratius' fancy of a starry sky:

"True, Sebastian; and I have sometimes thought, that, if the under-side of that firmament up to which the eye of man, however wretched and sinful, may look, be so beautiful and bright, what must that upper-side be, down upon which the eye of boundless Glory deigns to glance! I imagine it to be like a richly-embroidered veil, through the texture of which a few points of golden thread may be allowed to pass; and these only reach us. How transcendently royal must be that upper surface, on which tread the light-some feet of angels, and of the just made perfect!"

Or take again the play of fancy as he accompanies a messenger to Fundi:

"The road by which he travelled was varied in its beauties. Sometimes it wound along the banks of the Siris, gray with villas and cottages. Then it plunged into a miniature ravine, in the skirts of the Appenines, walled in by rocks, matted with myrtle, aloes, and the wild vine, amidst which white goats shone like spots of snow; while beside the path gurgled, and wriggled on, a tiny brook, that seemed to have worked itself into the bright conceit that it was a mountain torrent; so great was the bustle and noise

with which it pushed on, and pretended to foam, and appeared to congratulate itself loudly on having achieved a water-fall by leaping down two stones at a time, and plunging into an abyss concealed by a wild acanthus leaf. Then the road emerged, to enjoy a wide prospect of the vast garden of Campania, with the blue bay of Cajeta in the back-ground, speckled by the white sails of its craft, that looked at that distance like flocks of white-plumed water-fowl, basking and fluttering on a lake."

Again, there is strong imagery, with no weak use of words, in the passage where the future martyr burns the imperial edict against the Christians:

"And he thrust it into the blazing fire, while the stalwart sons of Diogenes threw a fagot over it to keep it down, and drown its crackling. There it frizzled, and writhed, and cracked, and shrunk, first one letter or word coming up, then another; first an emperor's praise, and then an anti-Christian blasphemy; till all had subsided into a black ashy mass."

Each of these passages suggests an actively imaginative spirit. But they have all another quality in common. Seldom does the writer forget that he is also a teacher. Each picture has an object; something more than an effort to catch the admiration or to gratify; in each one there is an underlying meaning which any may read. Still it is not always so. Sometimes his inborn love of nature asserts itself, and he allows it full scope, knowing well that it is good to admire the works of God. At one time the graces of the panther in the arena are his theme, at another some wondrous pieces of Italian scenery; sometimes the seasons and their changes suffice. For Wiseman loved Italy, and her beauties were worthy of a place in his narrative. Take his description of the month of October:

"The month of October in Italy is certainly a glorious season. The sun has contracted his heat, but not his splendor; he is less scorching, but not less bright. As he rises in the morning, he dashes sparks of radiance over waking nature, as an Indian prince, upon entering his presence-chamber, flings handfuls of gems and gold into the crowd; and the mountains seem to stretch forth their rocky heads, and the woods to wave their lofty arms, in eagerness to catch his royal largess. And after careering through a cloudless sky, when he reaches his goal, and finds his bed spread with molten gold on the western sea, and canopied above with purple cloud, edged with burnished yet airy fringes, more brilliant than Ophir supplied to the couch of Solomon, he expands himself into a huge disk of most benignant effulgence, as if to bid farewell to his past course; but soon sends back, after disappearing, radiant messengers from the world he is visiting and cheering, to remind us he will

soon come back, and gladden us again. If less powerful, his ray is certainly richer and more active. It has taken months to draw out of the sapless, shrivelled vine-stem, first green leaves, then crisp, slender tendrils, and last little clusters of hard, sour berries, and the growth has been provokingly slow. But now the leaves are large and mantling, and worthy in vine-countries to have names of their own; and the separated little knots have swelled up into luxurious bunches of grapes. And of these some are already assuming their bright amber tint, while those which are to glow in rich imperial purple are passing rapidly to it, through a changing opal hue, scarcely less beautiful."

So on for two pages more. And here we may notice another fact. Though the tale is one of the days of the Catacombs, Wiseman makes much use of the present and its teachings for his guidance. Indeed we may say that the knowledge of the present, its natural aspect and its human element, joined with his own wide antiquarian research, forms the foundation of the whole narrative. Italy to-day, *mutatis mutandis*, is after all the Italy of fifteen hundred years ago; and there are some things in nature which fifteen hundred years cannot affect. As for man, he is at heart unchanged; he is always the same, with his noble qualities and his meannesses, his spiritual and material element combined, his proneness to fall and yet his power to rise again. Circumstances may affect his outer bearing. One age may make prominent one virtue or vice, another another; still the nature of man abides the same. Wiseman's men and women, boys and girls, their thoughts, and words, and actions, are very modern indeed. He looks upon what he sees and hears about him, and observes the principle that is illustrated. He knows that there is nothing new under the sun. He knows that history will forever repeat itself, that what has been shall be, and what is has been. And so he builds up his scenes, his characters, his conversations, his lessons. Italy to-day, yesterday and always; Fabiola, Fulvius, Syra, Pancratius, Sebastian, Coecilia—we fancy we have seen something not wholly unlike them in our own time, something which, put to the same test, would have produced the same results. Even Agnes, the innocent angel on earth, who sometimes seems to us something more than human, even she comes before us as a simple creature, angelic indeed, yet none the less a Roman lady, with a human heart, and human love, and human temptations, and the human power of working with and for her fellow-men. We find her ever happy, ever merry with her friends, of whom there are many. Thus does she enjoy her discovery of a poor blind girl's holy secret.

"As she went back into the court, Agnes entered the room, and

laughingly said, 'So, Cæcilia, I have found out your secret at last. This is the friend whose food you have always said was so much better than mine that you would never eat at my house. Well, if the dinner is not better, at any rate, I agree that you have fallen in with a better hostess.'

And the language with which she announces her coming death to her friend Fabiola reminds us forcibly of many a scene in our own martyr prison-houses in our latter days, whose occupants were men indeed.

"What, to-morrow?" asked Fabiola, shocked at the idea of anything so immediate.

'Yes, to-morrow. To prevent any clamor or disturbance about me (though I suspect few people will care much), I am to be interrogated early, and summary proceedings will be taken. Is not that good news, dear?' asked Agnes eagerly, seizing her cousin's hands."

Wiseman was very human. His whole life was for men and among men. Until he had reached the period of his life when he could devote himself wholly and entirely to men, living men, he seems to have been more or less unsettled. In the midst of his books, of which he made so much, in the midst of that wide correspondence with the leading thinkers of his day, of which others would make so much, we feel that he is only half himself. Neither of these was his true vocation. But when he came back to his own country, and found a field, full of thorns and weeds, it is true, but still with a rich soil to be cultivated, then the true man appeared. He knew and loved the realities of things and of men. He appreciated great heights of sanctity, but he knew well that such heights were not for most men; and as he had sacrificed his deeper pursuits for what might be of service to the greater number, so in his spiritual teaching his aim was rather to raise up and encourage the weak than to advance with the strong. Hence we find him giving us these pictures of the human nature of the virgin martyr; pictures entirely agreeing with a doctrine which we come across more than once in his writings. Take for instance, this from his *Meditations*:

"If a preacher or a guide tells us we must become saints, we imagine he is extravagant, and would have us aim at an impossibility. We ask, 'Do you expect me to work miracles, or perform wonderful austerities?' We even say often, 'I have no ambition to be a saint, I shall be quite content to be saved,' as though these were not identical. But in the beginning of the Church, it was not so. All followers of Christ were called Saints; 'the Saints' was a distinctive appellation of Christians; and thus they were reminded of

the obligation under which all true Christians live, of being or becoming saints, holy men, with lives entirely dedicated to God. It was not expected of all of them that they should raise the dead to life, or perform other wonderful works; yet all were expected to walk worthy of their title, and of the calling which it implied. Let us therefore start from this principle, that the duty of holiness is the duty of every Christian, and we shall be disabused of our erroneous notions. We shall see that a man may be as well a saint at the counter or workshop as at the altar, in the metropolis as in the desert, at home as in a monastery, in a college as in a hermitage. It will be seen that one may be a saint by the practice of the meanest duties as much as by the performance of the most striking acts of virtue; by modest, recollected prayer, as easily as by ecstatic contemplation; by laboring at humble employments as much as by discharging the sublimest functions of the ecclesiastical state. We shall discover that sanctity is not a profession, but a duty; not a privilege, but an obligation; not dependent upon particular acts or functions, but attainable through the most ordinary means. We shall see how every action of the day is an instrument of sanctification, and that if all were performed with a proper end, with a true godly spirit, with diligence, resignation and charity, the sum of them all is holiness; that holiness after which we are all called to aspire."

With such wide sympathies always goes the instinct to forgive. And Wiseman possessed it, too, in an eminent degree. Hence, in "*Fabiola*," we know from the outset that the renegade Torquatus will one day be received again into the fold. It may be that the story is the weaker for the scene of the reconciliation—the author is willing that it should be so. Even when the traitor Fulvius comes back to Rome in the days of peace as a penitent pilgrim, we are not taken by surprise. In another author this would have been no more nor less than to have depicted downright hypocrisy; in Wiseman we know it to be that the forgiving nature has conquered all the rest; he cannot allow the brother of Syra to be utterly lost.

But it is not only to his own flock that the master teaches. He has a word and many a word, for others too. Underlying the whole picture of the antagonisms between Christianity and Paganism, we think we can discover something of the struggle between Catholicity and Protestantism in our own time. There is the same confusion of historical evidence, the same accusation of idolatry, the same ridiculing of what is sacred. Assumption of knowledge is taken as a proof that a man is learned, and that what he says is of the truth. For instance, is there not something of a certain type of

modern Protestant in Calpurnius, who thus learnedly discourses over the dinner-table on the origin of Christianity?—

“‘The Christians,’ said he, ‘are a foreign sect, the founder of which flourished many ages ago in Chaldœa. His doctrines were brought to Rome at the time of Vespasian by two brothers named Peter and Paul. Some maintain that these were the same twin brothers as the Jews call Moses and Aaron, the second of whom sold his birthright to his brother for a kid, the skin of which he wanted to make gloves of. But this identity I do not admit; as it is recorded in the mystical books of the Jews, that the second of these brothers, seeing the other’s victim give better omens of birds than his own, slew him, as our Romulus did Remus, but with the jaw-bone of an ass; for which he was hung by King Mardochœus of Macedon, upon a gibbet fifty cubits high, at the suit of their sister Judith. However, Peter and Paul coming, as I said, to Rome, the former was discovered to be a fugitive slave of Pontius Pilate, and was crucified by his master’s orders on the Janiculum. Their followers, of whom they had many, made the cross their symbol, and adore it; and they think it the greatest honor to suffer stripes, and even ignominious death, as the best means of being like their teachers, and, as they fancy, of going to them in a place somewhere among the clouds.’”

Something of truth mixed with so much that is ridiculously false; yet surely not more than much that we hear to-day of the Roman mission and the Papacy.

Similar, too, is that other diatribe of the same wise man before the emperor:

“He struck up a different strain, and his learning quite astonished his fellow-sophists.

\* \* \* [Their] rare books Calpurnius had seen, and he would build his argument entirely on them. This race made war upon every king and people that came in their way, and destroyed them all. \* \* \* And this was all because they were under the government of their ambitious priests; so that when a certain king, Saul, called also Paul, spared a poor captive monarch whose name was Agag, the priests ordered him to be brought out and hewed in pieces.

‘Now,’ continued he, ‘these Christians are still under the domination of the same priesthood, and are quite as ready to-day, under their direction, to overthrow the great Roman Empire, burn us all in the Forum, and even sacrilegiously assail the sacred and venerable heads of our divine emperors.’

A thrill of horror ran through the assembly at this recital. It was soon hushed, as the emperor opened his mouth to speak.

‘For my part,’ he said, ‘I have another and a stronger reason for my abhorrence of these Christians. They have dared to establish in the heart of the empire, and in this very city, a supreme religious authority, unknown here before, independent of the government of the State, and equally powerful over their minds as this. Formerly all acknowledged the emperor as supreme in religious, as in civil, rule. Hence he still bears the title of Pontifex Maximus. But these men have raised up a divided power, and consequently bear but a divided loyalty. I hate, therefore, as a usurpation in my dominions, this sacerdotal sway over my subjects. For I declare, I would rather hear of a new rival starting up to my throne than of the election of one of these priests in Rome.’ ”

The spirit of this is strikingly like that spirit which put to death the martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the answer was the same then as now. In another place, where the soldier Sebastian and the boy Pancratius are talking together, the younger of them says:

“What! do you contemplate the overthrow of this empire, as the means of establishing Christianity?”

To which the soldier answers:

“God forbid! I would shed the last drop of blood, as I shed my first, to maintain it. And depend upon it, when the empire is converted, it will not be by such gradual growth as we now witness, but by some means so unhuman, so divine, as we shall never in our most sanguine longings forecast; but all will exclaim: ‘This is the change of the right hand of the Most High!’ ”

And in still other places he returns to the same subject. But there is a third class of passages which are, perhaps, even more instructive and more valuable. They are those in which the master speaks as from the heart lessons which he cannot but teach, because he has so well learnt them himself. Such, for instance, is the short paragraph where he dwells upon the fraternal love that should be the mark of all Christianity—a passage which could be paralleled by so many more from all his works. It runs:

“The servant now announced that Agnes’ litter was waiting at the door; and anyone who could have seen the affectionate farewell of the three—the noble lady, the slave, and the beggar—would have justly exclaimed, as people had often done before, ‘See how these Christians love one another!’ ”

“As people had often done before!” There is much significance in that little phrase. No man knew better than Wiseman, the importance of true love; and it would be hard indeed to find one who has said so many strong things in praise of a friend, or in defence of

the love that is prompted in us by nature. That is one of the characteristics of his spirituality. And here is another. It has often been the case—indeed, probably it is usually the case—with the learned men in God's Church to have a special reverence for Christ's lowly ones. Their own deep learning does but seem to bring home to them this truth, that all they have and all they are is after all nothing, that of themselves they can do nothing, that God can, and often does, make use of the weak things of this world to confound the strong, putting down the mighty and exalting the humble. So it was with Wiseman. He always served the poor and ignorant; with all his spirit of work and study, he never ceased to teach the lesson that there was a science deeper than that which the study of any man could attempt even to touch. Consequently, when the refined pagan lady Fabiola and the Christian slave Syra are together, he cannot lose his opportunity. Syra teaches her mistress lessons which confound her with their wealth of mystic meaning. Upon which the author comments thus:

"The reading generally pursued by Fabiola was, as has been previously observed, of rather an abstruse and refined character, consisting of philosophical literature. She was surprised, however, to find how her slave, by a simple remark, would often confute an apparently solid maxim, bring down a grand flight of virtuous declamation, or suggest a higher view of moral truth, or a more practical course of action, than authors whom she had long admired proposed in their writings. Nor was this done by any apparent shrewdness of judgment or pungency of wit; nor did it seem to come from much reading, or deep thought, or superiority of education. For though she saw traces of this in Syra's words, ideas, and behavior, yet the books and doctrines which she was reading now were evidently new to her. But there seemed to be in her maid's mind some latent but infallible standard of truth, some master-key, which opened equally every closed deposit of moral knowledge, some well-attuned chord, which vibrated in unflinching unison with what was just and right, but jangled in dissonance with whatever was wrong, vicious, or even inaccurate. What this secret was she wanted to discover; it seemed more like an intuition than any thing she had before witnessed. She was not yet in a condition to learn that the meanest and least in the Kingdom of Heaven (and what lower than a slave?) was greater in spiritual wisdom, intellectual light, and heavenly privileges, than even the Baptist Precursor."

It is well to notice the relation between these two, for in some sense the author's love of the humility of the handmaid would seem to have made him allow the slave to out-do her mistress, whom he



had intended at the first to make the heroine. The steps in their intercourse seem to bring out well the main virtues on which Wiseman loved to dwell. First, Syra bears with meekness and patience a fit of ill-temper in her mistress; then Fabiola, out of a natural sense of justice, tries to make atonement to her slave. This meets with its reward; for Wiseman knows how to value even the natural virtues. Fabiola's interest in her slave is deepened into something like affection. But it is not yet love, because to love a slave would have been a humiliation she could not endure. So she has to be taught the lesson of humility. This again starts from a natural foundation; she submits herself to learn from Syra. And as the humility is strengthened, so is the love deepened. Love draws them closer and closer together, drawing them to the natural end of love—likeness. Thus the conquest is attained; the mighty are put down from their seat, and the lowly are exalted. The weak things of this world are used to confound the strong—a truth which Wiseman, with all his learning, with all his insistence on learning, and with all his intercourse with the learned of all nations, is never tired of inculcating.

Much more might we say to illustrate how his zeal and love for souls bubble over even in these few pages, ever bringing home to the young—for we presume that it is above all else for the young that Fabiola is intended—lessons of true teaching; lessons of sacrifice and love for the poor in the giving up of wealth that they may be gainers; lessons of warning against the dangerous literature which grows apace around us, as it swarmed around the school of Cassianus; lessons of encouragement to study the history of the early Church, as well worth our time and labor as is that of any age of the world's development; of protest against the narrowness of men, who will persist in seeing evil when there is only good, blinded by the assumptions and prejudices in which they have been reared; of the need of being ever ready to take the time and the hour when God shall speak, as was Fabiola on her critical day; of exhortation to lay aside the indifference to religion, a vice always prevailing, but perhaps never more so than now; of emphatic upholding of the doctrines of the Church, one, holy, catholic, and apostolic, the same to-day and forever.

But we have said enough on this topic. We have tried to pierce into the heart of the man who could think so deeply and broadly and so well. We have found him, even in this work of his leisure hours, a man full of much love, of much sympathy, of much zeal. Men may differ from him in his creed, but none will deny him this; that he was a good man, and that he labored unceasingly—*impertune, opportune, in omni patientia et doctrina*—for the good of his

fellow-men, and above all for the good of his countrymen. For this he gave up much, for this he did much.

He might have been the greatest scholar of his day, perhaps of his century—even by the little he did he won for himself a world-wide reputation. He might have stayed in Rome and risen in dignity and honor, even to the highest throne the world has to offer. He might have made the world of literature resound with the eloquence of his rhetoric or the brilliance of his writings—none who have studied his early sermons, and lectures, and essays, whether written for English or for Italian readers, can gainsay this. But he gave all this, and more than this, for there are sacrifices which great men must make unknown to any but God and their own souls. In this light must we judge "*Fabiola*." That it teems with faults none can deny. In point of composition it is badly balanced, in many parts badly arranged; yet from time to time there are marvellous connecting links which prove the author to have had the capacity for more finished work had such been his aim. The dialogues are often stilted, even to weariness, yet they possess, too, another fault at times which show that he might have amended his work had he had the leisure—they are often, if we may say so, too colloquial. The characters are sometimes hazy and lacking in life and color; yet even in this, as we have tried to show elsewhere, he has risen above his ordinary tenor in more than one place, both in this book and in others; and none who know Wiseman will say that he was unskilled in the knowledge of human character. And lastly the style and language are full of flaws, sometimes even he is careless of grammatical accuracy; yet we know, his early writings prove it to us if nothing else, that he was an ardent student of style, that he had an extraordinary command of language, and that his very first appearance before the world was occasioned by a study of words.

This is something we gain from a re-reading of Wiseman's "*Fabiola*." In it we see a man weak with the weak, toilsome with the toiling, sympathetic with those not without fault, but withal a great and burning soul, filled with a great and burning zeal, and accomplishing great and noble work in spite of its faults, perhaps indeed the greater and the nobler because of them.

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## SOME WORDS AND THEIR USES.

SOMEONE is accused of having said that of all entertaining books a dictionary stood first; while other books are limited in their vocabulary, their style, their subject and in everything that goes to make up a book, the dictionary is absolutely untrammelled; the mind has only to wander through the columns of words and choose, like an emperor, what shall go to the building up of a monument more lasting than brass; true, a judicious selection of permutation and combinations makes all the difference between a Tennyson and the untamed poet of the evening paper, yet for that very reason none need complain of his liberty being restrained; the whole world of words stands there subject to the nod of the reader, waiting only to be marshalled into order and life. The tyrant may find pleasure in ordering his subjects about like chess-men, but the humane despot will vary the programme by occasionally taking a human interest in his subjects, inquiring into their fortunes, good or bad, the history of their ancestors, or their capabilities. It is from this point of view that we propose to act the amiable despot; nor are our subjects unworthy of such condescension. Some of them may be narrow minded and possessed of a single idea to which they cling, partly because it is the fashion of the hour, partly because they become confused by more; others, like Ulysses, have seen many men and many climes, and have store of anecdote. Nowhere better may an introduction be made than in Murray's English Dictionary, where no word may appear without rendering an account of itself and of its claims to distinction.

The last issue of this gigantic enterprise in the way of lexicons brings before us the history of the word *gas*, a history of great interest though the word itself is of comparatively recent origin, being the name invented in the sixteenth century by the Dutch chemist, Van Helmont, suggested to him from the Greek *chaos*. The treatise *De Ortu Medicinæ* of this distinguished scientist was translated into English soon after its appearance in Holland by Chandler, and from him we get what, presumably, Englishmen of the time (the subjects) of the Stuarts thought of the new arrival. "Because the water which is brought into a vapour by cold is of another condition than a vapour raised by heat; therefore—for want of a name I have called that vapour Gas, being not severed from the Chaos of the Auntients—gas is a far more subtle or fine thing than a vapour mist or distilled oyliness, although as yet it be many times

thicker than air. But Gas itself materially taken, is water as yet masked with the Ferment of composed Bodies." Why "Blas," which was another invention of Helmont's, failed to survive, we do not know; that it had a brief career we see from Franck's Northern Memoirs (1694): "Insomuch that neither Gass nor Blass, nor any nauseating suffocating fumes, nor hardly death itself can snatch them from Scotland."

After reigning for a time in solitary grandeur the word came to mean generally any aeriform fluid. The introduction of coal-gas, however, gave our friend a right to be once more exclusive, and we find in the very beginning of this century the word applied alone in ordinary use to the illuminating product of coal. This position of distinction has been retained with success, and all new rivals on the field may indeed call themselves gas, but always, or nearly always, with a qualifying epithet; even nitrous-oxide, that boon to suffering humanity, must keep its name, and in all likelihood will retain it, of laughing-gas. Occasionally however, what moderns would call the atavistic tendencies show themselves, and the word descends into low company, and we find it used to express boastful talk, humbug. "Lord Shaftesbury calls the poor thieves together and reads sermons to them, and they call it gas." (Emerson, English Traits.) The practical applications of coal-gas have given quite an imposing progeny to our little word, many of the compounds being themselves an epitome of the progress of the arts, such as gas-motor, gas-harmonicon, gas-spectrum, gas-microscope, &c. We may well spare our readers further exploration into the history of this very prolific family.

The animal world presents us with a word which in England at least has a long descent, dating even from before the arrival of the Conqueror; the "crane that has totally forsaken this country" (Permant. Zool. II. 513) has left a name which will probably last as long as machinery is used; the great structures of wood or iron which play with great weights as though they were toys were no doubt suggestive to the invention of the long-legged, long-necked, long-billed bird of that name. It is certainly remarkable how many of our terms for mechanical appliances are taken from animals, e. g., monkey, donkey-engine, gooseboard cock mule—all words familiar to engineers if not to the lay-folk; nor did imagination stay here: those huge cisterns, mounted on pivots, to be seen in any of our railway stations for feeding the engine with water are eminently suggestive, by the long spout projecting downwards, of the crane's bill; and in fact the bill of this bird has been so marked a feature that all virtues would seem to have been centred in it; thus a siphon

for drawing liquor from a cask is called a crane. The verb *to crane* is rich in metaphors drawn from the actions of the bird; thus, *to crane* may mean to raise or lower with a machine, to stretch out the neck, to 'look before leaping,' evidently from the implied notion of stretching the head over a hedge to see what is on the other side. This word supplies an example, though not a very striking one, of the way in which words become degraded, the comparatively indifferent action of craning acquiring the sense of cowardly hesitation.

A more striking instance is seen in the word *maudlin*; "maudlin tears" arouse neither sympathy nor admiration, but time was when the tears of the penitent Magdalene (pronounced 'maudlin') were a source of loving contemplation and encouragement to thousands of good souls; what profane tongue first dared to use the phrase in any but the Scriptural cause we do not know, and perhaps it is as well its traducer should be lost to posterity; it is, I daresay, the comparatively few who know or suspect any but the degraded usage of the phrase. This is a glaring case of where language has lost by degradation of sentiment, and the beautiful thought which hovered over the expression like an angel has fled. An instance less painful is *silly*, the primary meaning of which was 'happy,' 'innocent,' 'blessed'; the 'Silly Lamb of God' was a devout expression in early times, now it sounds almost blasphemous. There is matter for thought in the qualities of innocence and happiness, suggesting stupidity or want of intellect; we can at the present time furnish a 'missing link in this evolution of degradation, or shall we call it adaptation to surroundings or survival of the unfit? in the words *simple*; the meaning of this word is perfectly fluid, and the context alone can help us to its true sense when some one predicates of a man that he is simple. The corresponding German word has also a strange history; by itself *selig* means blessed, but in composition its meaning seems to be quite overborne by the word with which it is compounded; thus *arm-selig*; i. e., 'poor-blessed,' means simply poor, and '*gluck-selig*' or luck-blessed means happy. Might *arm-selig* be a tract of the first of the beautitudes, "Blessed are the poor?" We might imagine how such a word would appeal to the seraphic St. Francis. Not long ago the "rollicking bun" of Gilbert & Sullivan attracted attention to its ancestry in the pages of the Spectator. There is some reason to think that we pilfered it from the French, though the evidence is not quite clear; in old French *bugne* meant a swelling, only the diminutive *bugne* was used in the meaning of loaf or cake. Now, at least, the word is thoroughly English, though local usage alone can settle what form the bun will take; the Scotch

bun is a very rich cake, all fruit and spice, while the Irish bun is merely a round loaf of bread; the English variety is best described by those who have travelled and have had satisfactory evidence, internal at least, of the "staying power" of the bun of commerce. Hot-cross-buns are historic; they are described by Hone in the *Every Day Bk*, I. 405, as . . . consecrated loaves bestowed in the Church as alms, and to those who . . . could not receive the host . . . made from the doe from whence the host itself is taken."

In the early Church blessed bread used to be given to those catechumens who, not being yet baptised, could not be permitted to approach the Holy Table. St. Augustine, speaking of this custom,<sup>1</sup> says: "What they (the catechumens) receive, although it is not the Body of Christ, yet is it holy and holier than the food of which we partake, since it is something sacred (*quoniam Sacramentum est*). We may notice here incidentally the wide meaning which *Sacramentum*, or sacrament, had before the term was restricted by the needs of scientific theology. Every Catholic child is now familiar with the strict definition of a sacrament and probably attaches no other meaning to the word: "An outward sign of inward grace, ordained by Christ, by which grace is given to the soul." The word is a relic of the Roman law courts; *Sacramentum* was the pledge of money which litigants had to pay into the treasury to defray the expenses of the court, the winner of the cause being allowed to withdraw his money; the oath of allegiance required of every soldier was also known as a *Sacrament*, and this usage is preserved in the French derivative *Serment* in its more general sense of an oath. Among the early Christians the word was held in the widest sense as an equivalent of the Greek *μυστήριον* or *mystery*; anything connected with religion or religious rites was a *Sacramentum*. To return to our blessed bread: we see a provision of the Synod of Rouen forbidding blessed bread to be given on the days on which the faithful were expected to communicate. These blessed breads were often interchanged by the faithful as tokens of friendship, and were often cut from the loaves which were used for the Holy Sacrifice, of course before the consecration; this practice was not allowed during Lent, so the prayer over the people was said (*oratio super populum*), that they might in this way at least have some share in the communion. The devotion of the middle ages suggested all kinds of names for the bread given in charity or taken home by the devout faithful from the Church. The loaves of the Holy Spirit were given to the poor all during the week of Pentecost with

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<sup>1</sup> *De Peccatorum misit et remissis*, lib. 2, cap. 26.

measures of wine to correspond.<sup>1</sup> The bread distributed to the poor on the feasts of Pentecost and Ascension was blessed with a very imposing ceremonial, of which the procession was no inconsiderable part, led by lights and incense and holy water with solemn chants.

Many of the feast days of the saints were made the occasion of these charitable displays.

At first sight a word such as brown would seem to have its career already marked out and limited with few possibilities of expanding; yet its history brings us into contact with many interesting developments. The phrase 'a brown study' is sufficiently familiar and suggestive; the earliest uses seem to convey the idea of sadness, rather than of mere abstraction, which is the modern meaning of the term; by one of those curious changes of meaning so frequent in words we find 'brown' meaning 'bright'; thus in an old ballad we find: "My bonny brown Sword," and in one of the early English illustrative poems a "Brende golde bright," as gleamande glas burnist broun." A gleaming brand not unnaturally suggests the old 'Brown Bess' of the beginning of the century; to one who has seen only a few specimens of this venerable weapon as exhibited in our museums it is tempting to enunciate boldly that the name is due to the brown colour of the barrel; unhappily for such a speculation the process of "browning" the arm was not introduced till 1808, as announced by the *Morning Post* of October 3, of that year: "The cropping of the soldiers' hair is to be followed by the browning of the hitherto bright barrrel and lock of the musket. An enquirer in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* expresses his difficulty to comprehend why the weapon should be called Brown Bess and not rather Brown Nan or Molly; it is possible that the popular liking for alliteration may have determined the name as well as the consideration of providing a companion to the more ancient 'brown bill.'

Readers of *Hudibras* will remember the lines:

"But when his 'nut-brown sword' was out,  
Courageously he laid about." (Canto II, ll 797-8),

Where the meaning does not seem to be, as in the passages before cited, a gleaming blade, but one which is perhaps brown with thin films as one may see in an old blade left long untouched; this interpretation would seem borne out by the quotation in Mr. Milnes' notes from the ballad "of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne:

To see how together these yeomen went  
With blades both brown and bright."

In which brown and bright are contrasted.

<sup>1</sup> *CharterGeraldii. Abbatt. Augereanus. Anni 1385 in Chartul Monastris Du Cange.*

It is a curious fact that the origin of the word *bachelor* is lost in obscurity, its original meaning being doubtful, though the modern one is confined to an unmarried man of marriageable age or to one who has taken his (or her) degree at a university. The older language had a greater variety of meanings; a knight too poor or too young to display his own banner, and who, therefore, followed the banner of another was called a bachelor, and this use gave rise to the spurious derivation of *bas chevalier*. Hallam, in his *Middle Ages*, describes bachelors as vavassours who obtained knighthood, a knight bachelor,—a list of them may be seen in Whitaker's *Almanac*—is the full title of a gentleman who has just been knighted without, however, being admitted to any one of the recognized orders. The term was used to describe other social conditions; thus, a younger member of one of the great guilds or corporations was called a bachelor, his office being to attend on the Master and Wardens of his craft. In the universities the lowest degree was taken by the bachelor, whose office was to teach under the superintendence of a master; after two years the bachelor might proceed to his licentiate, which gave him the faculty of teaching independently. There is a curious but rare use of the word in Ben Jonson to describe an unmarried person of the other sex; those curious in such matters might compare the restriction of the word *child* to the meaning of a female infant. "Is it a boy or a child?" is an expression not unfamiliar to many.

For transformation of sense few words are more interesting than *bead*, at first meaning a prayer, then indifferently the prayers or the beads in which they were counted, and finally the string of beads without any reference to their original employment. Of the devotion of our ancestors to the "beads" there is most abundant testimony in early documents; there is no need to describe for Catholics the manner of this devotion nor do our limits permit us to describe the various ways in which paters and aves and the various meditations on the events of our Lord's life were distributed; but like many other survivals the string of corals which up to a few years ago used to adorn the necks of children were the representative of the beads which our forefathers used to wear; worn too often now, alas! with none of the beautiful thoughts which they were meant to suggest. What was once an object of piety was degraded to an ornament. It would be a startling sight if a merchant appeared on 'change now-a-days with his rasary round his neck or on his arm, or at his waist; yet this would seem to have been a familiar custom in the fifteenth century judging from effigies and brasses of that date, where they are represented as hanging



from the girdle, a fashion which one may observe among the ladies in some Catholic households in England at the present day. It was natural that when worn on the person they should be made of rich material; hence we hear of Lady Godiva bequeathing her circle of threaded jewels on which she was wont to number her prayers, to be hung round the neck of Our Blessed Lady's statue at Coventry; so, too, we hear of beads of gold laced with silk, crimson and gold, and with tassels of the same precious metal. Alanus writing in the 15th century speaks of large rosaries hung up in the churches for public use. A frequent accusation made against Catholics in the time of persecution was their stubborn attachment to the use of beads, or as they were sometimes called *gauds*. Any one wishing to know more on the subject would consult with profit the chapter on Beads and Bells in Fr. Budgett's Dowry of Mary. From the linguistic aspect of the word we meet with a curious parallel in Spanish where 'contar,' to count, gives 'cuenta' a bead. All the compounds of this word are redolent of the piety and charity of our forefathers; for instance *bead-folk* pensioners who pray for the soul of a benefactor; *beadhouse*, an *almshouse* of which the inmates were expected to shew their gratitude for the good things of this life by being mindful of the souls of those who had provided them. The word bead-roll in itself conjures up a whole history of ancient practise with regard to prayers for the dead. More than this: anyone familiar with the early history of the Church will remember the importance which was ascribed to the entrance of names on the diptychs, or tablets containing the names of those who were to be prayed for in the course of the Holy Sacrifice. Without going beyond our own country we have ample evidence of the use of *bede-rolls* or lists of persons to be prayed for. An interesting article in the Month of December, 1896, describes one of these rolls as being seventy-two feet long and eight or ten inches wide! Apparently a length of forty or fifty feet was not unusual; even with our means of economising space with the use of type one is astonished to see the amount of room which the mere enumeration of the names can take up, as one may find by dipping into the volumes of the *Neues Archiv den Geschichts su quellen*. Many of the religious houses were in the habit of offering their prayers in communion for the benefit of their dead members, so that it became necessary that a formal announcement should be made to the other communities when a member of some one of the body died. The name was inscribed on a roll, often with a slight account of the deceased's life or in the way of a panegyric on his exemplary life, and the roll given to a messenger

(hence called a *rolliger*), whose duty it was to call at the various houses which claimed this brotherhood of prayer; there he delivered up his roll, which was sometimes countersigned and dated by the superior, and the name of the deceased was copied into the necrology or book of the dead which lay upon the altar. If this monastery had suffered by the death of any of its members, their names were entered on the roll of the messenger and so forwarded on to all the houses which had entered into this alliance of mutual prayer. The writer of the above-mentioned article in the *Month*, and also Dr. Ebner, are of opinion that these confraternities, which formed very large, one might say, European organization, had their origin in England, and that their spread on the continent was due to the influence of missionaries from this country.<sup>1</sup> In any case it is painful to realize how the word *bede-roll* with all its aroma of piety and charity is now almost a stranger to the language of its people, a dried and painted mummy, as it were of its former self; one cannot but wish for the day when a new life-blood will be infused into the corpse, so beautiful even in death.

The word confraternity is strongly suggestive of a word perhaps more familiar to British ears—*guild* or *gild*, as others will have it spelt. One of the oldest words in the language, and connected with another word, *Dane-gelt*, which recalls a time when England had not the supremacy of the seas. According to Skeat: "The insertion of *u* though common is quite unnecessary and is unoriginal," and this would seem to be the case if the word is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *gild*, payment; others claim it as derived from the Welsh or Breton *gouil*, a feast or holiday. Whether the development of guilds depended or was influenced in any way by the *eranoi* of the Greeks and the *collegia* of the Romans remains at present a disputed question; we know, however, that they existed in England in the 7th century and on the Continent a century later, and by the 14th century were an acknowledged power. The purposes of these institutions were various, but even where they would seem most secular, the religious element was always present, and indeed often formed a considerable factor. They were organised generally to promote some work of mercy and charity, and at the same time the members were accustomed to have social gatherings at fixed times; all this was elevated by the society thus formed being consecrated to God under the patronage of Our Lady or of one of the Saints. According to Fr. Bridgett<sup>1</sup> it would seem that all respectable per-

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<sup>1</sup> *Month*, Nov., 1896. "Prayer for the dead," by Fr. Thurston.

<sup>2</sup> Our Lady's Dowry; chap. xii.

sons belonged to one or more of these guilds; being meant primarily for lay-folk, the members of course were as a rule lay-men, but priests might belong to them, and we have examples also of princes being admitted to the privileges of membership. It would be impossible within the limits of a short article to enumerate even the good works done by these associations; schools, churches, even colleges were founded by them, not to speak of hospitals, almshouses, and other institutions, besides the particular helps afforded to sick or impoverished brethren. Nor was this philanthropy confined to the things of this life; many of the guilds assembled on certain days to assist at a solemn dirge for the repose of the souls of departed members, as also to hear mass for those who still survived. These reunions were also often made the occasion for a brilliant pageant, and there is but little doubt that the companies often vied with one another in the splendor of their mystery-plays; on this subject we might add that there could be hardly any loftier subject for the drama, or one more calculated to instil the truest education than these spectacles, drawn as they often were from the life and deeds of Our Lord or of His Saints. So far as I know, there were few, if any, secret there was referred entirely to the particular trade of the superiors to be obeyed, but all was open to the day, and whatever secret there was, referred entirely to the particular trade of the company. On the Continent the *confrariae* were not always free from the pest of secrecy, and the councils of Avignon, Arles, Montpellier, Toulouse, all have decrees directed against these unholy associations, productive of so much misery to the state. In England the guilds flourished up to the time of the Reformation, when their riches attracted the appreciative and financial mind of Henry VIII, and they, with the monasteries, were called upon to fill the purse of their bluff sovereign. The encouragement which the Popes gave to the formation of guilds and the privileges which they receive from the Holy See are matters of history, and after the very plain terms in which the present Pope encouraged trades unionism in his labour encyclical of some years ago, nothing need be added.

From the Lord Chancellor to the little Board School boy who is acquiring the art of cancelling is a great jump, and neither perhaps ever think of the common bond which unites them; as little would one expect to conceive a connection between the bar of the Old Bailey and the chancel of Westminster Cathedral; nor yet can it be said to be misfortune which produces such bedfellows, for it was by honorable promotion that the *cancellarius* or usher in the Roman courts rose to the dignity of Chancellor of the kingdom. The 'cancelli' or lattice-work screens round the tops of houses in Palestine,

were, according to Joannes de Tanna<sup>1</sup>, the places whence public proclamations were read to the people; the idea was very naturally transferred to the railed partitions of the judicial bar, and the *cancellarius* was one who acted as doorkeeper at this lattice; in the East the title came to be applied to the notary and secretary, as also in France; and so finally to anyone having charge of public documents. The office of Chancellor in England as one who had charge of the royal seals, charters and documents, or 'keeper of the king's conscience', was introduced into England by Edward the Confessor. At the present day of course we abound in chancellors of various departments, all being high officials; Scotland confers the dignity on a foreman of the jury!

The word *cancelli* besides its generic meaning of bar or grating came to be applied specially to the screen separating that part of a sacred building preserved for the clergy from the portion occupied by the laity, and with the usual device of making a part represent the whole, it came to mean the *presbyterium* itself, the *bema* or *adyton* of the Greeks, the chancel of later buildings. The substantive gave rise to a verb *cancellare*, to cancel, that is, to draw palisades, an effectual method when done with pen and ink over a manuscript of blotting it out, hence the now familiar word cancel. The substantive cancel exists in an interesting form in Jeremy Taylor, who speaks of the "cancels of the body," that is, the prison of the body.

The history of the words cancel and chancel is also interesting from the point of view of their training, if one may use the expression; cancel coming with a certain scholastic primness untouched from its Latin ancestors, while the other has acquired a French polish by the well-known change of *ca* into *cha*, which characterises so many words which were adopted at an early period into the French language, numerous instances such as L. *cantare*, Fr. *chanter* will easily present themselves to the mind of the reader.

A want of full acquaintance with the history of a word will sometimes lead into rather amusing errors, two of which are signalled in Fr. Bridgett's book 'Blunders and Forgeries.' The mistake turns on the meaning of the word *religion* in the Middle Ages which was then the equivalent of the present expression 'Religious Order.' Some ancient documents are discussed where "leave to pass from one religion to another" is granted under certain conditions; one learned editor comments on the grant as an extraordinary example of religious tolerance! while another makes the following reflection: "Thus in the Church of Rome a still stronger term was in use for different monastic societies than in these days of modern toleration

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Fr. Bridgett's *Blunders and Forgeries*, p. 80.

is applied to the sects into which the Christian church is now divided."<sup>1</sup> Whatever be the divergences of Ritualists and Evangelicals they do not profess to be of different religions, and the editor in question would seem to have thought that Benedictines, for instance, regarded Dominicans as belonging to quite another creed! Many of us no doubt have read Archbishop French's "History of Words" with great interest and profit, yet as Catholics we could hardly fail to be hurt by the unjustifiable manner in which he seizes on this special use of the word *religion* in the Middle Ages, and writes with indignant horror of the restriction of the word to signify the monastic state, as if religious feeling and practice were impossible without the observance of the vows. To the Catholic there is nothing repellent in regarding that state as *par excellence* the state of religion where men not only kept the precepts but in addition bound themselves by vow to the observance of the counsels; many, even excellent Christians, may not feel themselves called to so high a vocation, but they can hardly be acquainted with the teaching of the New Testament unless they recognise the state of poverty, chastity and obedience at the call of Christ to be the more perfect: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast and give to the poor and follow Me." His Grace might have been mollified a little had he dipped into the documents of the Belgian archives or of those of Simancas; he would there have seen the word *religion* used often enough to designate the innovations of the 16th century. It is hardly too severe to say that the modern use of the word is degraded when it can be applied to the beliefs and practices of Mohammedans, Confucians, Brahmins, Buddhists, and the less refined if not brutal fetichism of an African village.

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## **Scientific Chronicle.**

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### **THE NEW SYSTEM OF TELEGRAPHY.**

Signor Marconi's wonderful method of sending messages through space without the aid of a wire has given greater results than the most optimistic, twelve months ago, had ventured to hope for. Beginning at the little harbor of Kingston, six miles from Dublin, last summer, the inventor was enabled, by personal supervision of the working of his process, to send the details of a yacht race from his vessel up to a newspaper office. Emboldened by the success of this experiment, he has gone much further. A little later he crossed over to France, and by means of towers erected at favorable points on either side, he was enabled to put himself into communication, from the French shore, with people in England. Now we hear of his intention to try the capability of his system to overcome the distance between Europe and this continent. This looks like pushing the idea too far. By means of towers fifteen hundred feet high, it is thought atmospheric communication may be established. Taking into consideration the spheroidal curve of the distance, the idea does not seem quite practicable, but in the lexicon of science there is no such word as fail. If the tower idea be found feasible, there seems no reason why the cliffs at Achill, on the west coast of Ireland, might not be availed of as a substitute at one side of the ocean. Some of these cliffs are said to be a couple of thousand feet high. But whether the trans-ocean idea succeed or fail, there can be no doubt that Signor Marconi's invention, in its present state, must prove to be of enormous practical value along the littoral of every country. It must naturally displace the heliograph, which can only be worked in the daylight, and with the help of sunshine or the artificial disruptive discharge. But day and night the wireless telegraph could be made the medium of instantaneous interchange of news from port to port, around every coast where commerce finds many inlets and outlets. It appears destined to prove a most beneficial servitor to commercial progress, but like every other scientific discovery it seems to have its limitations.

## THE SCIENCE OF FILTRATION.

It is beginning to be realized that we do not pay sufficient attention to the purity of the water we use for drinking and cooking purposes. This truth was suspected some twenty centuries ago by sundry Roman emperors who caused aqueducts to be built in order to get better water than the Tiber from places at a distance. But many municipal bodies, especially in America, seem to regard it as open to question whether pure water is really an essential of existence or merely insisted upon as a scientific fad. Germs, they seem to think, may be classified—those which are beneficial to the human system and those which are not. Hence, we may charitably suppose, the hesitation about providing large cities like Philadelphia with a supply of properly filtrated water. The germs which are beneficial and those which are noxious, they may argue, may be able to neutralize each other when antagonized in the viscous flood of the Schuylkill, and the City thus be saved from an initial outlay of many millions for filtering beds. But even those citizens who believe in filtration have had their faith shaken very seriously by recent warnings that the filters commonly used for domestic purposes become powerless to prevent the entrance of the insidious germ after a short period of service. A French scientist, M. Hausser, claims to have discovered a material for a filtering clay which is absolutely germ-proof. It is the infusorial earth known to geologists as fossil farina. The earth is prepared by sifting it to remove impurities, raising it to a temperature of about 1,000 degrees, then cooling it and pulverizing it very finely. The powder thus obtained is insoluble and communicates no taste to the filtered liquid. It is mixed with the liquid to be filtered and the mixture is poured into an ordinary filter. The liquid runs out, and the powder, because of its lightness, is deposited in a regular layer. This layer constitutes a very compact and finely porous filter. It is capable of retaining the smallest particles and the smallest microorganisms. As there has been no fusion, there is not the slightest loss of efficiency. The absence of rigidity is a point in its favor, for it makes possible frequent renewal and cleansing. When the filtering power of one layer is exhausted, it is simply washed off with a stream of water and another is formed. The rejected substance is renewed by washing it in acid, drying it, and calcining it again.

## ARTIFICIAL PRODUCTION OF DIAMONDS.

It was recently demonstrated that diamonds can be actually produced by artificial means. This was long held as a theory, but its realization was deferred by reason of the fact that no material for a crucible could be found to withstand the enormous degree of heat necessary for the success of the experiment. The mode by which this difficulty has been surmounted was described last year, in a lecture by Sir William Crookes, the inventor of the famous tubes for the production of X-rays. The lecture was reported in the *Engineering and Mining Journal*. That portion of it which contained the gist of the matter stated that the first necessity was to select pure iron and to pack it in a crucible with pure charcoal from sugar. Half a pound of this iron was then put into the body of the electric furnace and the arc formed close above it to utilize the electrical current passing through it. The iron rapidly melts and saturates itself with the carbon. After a few minutes it is heated above 4,000 degrees—a temperature at which the lime of the furnace melts and volatilizes. The current is then stopped, and the crucible is plunged beneath the surface of cold water, where it is held until it diminishes to a dull red heat. The sudden cooling solidifies the outer layer of iron, and holds the inner molten mass in a tight grip. The expansion of the inner liquid in solidifying produces an enormous pressure, and the dissolved carbon separates out in a transparent dense crystalline form—in fact, as diamond. Then commences the more tedious part of the process, the attacking the metallic mass with solvents to liberate the diamonds, the crystals of graphitic oxid, carbonado, and bort—the cleansing operations being repeated until all the well-washed grains are collected and examined under the microscope. The laboratory diamonds burn in the air before the blow-pipe into carbonic acid, and in luster, crystalline form, optical properties, density, and hardness are identical with the natural stones. It is certain, from observations made at Kimberly, corroborated by the experience gained in the laboratory, that iron at a high temperature and under great pressure will act as the long-sought solvent for carbon, and will allow it to crystallize out in the form of diamonds.

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THE PATHOLOGY OF SUNSTROKE.

It must have occurred to many scientific men that although our soldiers and sailors have for several months past been operating



in some of the hottest regions of the globe, very little is heard of cases of sunstroke among them. We hear of men having had to drop out of the ranks because of the heat, but so far there has been little mention of sunstroke. Probably we may have some light thrown upon the subject when the medical men who have accompanied the troops have had time to prepare their reports and compare notes. But we may be certain that when the summer comes around again on this continent we shall hear enough about sunstroke among the ordinary population. Hence the theory started by Dr. Sambon in the *British Medical and Surgical Journal* last year is deserving of more attention than it has as yet received here. He pointed out that siriasis (heat-stroke) is unknown in many of the hottest parts of the world. Nor in the endemic areas is the disease always most prevalent in the warmest years, or at the hottest season of the year. Dr. Sambon's contention is that siriasis is an infection, is in fact produced by a specific germ; and he has brought forward a body of evidence which is very interesting.

After showing the weak points in the various theories based on the thermal idea of the causation of siriasis, he points to many carefully verified facts, to the geographical distribution, the endemicity, the occurrence of epidemics, the characters of the symptoms, the very definite lesions, the liability to relapse, and to other points in the natural history of the disease, as strong arguments for regarding siriasis as belonging to the same category as yellow fever, dengue, and certain other tropical affections universally acknowledged to depend on specific germs—germs for whose growth and transmission to man, and from man to man, high atmospheric temperature is necessary, but which though occurring in, are certainly not created by, high atmospheric temperature.

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## THE HOMING INSTINCT OF THE CARRIER PIGEON.

Many theories have been propounded regarding the wonderful power of finding its way possessed by the carrier pigeon. Some scientific naturalists attribute it to a special sense unknown to other creatures, but this can hardly be regarded as an explanation. A French scientist, M. Thanzies, assigns to the pigeon a peculiarly sensitive magnetic organization and a special "local instinct," intensified by the process of heredity. By what may be called its sense of touch, he says, and by its sight, it registers, as it were, like a delicate mechanism, impressions as varied as they are com-

plex, which, resulting in the concerted action of the organism, enable it to determine in a given place, at a given moment, the direction in which the dovecote will be found.

It gets its direction best in the morning because it prefers to fly in the morning and because the atmospheric notions that it gets from this habit are clearer, more distinct, and more numerous. It gets its bearings without effort in a familiar direction because it then experiences, even before leaving the basket, the normal sensations that have previously guided it toward a definite part of the horizon. It directs itself slowly toward an unknown point because of the indecision resulting from the solicitations of an already despotic routine, and the new but not less imperious impressions that cause it to deviate from the accustomed route.

The failure of the carrier pigeons of the unfortunate Professor Andree to return to their starting point would seem to strengthen this theory, and to show that when those interesting birds are taken to an entirely unknown and extremely remote region their wonderful powers are completely nullified by their strange surroundings.

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### LAST IMPRESSIONS ON THE HUMAN EYE.

Since the invention of photography the belief has somehow arisen that the eyes of the dead retain the impression of the last things seen before life was extinguished, and this curious idea was made the foundation of one of the leading scenes in a popular play. The image of a murderer is supposed to be discovered in a photograph of one of the victim's eyes. Science has since frequently attempted to explode this fallacy, because, in the first place it is incompatible with the interests of true science that fallacies should be allowed to live a moment longer when their illusory character has been proved. But somehow the fallacy has a curious trick of starting up again, after scientific men had thought it had been effectually disposed of. A London paper on the hunt for sensational subjects, like some others nearer home, revived the exploded hypothesis. A physician and enthusiastic photographer, it stated, being desirous of testing the amount of truth in the theory, had carefully examined the eyes of hundreds of dead people, and though he had never seen anything like a distinct picture mirrored he had certainly distinctly traced both letters and objects on the iris of the eye, and that when the photographic test was applied these images became visible. In one case a capital letter of peculiar form was shown which could be traced to a Testament held

in the hands shortly before death. In another case a numeral was distinctly pictured which was traced to a clock-face in the room. The article also stated that the chief scientific paper of France gave full particulars of a case where a woman who died in one of the hospitals had two numbers, 10 and 45, mirrored in the iris of her eyes.

Like religion, science suffers more, perhaps from the statement of the half-truth than from the most downright scientific heresy, and here is an exceedingly good case in point. The very small residuum of accuracy in this story was clearly shown by the *Lancet*, the leading British Medical authority. All such absurd stories, it declared, had their origin in the well-known experiments of Kühne on the visual purple of the retina, in the course of which he showed that by making special arrangements the cross-bars of a window focused on the retina could be brought into relief. The enthusiastic photographer ought to have known that no well-defined images of the external world are cast upon the iris, and none, therefore, could be preserved. The surface of the iris is far too uneven to act as a mirror. Moreover, as no arrangements were made to prevent the further action of light after death, they would if formed be certainly obliterated as the image on a photographic plate would be if permanently exposed. The only mode in which an image impressed on the retina could be rendered visible would be to adopt the method of Kühne—viz., by exposing the eye previously kept in the dark for a minute or two to an illuminated object, then extirpating it, opening it, and immediately plunging it into a solution of alum. The image develops in the course of twenty-four hours.

This exposure by the *Lancet* ought surely to prevent the resuscitation of what may be regarded as a modern development of the idea of the ordeal by touch, but error dies as hard as the hydra of Hercules, whose heads when lopped off started up afresh in some other portion of the chimera's anatomy.

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## THE HEROES OF THE LABORATORY AND HOSPITAL.

The world hears much of the gallantry of men who fight their fellow-men with deadly missiles, but it is rarely indeed that the story of the far higher heroism of the physician and the nurse who grapple with death in its most awful forms in the laboratory and the pest-house is held up to public admiration. Medical history is full of heroism of this kind. Devoted doctors have again and again paid the penalty of seeking the causes of cholera and similar

horrible scourges, but these martyrs to humanity and science are never heard of, while the worshippers of a vulgar militarism go on shouting their vivas enthusiastically over the men who succeed in mowing down the most thousands of their fellow-creatures by means of superior machinery of death and superior skill in warfare. We doubt if the world ever listened to a more thrilling story than that of the Vienna physician, Dr. Muller, who succumbed to the plague in that city a few months ago while experimenting on the germs of the pest, and the brave Sisters who nursed the victims in the hospital. The fate of Dr. Muller seems to have had the effect of producing some consternation if we may judge from a recent article in *Natural Science*, evidently written with a view to allaying groundless fear on the question. The writer says that as a matter of fact such occurrences are very rare, and this for two reasons: The majority of pathogenic organisms soon lose much of their virulence when cultivated for any length of time outside the body; some become harmless in a few days, others not for weeks or months, while there are bacteria which seem to retain their pathogenic powers almost indefinitely. In most cases virulence may be restored by suitable passage through the animal body. The chief reason, however, for the rarity of accidents lies in the routine precautions taken in the laboratory when dealing with pathogenic organisms. Such precautions are the first lessons impressed upon the student; for they are necessary, not only as a safeguard to the experimenter, but in order to preserve the cultures themselves from contamination. In all good laboratories the beginner acquires, or ought to acquire, the technic necessary for the protection of himself and his cultures by practise upon harmless organisms. Once acquired, it becomes in time practically a reflex action, and the fear of infection is scarcely present to the mind. Nevertheless there will always be reckless persons, and accidents will at times occur. Some organisms are especially virulent and dangerous to work with, for instance, the bacillus of glanders. Even typhoid fever is perhaps at times contracted in the laboratory, and one fatal case of cholera has been definitely traced to this source. Such instances are, however, so rare as to be of historic interest. Laboratory infection is, in fact, a risk almost infinitesimal in comparison with the risks run in the post-mortem room or at the bedside, or even in a crowded omnibus. The wonder is, considering the many cases of contagious disease with which the physician is usually brought into contact, so very few cases of infection are recorded. The use of a little camphor, and the invariable practise of washing the hands after leaving the bedside of the sick, are the precautions which one of the most eminent medical authorities on contagious epidemics usually found all-sufficient.

## ARE THE STARS INHABITED ?

This is a very old question, and is likely to be very much older indeed before any determining answer be forthcoming. It has been raised anew by reason of the singular appearances on the surface of the planet Mars, and the fact that an assumption in the affirmative has been seized by the scientists as an argument against Christianity will hardly cause surprise, since every possible assumption or pretext is utilized by this illogical genus to the same end. An eminent French scientist, bearing the unmistakably Irish name of Kirwan, recently examined the assumption in the pages of *Cosmos*, and dealt with it in an exceedingly able way.

M. de Kirwan dwells specially on the latest views that science has formed in regard to the moon, because he thinks the case of that heavenly body proves it a gratuitous supposition to believe that the organization and manifestation of life are the principal end of the general creation. That the moon was not created for the purpose of organizing and maintaining life seems, so far as our knowledge extends at present, entirely clear. Without doubt the earth was created for man. Its place in the sidereal universe was determined in view of man's existence, and in such a manner that he can utilize for his profit, at least in a certain measure, the other creations which are beyond his reach.

Life, continues M. de Kirwan, certainly can not exist in the sun, a globe of incandescent gases of a temperature in which no possible combination of elements could give birth to and support any organism whatever. Venus, by reason of the great inclination of its axis to its orbit, has summers of intolerable heat succeeded with abrupt transition by winters of excessive cold, at intervals of about fifty-six days each. These violent and frequent changes of temperature must result in storms to which the fiercest cyclones known on the earth would be child's play. In such an abode, how can you conceive of the existence and development of life? The condition of Mercury is still worse. It presents constantly the same face to the sun. One of its hemispheres is constantly calcined by the solar furnace, while in the other hemisphere there is always night and winter. Under such circumstances is life possible? Mars has an atmosphere, clouds, and seas. It does not, however, receive quite half the light and heat which the sun imparts to the earth, and each season in Mars being double what it is with us, it must have a long continuation of terrible cold. The red color of Mars seems to come from the nature of its soil in which predominates protoxid of iron. If this soil were covered by vegetation the pro-

toxid would be deuteroxid, which is black. Without vegetation it is impossible to have inhabitants. As to Jupiter, it is agreed that it is still in a liquid or at least pasty state. As to Saturn it is yet a gassy mass, and Uranus and Neptune are nebulous masses, without speaking of their very small participation in the light and heat of the sun.

It is plain, from these observations, that organized life, such as we know it, is not to be looked for in those celestial bodies which are nearest to us, and there can be little force in the assumption that the more remote planetary system may present conditions more favorable to the theory of their habitancy by human beings than those we find unsuitable. Mere conjecture is of no utility whatever as argument, and this is all that science is able to offer at present on this abstruse and interesting subject.

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#### DRAWBACKS OF CIVILIZATION.

Many biologists favor the theory that primitive man possessed acuter senses than men of modern days, and some go so far as to assert that he possessed an additional sense—somewhat like the instinct of the brute creation—which has been lost through the process of civilization and the habit of living in towns instead of in the open air, as man in his savage state did in many places. It is known that men living in the open air—in the forest, the wilderness, and the prairie—have much keener perceptions than the denizens of the cities. Powerful sight and acute hearing are, in especial, the compensations which nature yields for the comforts of civilized life. The *Hospital* (London) tells a story of a remark made by a Siberian nomad to the renowned scientist, Emanuel Arago. They had been both looking at the planet Jupiter, and the Tartar remarked that he had seen the big star swallow a little one and spit it out again, he had really seen, with his unaided eyes, an occultation of the third satellite. Sir H. Truman Wood, in a discussion on the subject at the Society of Arts, spoke of an Englishman who could see some of the double stars; but it must be remembered that the Englishman could easily know what stars were double, and could, perhaps, fancy that he saw their peculiarity; while the Tartar could have had no knowledge of the very existence of the satellite if he had not seen it. Mr. Carter maintained that the habit of seeing as much as possible, of earnest visual attention to the details of the environments, would certainly have the effect of increasing the activity of the visual function, and also in all prob-

ability of promoting the growth of finer fibers in the retina, by the aid of which smaller images could be appreciated. It was suggested that vision should be trained in schools by the use of difficult test-objects set at proper distances; it being only work upon near objects that is ever injurious to the eyes, while work upon distant objects must always be of the kind by which the faculty exercised is likely also to be improved. It was maintained that sight might even be permitted to take its place among the physical qualities that are made the bases of competitions, and that prizes might be awarded for excellence. To railway officials it is certainly of the highest importance that sight-culture should be developed, as so much depends upon the vision of their employes in the operation of signalling.

## Book Reviews.

THE ETHICAL PROBLEM. By Dr. Paul Carus. Second enlarged edition. Chicago. The Open Court Publishing Co., 1899, pp. xxiv, 331.

About one-fourth of this work is made up of three lectures delivered nine years ago before the Society for Ethical Culture of Chicago. The author's views were widely discussed, and the criticisms and rejoinders occupy the larger part of the present volume.

The avowed purpose of the work is one which every right minded man must applaud. "Before we commence building," says the author, "let us have a plan. Philosophical views and also theologies are by no means mere theories having no practical value. They are, or rather they become if they are accepted as true, the maxims and regulative principles of our actions; and any ethics without a *philosophical view* back of it is no ethics, but ethical sentimentality" (p. viii.) To place a *philosophical view* back of ethics is the author's aim, a praiseworthy undertaking surely. The Catholic student may think this *actum agere*, he being familiar with a very well defined *philosophical view* back of ethics, one that invites and will stand the keenest analysis both from a historical and a scientific standpoint. Unfortunately Dr. Carus knows nothing of Catholic philosophy. Indications of this fact are patent on every page of this and his other writings. Now, what philosophical view does he propose? "Allmitary conception of the universe." This, with the author, means Monism, though not Pantheism. *Enthemism* he elsewhere calls it—"the view that regards God as inseparable from the world. God is the eternal in nature." This position at once casts misgivings on the *scientific* aspect of the author's ethical basis. The first characteristic of the scientific mind is acumen and accuracy in distinguishing. Where such fundamentally diverse entities as God and the universe are declared inseparable one may be prepared to find much other confusion. And such is the case here. The work superabounds in aphoristic generalities in which truth and error are hopelessly confounded. The negative assertions are, however, sufficiently plain. For instance we are told "that dogmatic religion can no longer serve as a basis for ethics. We [the author, it is presumable; he



mentions none other] no longer believe in the possibility of a supernatural revelation and search for another and a natural reason why we should live morally" (p. viii.) The author has much contempt, though some condescension, for the "old ethics," another convenient generality. The main objection he makes to the "old ethics" is that it was built on "supernatural religion." Now, "the religions of supernaturalism teach that the source of all goodness and morality is a great personal being residing beyond the skies; and he, by means of magic, implants into man's bosom the ethical ideal:" . . . whereas "the religion of science [whereof the author's system of ethics is the soul] recognizes that there is a power, an all-pervading law in the universe, which is not personal, but super-personal (p. 20). Again, "the old religion of magic teaches that God works by magic and can in turn be worked upon by magic. Hence the institutions of prayer and adoration in spite of Christ's command that God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. The new worship ["the religion of science"] is no adoration, but obedience to the ethical laws. The God of science demands no creed, but deeds" (p. 21). Many more such dicta might be quoted illustrative of what the author is persuaded is *not* the basis of ethics. As to what that basis is two things are certain: It must be constituted of "facts" and must be "scientific," for "the religion of science accepts the verdicts of science. This does not mean that the opinion of every scientist is to be accepted as science, but only those statements which are proved by rational arguments and can be verified by experience, or, if possible, also by experiments." [*The Religion of Science*, p. 12.] As an illustration of such a statement the following will serve: Ethical "rules must have had a very slow growth at first; they developed unconsciously in the era when man was still an animal living in herds. Civilized society evolved from savage life in the degree that certain rules of conduct were more and more clearly recognized" (p. 5.) One is naturally curious to know the rational argument, experience or experiment on which this statement is based.

The author's ingenuous invitation of criticism and his readiness "if convinced of an error to change his opinion and accept the truth, whatever it be," is deserving of praise. We sincerely wish we could contribute something towards this end, the more so as there are manifest signs of high aspirations throughout his work. To use the words of one of his critics: "The author's innate goodness, loftiness of spirit reveals itself in his combating egotism, in

his lifting up his readers out of the slough of 'Spencerianism' and in the fact that he reposes the supreme ethical law in *truth*" (p. 323.) Criticism, however, of any avail would carry us much beyond our present limits, as we believe the author's entire philosophy statement would mean the writing of a much larger book than sophical system, root and branch, to be false. The making good of this statement would mean the writing of a much larger book than his own. In vindication, however, of the "Scientific" basis of the "old ethics" Dr. Carus might find some enlightenment from a study of Cathrien's *Moral Philosophie* (3rd edit., Herder, St. Louis, 1899), Guthberlet's *Ethik und Religion* (Münster, 1892), and *Der Mechanische Monismus* (Paderborn, 1893), as also Ming's *Data of Ethics* (New York, 1897). F. P. S.

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CHRISTIANITY OR AGNOSTICISM? By the *Abbe Louis Picard*. Authorized Translation revised by the *Rev. J. G. Macleod, S. J.* London: Sands & Co., 1899. 80, pp. xxvi, 633.

A young man has hardly reached the years of reflection when he is beset by the temptation to doubt. He sees around him the schism of minds on the vital problems of humanity. He has been told and he himself observes that men of high mental endowments are anti-Christians and even atheists. He notices that the trend of contemporary science is drifting from or set in opposition to the supermaterial and much more the supernatural. As a child the authority of parent or teacher suffices to protect him. But the older he grows, the more he reflects, the more doubt pursues him. He feels, however, that the beliefs he had imbibed are the basis of his moral life, and he is urged by an imperative conscience to render, in satisfying terms, an account to himself of his religious convictions. He reads and inquires. Science answers him with the promise of an ultimate explanation of the riddles of existence, but the conflicting views of its recognized professors only deepen his perplexity. This in the rough is the Abbé Picard's sketch of the religious perplexity of the French youth. It is for them, thus beset by doubt, and in danger of losing their hold on religious truth, that some three years ago he wrote his *Chrétien ou Agnostique*. The book was favorably received in France, for it fitted in with the intellectual and moral needs and environments of the young men and women in the Lycée and University, and offered the needed mental direction of youth entering on the duties of life. Two leading purposes control the author's thought: First,

to prove that whilst modern physical science has wrought stupendous prodigies, it has no satisfactory answer to the problems of human origin, nature, conduct and destiny; the answer is given only in and by Christianity; secondly, to set forth in a way sufficient to convince the fair minded, the reasonable grounds of Christianity in its one historical and logical form, Catholicism. In other words the author's aim is to contrast the intellectual inanity and the moral mockery of Agnosticism with the strength and satisfactory responsiveness of Christianity. "*Christianity alone* gives a precise and a full answer to the problems that disquiet the human mind. Its solutions are not a *perhaps*, but a certainty" (p. 578.) In the unfolding of this thesis the author has had in view the popular difficulties and objections urged by captious infidelity against supernatural religion. His statement of his adversaries' position is always generous and his solutions full and clear. The book was not intended for the class room and is not technical or didactic. It is popular in the better sense of the term; not weak nor superficial. The style is luminous, often eloquent and reflects wide familiarity with the main fields of literature. Above all, the author's apostolic spirit breathes throughout; for the work was wrought by the mind, but written with the heart.

The peculiar mental environment of the youth of France is not precisely duplicated amongst English speaking people. Infidelity with us is not so aggressive nor so subtle. In this respect the Latin nations are an illustration of the *corruptio optimi pessima*. Nevertheless irreligion is sufficiently wide spread and insidious to make a translation of the Abbé Picard's work desirable, and one takes up the version here at hand with a certain pleasing anticipation that one may recommend it both as a remedy to those whose minds may unhappily have been already infected by the agnostic virus, and as a preservative to such as are obliged to live more or less in contact with the evil. The work is not, we need scarcely observe, such as will profit the simple-minded Christian. Unfortunately the translation is not done in a style which will warrant one's recommending it to an Agnostic. The literature of Agnosticism owes most of its ill-starred potency to the lightfulness and grace of its form. The mind addicted to such reading will hardly relish the Gallicized diction of the present translation. It is a pity the work was not adopted rather than translated. In the effort to be literal the sense of the original has sometimes been lost. For instance: "Science is the *verification of things in being*" (p. 5) is not a happy rendering of science *est la verification d'une chose existante*" (p. 7 of the original.)

Mr. Renan would not care to have his definition of time Englished in the sentence given at the top of page eleven. (Original, p. 12.) The phrase *éternel devenir* evidently means the *eternal process of becoming, fieri*, not *the future*, as it is here given. The translator has added occasional foot notes. Their authorship should have been mentioned, for we are sure the Abbé Picard would not wish to answer for the absurd expression at the bottom of page nine: "Extended matter is now proved to be an imaginary hypothesis." It is to be hoped that in a future edition the spelling of proper names, and the accentuation of French and Greek words will receive more careful attention. Though the translation will not satisfy the reader's literary taste, it is of value to the intelligent Catholic, lay and clerical, as bringing together within moderate compass the leading objections of Agnosticism and the fundamental arguments for Catholicism.

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THE ROMAN PRIMACY, A. D. 430-451. By the Rev. Luke Rivington, M. A., D. D. 12mo, pp. xxii, 405. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The author tells us in his preface that while engaged in preparing a new edition of his book on "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter," which he hoped to bring from the press this year, he became convinced that the best answer to many difficulties raised against the historical proofs of Papal Supremacy and Papal Infallibility is to be found in a more detailed account of some crucial passage in the history of the Church within the first few centuries. For this reason he chose the twenty-one years in the first half of the fifth century, beginning with 430, and ending with 451, and entered into such detail as to gather together sufficient material to fill the present volume.

That particular period has been chosen because during those twenty-one years three very important councils were held in the East. Two of them were among the first of the *Œcumenical* Councils, and the third, between these two, was meant to be *Œcumenical*. The two most important of the group, the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, were convened to deal with the fundamental doctrine of Christianity. On those occasions the Church settled for all time two of the most fundamental points in regard to the great mystery of the Incarnation.

In these two councils we see the Church in combined action, dealing with a most important question of doctrine. This is the first clear view that we have of such action, for, historically speak-

ing, the Council of Ephesus was the first of the *Œcumenical Councils*, of which we have anything like ample records.

In trying to understand the true position of the Pope in the Church at the present time we must ask ourselves what was his position in the ancient Church? What was thought of his claims to Supremacy and Infallibility in those early days, and then what should be thought of them in these latter days. If by studying the action of the Church at this most critical period of her existence we find that her venerable head was looked up to as the authorized guardian of that body of revealed truth given by Christ for the permanent welfare of the human race, we must conclude that he was its guardian from the beginning, and that he will continue to be its custodian until the end.

The history of these councils would be interesting in any form, but it is particularly attractive as set forth by Doctor Rivington in this volume. He went over the historic road slowly and carefully before he entered the Catholic Church, and only when he had proved the way for himself did he invite any one else to go up by it. His researches, as well as his taste and ability, peculiarly fitted him for a task like the present. An indefatigable worker, he brought all his talent to bear on the task which he set for himself, and performed it conscientiously.

One who knew him well has said: "Never was a writer more conscientious or more painstaking in his literary work. How often have we known him to devote weeks and months of patient research in the British Museum or other libraries to get even a minute detail of his subject, so that the truth and nothing but the exact and irrefutable truth should appear upon his pages."

A melancholy interest is attached to the book, because since its publication the gifted author has died. His friends in England are now collecting subscriptions to erect a memorial column to him in St. Peter's Chapel in the Westminster Cathedral. This chapel is chosen as peculiarly appropriate because of his vigorous defence of the position of the successors of St. Peter in the first five centuries. As a friend has well said, "no recent works have so thoroughly and minutely followed up the misrepresentations by non-Catholics of the originals of the Councils as his have." Shortly before his death he had agreed with another writer to join him in the work of placing the originals of the eight General Councils in an English dress in the hands of students. His constant reading of the Latin and Greek of those days especially fitted him for such a work, and it will be very difficult to find another so well equipped.

J. P. T.

**HARD SAYINGS.** A Selection of Meditations and Studies by *George Tyrrell, S. J.*, author of "Nova et Vetera." 12mo, pp. xx, 469. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

"Although the following conferences and meditations were in no way originally designed to be parts of a whole, written, as they were, at sundry times and in divers manners, yet there has been some imperfect attempt at method in their selection and arrangement which, though not very apparent on the surface, may make itself felt in the unity of their effect upon the reader's mind. Their purport is to illustrate and, so to say, turn over in various ways a very few of the deepest and most wide-reaching principles of Catholic Christianity. In choosing "Hard Sayings" for a title, allusion is made to the occasion when many of the disciples of Jesus turned back and walked with Him no more, because of His doctrine concerning the great Mystery of Divine Love, in which all the other mysteries of the Catholic faith are gathered up. That this man should give us His Flesh to eat, that bread should be His Body, is indeed a "hard saying" for the many who are the slaves of their imagination, and who fancy that they know something of the constitution of matter and the limits of Divine omnipotence. But for the more thoughtful it is a far harder saying that God should so care for man's love as to come down from Heaven and take flesh that He might woo man in man's own language—the language of suffering. And if these things are hard to the understanding it is still harder for the weak will to hear that God must be loved back as He has loved us, with a love that yields pain for pain, sacrifice for sacrifice, death for death.

Here the Church has ever been faithful to her Master. Others have, with false kindness, mitigated the "hard sayings," and prophesied smooth things and drawn away the weak from her side. But with all her human frailty, ever shrinking from the stern ideal of the cross, from the bitterness of the Chalice of her Passion, when asked she has but one ruthless answer, namely, that it is only through many tribulations that we can enter into the Kingdom of God; that Christ's yoke is easy, not because it is painless, but because love makes the pain welcome."

We have quoted this much from the introduction to the book before us, because the author explains its purpose much more clearly and briefly than we could, and because the quotation will give to the reader some idea of the author's style. Father Tyrrell writes well on any subject that he treats, and he never treats a subject that he does not know. He is a writer whose name is a guarantee of excellence. He always presents his subjects in a manner

peculiarly his own, and leads his readers up to them by new roads so that they see them from a new point of view. In the present instance he deals altogether with old subjects, but he has a new purpose in view. He explains it in these words:

"It is, then, the belief that a deeper and more comprehensive view of the Church's ethical and spiritual ideals; of her conception as to the capacities, the dignity and destiny of the human soul, of the hopes that she inspires in the midst of so much that is otherwise disheartening, of the light which she sheds over the dark abyss of sin and temptation and sorrow—it is the belief that such a comprehensive view may in some cases serve far more effectually than any direct apologetic to win, to establish, or to confirm an abiding faith in her divine origin and operation, that must partly excuse or justify an otherwise reprehensible popularizing of the "secrets of the King."

A noble purpose, indeed, and admirably carried out. The book is well worthy of the consideration of all thoughtful men. It was badly needed, and it will surely benefit greatly all who read it slowly and with serious thought.

J. P. T.

**MANUAL OF PATROLOGY.** By the *Reverend Bernard Schmid, O. S. B.* Freely translated from the fifth German edition by a Benedictine. Revised with notes and additions for English readers by the *Right Rev. Mgr. V. G. Schobel, D. D.*, with preface by the *Right Rev. J. A. Hedley, Bishop of Newport.* 12mo, pp. 351. St. Louis: B. Herder.

Here is a very important book. It might have been called "An Introduction to the Fathers," for in the hands of the student it will answer the same purpose in regard to patristic writings that the introduction to the Sacred Scriptures answers in regard to the Bible. This is evident from the words of the author in the introduction, where he thus sets forth the scope of the book: "By Patrology is meant a systematic treatment and exposition of such preliminary subjects and questions as are necessary to acquire a proper knowledge of the writings of the Fathers, and to make proper use of them in theology. Patrology, therefore, differs from the knowledge of the Fathers, or what is called patristical science, the special object of which is to arrange systematically, according to definite principles, all that can be gathered from the works of the Fathers concerning matters of faith, morals, and ecclesiastical discipline. Nor is it the same as the history of the ancient Christian literature, because the latter includes the literary works not only of the Fathers, but also of the other ancient ecclesiastical writers, and confines itself to the

consideration of the historical development of Christian literature, as such.

The object, therefore, of Patrology in this narrow sense, is in the first place, to lay down and establish the rules and principles which help to determine the authority of the Fathers, and the authenticity, right use, and application of their works in theology. In the next place, its object is to give some account of the life, education, mental training, literary and pastoral work of each of the Fathers, also to determine their precise position in the church, with their relative merits in ecclesiastical science. A further duty of Patrology is to explain the substance, scope, and number of their writings, the peculiarity of their views, their style of writing, and finally to indicate the last editions of their works. In its wider and less proper sense, however, it also takes into consideration those ecclesiastical authors who, though not Fathers, have yet exercised more or less influence upon the development of Christian life and knowledge." This explanation of the scope of the work clearly shows the importance of it, and Bishop Hedley in the Preface speaks of the necessity of the knowledge of the Fathers for every divinity student. He also points out the impossibility of mastering the whole collection of their writings. It is equally difficult to cull from them what is needed, and hence the necessity of a guide book. This volume does all that it promises. After preliminary chapters on the "Meaning and Object of Patrology," "Importance of Patrology," "History of Patrology," and "Division of Patrology," the author explains the meaning of the terms "Writer," "Father," and "Doctor," and then shows the authority of the Fathers in general, singly, in matters of faith and morals, in the interpretation of Holy Scriptures and in ascetical and pastoral theology. Then follow biographical sketches of the Fathers with lists of their works and of the different editions. Altogether, the book is a most welcome addition to the theologian's library, whether he be a first year divinity student, or a veteran in the service.

J. P. T.

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THE HISTORY OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA, AND HER COMPANIONS, with a Translation of her Treatise on Consummate Perfection. By *Augusta Theodosia Drane*. Third edition in two volumes. 8vo, pp. 389 and 376. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Before the publication of this biography, sixty other Lives of St. Catherine of Siena had appeared in various languages. The author's apology for adding another to the long list is, that most



of them are little more than translations of the original Legend written by Raymond of Capua, the Saint's Confessor, and only two of them are in English. These two are unsatisfactory for several reasons, and therefore a full life, chronologically arranged, drawing generously on the letters of the Saint, and on the testimony of her companions, together with some account of those companions, seemed to be called for.

"In the present volumes the writer has aimed at giving the facts of St. Catherine's life as recorded by other biographers, restoring their chronological order, and at the same time supplementing them with additional matter drawn from original sources hitherto either partially or entirely neglected. Very ample use has been made of St. Catherine's own letters, those wonderful compositions of which we as yet possess no English translation, but a knowledge of which is essential to our forming any real acquaintance with the saintly writer. Yet the letters themselves cannot be understood without some explanation of the history and circumstances of those to whom they were addressed; and this naturally introduces the reader to the members of that spiritual "family" of which she was the Mother and Head."

"Stupendous as is the story of her life, it has a side which brings her within the reach of ordinary sympathies. Catherine, the Seraphic Bride of Christ, espoused to Him at Siena; stigmatised at Pisa; supported on the Bread of Life; the Pacificator of Florence; the ambassadress of Gregory; the Councillor of Urban; the Martyr for the Unity of the Holy See;—this is indeed a character that overwhelms us with its greatness. But Catherine, the Lover of God and man, who gave away her will with her heart to her divine spouse; the tender mother of a spiritual family; the friend of the poor; the healer of feuds, the lover of her country;—Catherine, with all her natural gifts of prudence and womanly tact; with her warm affections, and her love of the beautiful; with her rare genius, refined spiritualised, and perfected Divine illumination; surrounded by men and women like ourselves, with whose infirmities she bore, and whom she loved as heartily as they loved her in return; Catherine, with her wise and graceful words, her "gracious smile," and her sweet attractive presence,—this is a being to be loved and imitated; we open our very hearts to receive her within them, and to enshrine her there, not as a saint only, but as a mother and a friend."

ST. JOHN DAMASCENE ON HOLY IMAGES, followed by Three Sermons on the Assumption, translated from the Original Greek by *Mary H. Allies*. 12mo, pp. 216. London: Thomas Baker.

There is a peculiar fitness in the appearance of this book in England at this time. That most senseless of all heresies, Iconoclasm, has reappeared in the attacks which are now being made on churches in which Ritualists worship. We had begun to flatter ourselves that we had passed through all stages of heresy, never again to return to them, somewhat as in childhood we pass through measles and whooping-cough and the other ills of that age never again to return to them. But dear! dear! in this age of enlightenment, as if to give the lie to all our boastfulness, we find ourselves returning to the most senseless of all senseless heresies—Iconoclasm. Now, isn't it sad that we should be such bad behaved children at a when we ought to behave best. If we were smaller, those who love us would spank us and put us out of the way until we were better minded. But we are too big for that, and therefore they must reason with us.

It is not necessary to invent a new way. The disease is an old one, having appeared first in the eighth century, and the remedy is just as old. God raised up the physician in the person of St. John Damascene, and Mrs. Allies has placed the prescription within the reach of all by translating the admirable treatise of the Christian Doctor into English. No new argument is needed. The use of images in divine worship is just as reasonable now as it was in the eighth century or the first. It is God's way. The Son is the image of the Father; from eternity by essence, and in time taking a visible form to teach us that our worship of God is through corporeal things.

We are so constituted that we must have images: our minds cannot reach God without the help of corporeal things.

How consoling it is for a Catholic to find himself standing behind those champions of his faith who lived and fought hundreds of years ago, and whose words are as true and powerful now as they were then, because the doctrines in defence of which they were spoken never change.

The defence of St. John Damascene is as timely now as it was when it was first made. Mrs. Allies has chosen a good work and she has done it well. The book is very nicely made: good print, good paper, good general makeup. Altogether one of the notable books of the year.

J. P. T.

THE INNER LIFE OF LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON, with Notes of Retreat and Diary. 1880, pp. 400. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Lady Fullerton is tolerably well known to the Catholic reading world through her works of fiction. Her exterior life, writings and good works have been recorded in an admirable "Memoir," written in French by the late Mrs. Craven, and translated into English by the late Father Coleridge, S. J. In the preface to the translation, Father Coleridge states, "that a fuller and more detailed life might have been looked for, and that the present one is but a sketch."

The volume before us gives that fuller and more detailed life. It is not an enlargement of the previous work, but rather a supplement to it; whereas the former volume gave us a picture of the exterior life, the present one deals with the interior.

It may surprise the general public to hear that, although Lady Fullerton has been dead only fourteen years, those who know her best, and who know also how jealously the Church watches over the honor and glory of her saints, and how long and searching is the examination which precedes the "Introduction of the Cause" which results in the person in question being honored with the title of Venerable, believe that an account of her holy example and rare virtues should be brought to the notice of the Holy See. They have been encouraged to take such action by competent authority in Rome, and hence this book. It gives glimpses into her inner life which could be gotten in no other way. This is especially true of her letters, of her notes or retreats, and of her diary.

It is most edifying, and besides answering the purpose for which it was primarily written, it ought to be of great value to ladies in the world who are trying to serve God in the midst of distractions.

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TRACTATUS DE CENSURIS, CASIBUS RESERVATIS, IRREGULARITATIBUS ET LIBRIS PROHIBITIS. ADUSUM ALUMNORUM SEMINERII ARCHIEP. MECHLINENSIS. ED. ALTERA. 1897, pp. 239. pt. 3.30 francs.  
SACRA LITURGIA TOM. I. TRACTATUS DE OFFICIO DIVINO, AUCTORE J. V. Van Der Strapper. 1898, pp. 337. pt. 4.30 francs: Mechliniae: H. Dessain (Benziger, N. Y.)

The Diocesan Seminary of Mechlin, in Belgium, is fortunate in having a theological faculty which produces such excellent manuals as these, for the use of its own students. The series whereof these two volumes form a part covers the full course of Moral Theology and Sacred Liturgy, five small volumes being devoted to the latter and eleven to the former branch. There are, of course, few institutions that can afford to adopt so extensive a curriculum of study as the use of these text books implies, though

there is something to be said in favor of generously constructed instruments of this kind even when put into operation under narrower limitations of time. The author of each of these manuals had evidently in view the principle of time and labor saving. Each has moulded his matter in the shape of question and answer, thus facilitating the apprehension of the essence of the subjects; and this is farther enhanced in the case of the first volume by the use of marginal synopses, and in the second by typographical variety.

For the rest the titles sufficiently indicate to those interested in theological studies the general scope of the works.

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A **DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE**, dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by *James Hastings, M. A., D. D.*, with the assistance of *John A. Selbie, M. A.* In four imperial octavo volumes. Vol. 2, Feign-Kinsman, pp. 870. Maps and illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This work was noticed in the *Quarterly* when the first volume came from the press. The second volume is fully up to the standard of the first, and that is very high in many respects.

The editors claim for the book that it is up to date; that it is based on the latest revisions of the text; that it is more comprehensive than any preceding dictionary; and that it keeps pace with the development of the history of the Hebrew people, and the advances made by archaeologists and geographists in recent times. It seems to bear out all these claims, and yet it fails in one very important particular—it has not one Catholic editor on its large staff. The need for such a one is shown very strongly in the present volume under the heading "James," where the statement is made without the mention of the possibility of any other opinion, that James was the natural son of St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin. We have chosen this instance at random, and called attention to it in order that our readers may understand that all such questions are dealt with from one point of view only.

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**DE VOTI NATURA, OBLIGATIONE, HONESTATE: COMMENTATIO THEOLOGICA QUAM SCRIPSIT C. Kirchberg, D. D.** Münster (Westf.) Asschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1897, pp. 222; pr. 3.60 marks.

The subject of vows is beset with such difficulties and is nevertheless so essential a factor in the sacerdotal and religious states of the Church that it surely deserves to be selected from the general body of Theological Science to be given special treatment. This is what Dr. Kirchberg, Professor in the Diocesan Seminary

of Paderborn, has done in the present monograph. He enters somewhat minutely into the definition, matter, psychology and classification of vows; the conditions and interpretation of their binding power, cessation, dispensation, commutation; and closes with a strong apology for vows in general and the religious vows in particular. The work is written in a singularly clear style. What especially commends it to the earnest student is the bibliographical apparatus, which reflects the broad erudition and patient labor that has come to be the recognized distinction of the German professor.

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**AN ESSAY CONTRIBUTING TO A PHILOSOPHY OF LITERATURE.** By *Brother Asarias*, of the Christians Schools. Seventh edition revised and enlarged (reprint.) 12mo, pp. 289. Phila.: John Jos. McVey.

It is sixteen years since this essay first saw the light on printed page, and it has lost nothing of its excellence with the lapse of time. On the contrary it has gained, because its good qualities have been confirmed by the events of passing years.

Truth does not change. It may seem to change, because other things are constantly changing and they present it to us under different aspects, but in itself it is always the same. Hence true philosophy cannot change, and hence the lasting worth of this essay. It brought its author before the literary world very prominently, because its worth was at once recognized by reading, thoughtful men, irrespective of creed. It took a place in the front rank of thought-moving literature which it has retained until the present time, and will retain indefinitely. It gave its author a literary standing in the community which he was in every way able to sustain, but which he might not have gained by years of labor on other lines.

Such a book cannot be reproduced too often, nor multiplied too quickly, and the publisher who invests his capital in such good work, should be highly commended, and well supported.

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**REPRODUCTIONS OF THE FAMOUS PAINTINGS** in the Imperial Cathedral at Speyer on the Rhine. Large octavo paper. New York: J. Shafer.

This is a very laudable attempt to reproduce and circulate excellent works of art, which in the original must remain hidden from the eyes of the greater number of Catholics who cannot travel to them. This collection consists of thirty-eight photographic reproductions, beginning with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and ending with the closing scenes of the life

of Christ on earth. The originals are well worthy of reproduction, and the reproductions are well worthy of the originals.

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**ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA.** By *Henri Joly*, author of "The Psychology of the Saints." Translated by *Mildred Partridge*, with a preface by *George Tyrrell, S. J.* 12mo, pp. xi, 262. London: Duckworth & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is the sixth of the new series of *Lives of the Saints*, which was begun with "The Psychology of the Saints." A lengthy review of the first three volumes was made in the *Quarterly* when they first appeared. They were excellent in every particular, and gave promise that the whole series would be a valuable contribution to hagiography. That promise is being kept. Each new contribution that comes from the press is fully up to the high standard set in the beginning, and consistently carries out the original design to set before us the man or woman as a whole and as he or she appeared in real life. They are not learned exhaustive histories, but simple, brief, truthful narratives.

Father Tyrrell's introductions go before all the volumes, and are always entertaining and instructive.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE HISTORY OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA AND HER COMPANIONS**, with a translation of her *Treatise on Consummate Perfection*, by *Augusta Theodora Drane*, author of *Christian Schools and Scholars*, etc. Third edition in two volumes, 8vo., pp. xx, 389 and 376. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

**PICTORIAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS**, with *Reflections for Every Day in the year*, compiled from *Butler's Lives* and other approved sources. Edited by *John Gilman Shea*. New edition, large, 8vo, pp. 538; nearly 400 illustrations. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**NATURAL LAW AND LEGAL PRACTICE.** Lectures delivered at the Law School of Georgetown University by *Rene I. Holaind, S. J.* 8vo, pp. 344. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**THE SACRAMENTS EXPLAINED ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING AND DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY TREATISE ON GRACE.** By the *Rev. Arthur Devine*, Passionist. 12mo, pp. xxxvi, 515. London: R. & T. Washbourne. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**ST. JOHN DAMASCENE ON HOLY IMAGES**, followed by *Three Sermons on the Assumption*. Translated from the original Greek by *Mary H. Allies*. 12mo, pp. 216. London: Thomas Baker.

**THE KING'S MOTHER**, *Memoir of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby.* By *Lady Margaret Dowdell*. 12mo, pp. 213. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**SAINT IGNATIUS LOYOLA.** By *Henri Joly*, author of "The Psychology of the Saints." Translated by *Mildred Partridge*, with a Preface by *George Tyrrell, S. J.* 12mo, pp. xiv, 262. London: Duckworth & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**THE COURSE OF CONSCIENCE.** Being a short inquiry as to the Transmission of Revelation. *H. J. Pye*. 12mo, pp. 102. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

- AN ESSAY CONTRIBUTING TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF LITERATURE.** By *Brother Aagrias*, of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. New edition. 12mo, pp. 289. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey.
- THE CHILD OF GOD, OR WHAT COMES OF OUR BAPTISM.** By *Mother Mary Loyola*, of the Bar Convent, York. Edited by *Father Thurston, S. J.* 12mo, pp. xiv, 283. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- BUSINESS GUIDE FOR PRIESTS.** By *Rev. Wm. Strang, D. D.*, Vice-Rector of American College, Louvain. 8vo, pp. 107. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE REACTION FROM AGNOSTIC SCIENCE.** By *Rev. W. J. Madden*, author of "Disunion and Reunion." Second edition. 12mo, pp. 206. St. Louis: B. Herder.
- THE ROMAN PRIMACY, A. D. 430-451.** By the *Rev. Luke Rivington, M. A., D. D.* 12mo, pp. xxii., 405. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.
- THE SACRED HEART, Anecdotes and Examples to Assist in Promoting the Devotion to the Sacred Heart.** From the original of *Rev. Dr. Jos. Keller.* 16mo, pp. 256. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE BLESSED VIRGIN, Anecdotes and Examples to Illustrate the Honor Due to the Mother of God.** From the original of *Rev. Dr. Jos. Keller.* 16mo, pp. 241. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- OUR MONTHLY DEVOTIONS.** By *Very Rev. Dean A. A. Lings.* 16mo, pp. 635. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, Anecdotes and Examples to Illustrate the Honor and Glory Due to the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.** From the original of *Rev. Dr. Jos. Keller.* 16mo, pp. 251. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- LIBRARY OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, Works of this Doctor of the Church Translated into English.** By the *Very Rev. H. B. Canon Mackey, O. S. B.*, under the direction of the *Right Rev. John C. Hedley, O. S. B.*, Bishop of Newport. Vol. 3. *The Catholic Controversy.* Second edition, revised and augmented. 12mo, pp. xxii. 393. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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## THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC AS A PERSECUTOR OF THE CHURCH. ✓

“THE republican form of government is that which divides us the least,” said Thiers in the first days of 1871. A bitter enemy of the legitimate royalty, and therefore unwilling to play the game of a Monck; an inveterate skeptic, and therefore unable to pose as a Washington; entertaining a velleity in favor of the younger and traitorous branch of the Bourbons, because its cause was that of an alliance between the Revolution and a veneer of respectability; the ex-Orleanist Minister should rather have avowed that he advocated the republican system, because it alone then furnished him an opportunity of becoming the head of the State. During the entire political career of this chameleon-like statesman, if the grandeur and prosperity of France ever engaged his attention, it was after a merely secondary fashion; power for himself, to be attained by any and every means, was the sole end of his policy. With reason did Lamartine thus apostrophize him: “In you there is no principle; but there is a passion—the passion to govern, to govern alone, to govern always, to govern with and against all, to govern at any price.” It was this unscrupulous lust of power, too ignoble to merit the name of ambition, that led Thiers to associate himself with men whom he had hitherto termed “furious madmen”—men whose alliance, as he said, “could be nothing else than a cheating game on both sides; a game in which each player was a liar in the mind of his neighbor; a compromise which rendered all engaged in it unworthy of public respect.” No wonder, therefore, that when,

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on May 24, 1873, Thiers tendered his resignation of the presidency to the National Assembly, hoping that it would not be accepted, this truly able man, after forty years of governmental experience which could not endow him with the faculty of organization, was relegated to private life.<sup>1</sup> When the reins of power were assumed by Marshal MacMahon, eleven hours after the retirement of Thiers, the lovers of law and order conceived great hopes for France, and the ever-sanguine partisans of Legitimacy fancied that Henry V. would soon mount the throne of his ancestors. The trust of the Legitimists seemed indeed to be well founded when, on August 5, the Comte de Paris, head of the hitherto rebellious Orleans branch of the Bourbons, repaired to Frohsdorff, the residence of the Comte de Chambord, and formally acknowledged that Prince as King of France and of Navarre, thus tendering an *amende* for the treachery of Philippe-Egalité, and for the usurpation of Louis Philippe. It is generally supposed that the failure of these royalist anticipations was due to the too straightforward letter in which the Comte de Chambord declared that he would never ascend the throne of St. Louis as "King of the Revolution;" that he would decline a sceptre which would be a symbol of principles which he detested. It is certain that this letter caused a division in the royalist ranks; that the nondescripts who are styled "Liberal Catholics" could not bring themselves to place principle above fancied utility. But it is more than probable that the failure of the royalist restoration was chiefly due to the machinations of Bismarck and of the Masonic Order. The publication of the Arnim documents showed that Bismarck regarded it as the interest of Germany to prevent a coronation of Henry V. as King of France; that the astute and phenomenally unprincipled chancellor felt that with the restoration of her legitimate monarchy France would recover her ancient glory. In the despatches revealed by the Arnim affair we read that "Germany need fear nothing from either the Republic or the Empire;" that "it is for the interest of Germany that France should remain weak and without allies;" that "the Republic, and if not the Republic, the Empire, will furnish the least probability of a resurrection of France," and that "a monarchical France would be a danger for Germany." Dr. Busch tells us that one day at table Bismarck exclaimed to him: "There must be no Bourbons or Orleans in

<sup>1</sup> Thiers died suddenly, while seated at dinner with his wife, on September 3, 1877. Whether he had ever made his First Communion is doubtful. Certainly during the greater part of his life he was an avowed Deist, somewhat after the fashion of Voltaire. However, in his later years he frequently insisted on his Catholicism, and at the beginning of his last will and testament these words were found: "I am a Catholic, and intend to die a Catholic." Therefore, when Mme. Thiers requested that a Christian funeral should be accorded to her husband, no objection was made by the ecclesiastical authorities. VILLEFRANCHE; "Adolphe Thiers," in the "Illustrious Persons of the Nineteenth Century." Paris, 1882.

France!" As for the action of Freemasonry in the matter of Henry V., we know that the Masonic powers scarcely regard it as a secret. The Masonic journal, *La Révolution Française*, in its issue of May 12, 1879, said that when there was a probability of an acclamation of Henry V., "Gambetta prepared and organized throughout France, and even in the army, an insurrection, in comparison with which that of March 18, 1871 (the Commune) would have been mere child's play." It was proved before the tribunals of Autun and Dijon that during the monarchical agitation of 1873 the Masons of Saone-et-Loire planned to kidnap the Marchioness de MacMahon, a relative of the marshal-president, and to hold her as a hostage for the permanence of his republicanism. The chief of this conspiracy was Boyssset, "Venerable" of the Lodge in Chalons, and a deputy in the National Assembly. This latter fact prevented his trial. In the *Echo de Saone-et-Loire*, October 15, 1874, we read that two of the conspirators, the brothers Bontemps, who were leaders in the International, were willing to further the advent of a spurious monarchy rather than the legitimate one of the elder Bourbons, and that accordingly they tendered their services and that of their fellow-sectarians to the Orleans princes. That invaluable Masonic authority, the *Chaine d'Union*, to which we are indebted for so much of our information concerning the Brethren of the Three Points, gives in its issue of July, 1882, a discourse which was pronounced in the Lodge "Free Thought" of Aurillac on the preceding March 4, and from which we cull these morsels: "You know that it is to the grand Revolution of 1789 that we owe the political reforms which have changed the face not only of Europe, but of the entire universe (*sic*). But who prepared, who directed—in a word, who made that Revolution? You, gentlemen, you—Freemasonry, the daughter of the Reformation. And after the Revolution and the Empire, Freemasonry continued the work of the liberation of the peoples. Persecuted by the Restoration, it was not unconcerned with the revolution of 1830. Then it fought Louis Philippe, who was to be, according to Lafayette, the best of republicans, but who was merely the King of the upper *bourgeoisie*. Finally, on May 16 (1877) I see you again at work. When treason had raised the enemies of the Republic to power, you Freemasons rushed into the breach, fighting the foe inch by inch, and finally forcing him to a capitulation in which you buried all hopes of a monarchical restoration."

The administration of President MacMahon, although supported by a Conservative majority in the Senate, was in continual warfare with the Radical majority in the Chamber of Deputies which followed the lead of Gambetta. And this Radical majority of the

lower House was persistently encouraged by all the Bismarckian journals of Germany and by the entire Masonico-Jewish press of the world. In 1877, when monarchical hopes were again reviving, the subsidized Bismarckian journals continually insisted that France, not yet recovered from her wounds of 1870-71, would feel the effects of another German invasion, if the imminent election should prove favorable to the policy of the marshal-president; and all these German journalistic warnings were carefully detailed to the voters by the Masonic agents. Ten days after the triumph of the Radicals at the polls, that is, on October 24, 1877, the Supreme Council of the Scotch Rite of Masons gave a grand banquet to all the brethren whom the Lodges of every land had sent to congratulate the adepts of France. Brother Jules Simon offered a toast "to the triumphant Republic advancing in the future without impediment." Brother Van Humbeek, Grand Master of Belgian Masonry and Minister of Public Instruction in his then sorely-tried country, "congratulated France on the point to which she had arrived." And what was this point? In October, 1872, a year before there was any talk about a monarchical restoration, there had been held in Locarno a "Convent" of the representatives of Continental Masonry. The Orient of Rome was represented by Filippo Cordova; that of Naples by Franchi; that of Palermo by La Vaccara; that of Florence by Andrea Giovanelli; that of Turin by Alberto Mario, and that of Genoa by Quadrio. The Lodges of France were represented by Felix Pyat; those of Hungary by Kossuth; those of Switzerland by Klapka, and those of Prussia by General Etzel. The questions for consideration were proposed by the Prussian, who presided at the sessions: 1. Would democracy be benefitted by a war between the France of Thiers and Italy? 2. How could a provisional government, under the dictatorship of Gambetta, be established in France? 3. What new religion ought to be substituted for Catholicism?<sup>1</sup> It is evident, therefore, that five years before the electoral condemnation of the policy of MacMahon, the votaries of the Dark Lantern had decreed the eventual supremacy of their *confrère* and tool, Gambetta; and certainly the phrase "provisional government under the dictatorship of Gambetta" fitted well the course of that disciplined parliamentary majority which neutralized such good intentions as President MacMahon may have entertained. After a multitude of concessions to the Masonico-Radical spirit of the Deputies, MacMahon finally refused to accept a measure which would have disorganized the army, and when his determination was met with the cry "submit

<sup>1</sup> *L'Univers*, November 12, 1872—*Chaine d'Union*, November, 1878—PACHTLER; "War Against Throne and Altar," p. 158.

or resign," he chose the latter course on January 30, 1879. With the advent of Grévy as president, the French Republic entered on a new phase of existence. The comparatively conservative Cabinet of MacMahon was dismissed, and in the new one the Ministry of Public Instruction was assigned to Jules Ferry.

On March 15 Ferry laid before the Deputies two bills which were aimed at an entire destruction of that freedom of education for which the Catholics of France had so persistently fought in the days of Montalembert, Lacordaire and Ozanam. One of these bills modified the composition and the duties of the Superior Council for Public Instruction, as well as those of the Academic Councils, inasmuch as it conferred all authority in the matter of teaching on the State. The other bill, which directly concerned freedom in the matter of imparting secondary and superior instruction, accorded to the State the exclusive right to examine candidates for academic degrees; it deprived all private institutions of the title and privileges of a university, and by one of its articles, the celebrated Article vii., it pretended to take the right of teaching from every religious organization which was not "authorized" by the government. The Ferry laws were merely the result of the work undertaken by the *Ligue de l'Enseignement* or Educational Association which had been founded in 1866 by Jules Macé, with the active support of Robert, director general under Duruy, then the imperial Minister of Public Instruction. The object of this league was to render all instruction gratuitous, obligatory and, above all, secular; the modicum of freedom of instruction then subsisting, a privilege which the laws of 1833 and 1850 had allowed the Catholic institutions to exercise in their brave endeavors to compete with a governmental university which enjoyed a revenue of fifty-eight millions of francs, was to be entirely abrogated. This association numbered among its active members not only nearly all the professors of the University, but also a majority of the imperial prefects, procurators and other functionaries. Macé proclaimed that this league "would reduce to practice the principles proclaimed in the Lodges," and it is interesting to note that three years afterward, in the Masonic Congress of Metz, it was this same Macé who moved that the name of God should be expunged from the statutes of Masonry—a project which was finally actuated by the Grand Convent held in Paris on September 14, 1877, after consultation with all the Lodges in the obedience of the French Grand Orient.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the birth of the league, the *Monde Maçonnique*, second only to the *Chaine*

<sup>1</sup> The statutes of the Grand Orient of France had hitherto given as the basis of Masonry "the existence of God, the study of morality and the practice of all virtues." Instead of this rather negative programme, there was now substituted "absolute freedom of conscience and human solidarity."

*d'Union* as an authority among the more intellectual of the adepts, said: "We are happy to be able to announce that the league founded by Brother J. Macé and also the project of a statue to Brother Voltaire have excited the sympathies of all our Lodges. Certainly no two subscriptions could be more in agreement than that in favor of Voltaire, which means the destruction of prejudice and superstition, and that for the league, which means a new society founded only on science and instruction. All the brethren understand this."<sup>1</sup> And in his circular of July 4, 1870, the Grand Master Babaud-Larivière said: "We are all of one mind in regard to the principle of gratuitous, obligatory and *lay* instruction." On September 24, 1878, at the banquet given by the Grand Orient on the occasion of the Great Exposition, the deputy grand-master of the Belgian Grand Orient, Bourland, thus perorated amid universal applause: "The obstacle to the intellectual development of France—that which is killing her, that which is killing us, that which is killing the entire world—is ignorance and fanaticism, the idea that the world should belong to him who is most daring in weakening the intellectual faculties of man—in brutalizing man. Let us arise against this pretension! Rome, together with Ultramontanism, ignorance and all else that comes from Rome, must perish, because of a development of an education *which will lead to morality*."<sup>2</sup> In order to obtain funds for their campaign against all religious teaching in schools, the Masons organized the *Œuvre du Sou des Écoles* or Penny Collection for the Schools throughout the Republic, and in order to inspire the people with an enthusiasm which would result in contributions, every kind of festivity was brought into requisition. Thus at the grand festival given by the Lodges of Bordeaux in the public gardens on June 24, 1879, as we learn from the *Monde Maçonnique*, "Just as the last banners of the processions (of Corpus Christi) were re-entering their respective sanctuaries," the ceremonies of irreligion were begun, and in the evening the adepts exhibited a piece of fireworks "which presented 'The Works of Masonry' as its title, and reminded the 17,000 spectators of the object being pursued by the order." Quite properly, therefore, had Macé said in a general meeting of his league on January 18, 1879: "The destiny of our association is so intimately united with that of the Republic that the sole imminence of that senatorial majority, which was to consecrate republican institutions definitely, suffices to precipitate the movement which is directed principally by us." The movement was precipitated on March 7 by the proposition of the laws prepared by Jules Ferry, a Masonic luminary whose brutal materialism had been manifested two years

<sup>1</sup> Issue of April, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> *Monde Maçonnique*, November, 1878, p. 346.

previously, when the Lodge *Clément Amitié* of Paris gave a banquet in honor of the anniversary of the reception of Littré and Wyroutboff into its bosom: "The Masonic fraternity is something *superior to all dogmas*, to all metaphysical conceptions, and *not only to all religions*, but to all philosophies. I mean that sociability is sufficient unto itself; that social morality has its guarantees and its roots in the human conscience; that it can live by itself; that now at length *it can throw away its theological crutches* and march unfettered to the conquest of the world. You are the most precious instruments for the cultivation of the social sentiment, for the development of social and lay morality. . . . *It is of the essence of Masonry to free man from the fear of death.* To this so ancient fear, to this slavery which it is so hard to crush, you oppose the strengthening and *consoling* sentiment of the continuity of the human species. . . . *When one is animated by this conviction, he has conquered for himself every liberty.*"<sup>1</sup> These remarks of Ferry remind us of the Italian sectarian utterances of Brother Mauro Macchi, Deputy in the Italian Parliament and a member of the Supreme Council of the Italian adepts, when he wrote to the *Masonic Review* in February, 1874: "The keystone of the system which opposes Masonry has always been and is the ascetic and transcendental sentiment which turns the attention of men beyond this life and induces them to consider themselves as mere travelers on earth, urging them to sacrifice everything for a happiness that will begin in the graveyard. *Until this system is destroyed by the mallet of Masonry, society will be composed mainly of poor weaklings who think of nothing but happiness in a future life.*"

Scarcely had Ferry presented his bills in the Chamber when Masonic conferences were convened throughout the Republic for the purpose of creating or augmenting a popular yearning for the blessings of irreligious education. At the conference held in Marseilles on April 5 Brother Gambini, "Venerable" of the Lodge *La Parfaite Sincérité*, drew the attention of his frenzied brethren to: "Brother Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction, endeavoring to render education essentially laic, although he is surrounded by nameless intrigues and assaults on the part of the clerical hordes. . . . But if Brother Ferry is accomplishing a work which is *essentially Masonic*, it is the duty of us Masons to aid him in the fulfilment of his mission. Let him know that he is sustained by an army in reserve which, although it is calm because it is conscious of its power, is ready nevertheless to defend his work with its life."<sup>2</sup> During the summer of 1879 Ferry made a tour through the south of France, in order to enable the Brethren of the Three Points to incite popular

<sup>1</sup> *Chaîne d'Union*, 1877, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaîne d'Union*, May, 1879.

demonstrations which might neutralize the opposition of all that was sensible or religious to his projects. Having read the many addresses which were ostentatiously presented to him by the Lodges, we quote as representative of them all some passages from that of the Lodges of Toulouse: "The Masons of Toulouse extend to you a welcome, and tender the sentiments of respect which they feel for a Minister who sustains with persistent courage a combat against the eternal enemies of civil society. Democratic France, laboring France, is with you, and Freemasonry cannot forget that the Minister of Public Instruction is one of her most distinguished sons. Freemasonry will assist you, dear brother, with all the means in her power; for she well understands that . . . it is necessary that French youth be delivered from the snares of the Jesuits. . . . Inform the Government, dear brother, that especially in this matter the Masons of Toulouse are on its side."

The proposition of the second of the Ferry laws, that which practically suppressed the free Faculties and Universities established in virtue of the law of 1875, excited sentiments of horror among the Catholics of France. When it was discussed, eloquent voices pleaded for freedom of teaching and of the religious orders; but hatred of religion led the Deputies to pass Article vii. by a vote of 330 out of 515, and to pass the law as an entirety by a vote of 362 out of 521. In the Senate, however, the propriety and justice of Article vii. were fiercely contested, and the Catholic cause was reinforced by the very unclerical Jules Simon and Laboulaye. The Senatorial vote could not be taken before March 9, 1880, and then the iniquitous article was defeated by a majority of 19, the remainder of the law being accepted. The Deputies adopted the amendment of the Senate. The law concerning the Superior Council and the Academic Councils had been slightly modified, and then passed in February. The rejection of Article vii. was not borne with equanimity by the Masons and other Radicals. Determined to withdraw the youth of France from "the clutches of the Jesuits and other teaching orders," they resuscitated the memory of several laws which had fallen into desuetude—laws which were even contrary to the vaunted principles of 1789, and which had been abolished by non-use and by an enactment of 1850. On March 29, 1880, there appeared decrees of the president, based on laws of 1790 and 1792, on the Napoleonic Concordat and on the Organic Articles which Napoleon had audaciously added to that Concordat. These decrees accorded to the "non-authorized" association which "was styled 'of Jesus,'" a delay of three months, within which term it was to withdraw from all its establishments on French territory. The same delay of three months was granted to all other "non-authorized" or-

ganizations, during which term said bodies "might apply to the government for an approbation of their statutes and rules and for a legal recognition of their establishments which then existed *de facto*. The execution of these decrees began on June 30, the officers having received instructions to finish their work before November. However, in spite of these enactments, several of the affected colleges continued to exist, thanks to the zeal of wealthy Catholics, who bought the confiscated properties and installed therein professors who were not *congréganistes* or members of any order, but who were devoted to the sacred cause of religious education. By the procedure of March 29, 1880, the French Republic declared open war on the Catholic Church; and why should it not have done so, when the Lodges pronounced the incompatibility of Catholicism and Republicanism? On May 9 Courdavaux, professor in the Faculty of Letters at Douay, gave a conference on the Sacred Scriptures (!) before the Lodge *L'Étoile du Nord* of Lille, in which he said: "The distinction between Catholicism and Clericalism is purely official, a subtlety adapted to the exigencies of the platform; but here in the Lodge we may proclaim the truth that Catholicism and Clericalism are one and the same thing. And let us add this conclusion. No man can be both Catholic and Republican. It is impossible."<sup>1</sup> It is refreshing to note the attempted justification of the Cabinet to which he belonged, made by Cazot, then Minister of Justice. In an address to the Lodge *L'Écho du Grand-Orient* of Nîmes he said: "According to a phrase that is familiar to you, we have entered on an era of difficulties, and it is not yet closed. We have many combats before us; for instance, the magistracy is to be reformed, so that it may be neither servile nor factious. The law must be respected by all, and especially by those who, under the vain pretext of defending a religious liberty *whose founders and apostles we are*, and of which they are the worst enemies, pretend to obey only a foreign sovereignty, refusing to bow before the sovereignty of their country."<sup>2</sup> We must not forget, however, that for a moment after the first enforcements of the decrees against the "non-authorized" teaching orders, there seemed to be promised an escape from the storm. The superiors of the afflicted communities had sent to the government a declaration couched in very moderate terms and approved by the French episcopate; and Grévy, supported by Freycinet, then President of the Council, had manifested a disposition to be contented with that declaration. The debates on this subject occupied the cabinet on September 16, 17 and 18, and precisely on those days the Grand-Orient was in session. The consequence of this coin-

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<sup>1</sup> The *Chaîne d'Union* published this conference in June, 1880, as "worthy of the highest praise." <sup>2</sup> *Chaîne d'Union*, 1880, p. 237.



cidence was narrated by the *Moniteur Universel* on September 22: "One of the Masons of the Convent (of the Grand-Orient) was told last Saturday about the negotiations which M. de Freycinet had held with the Vatican concerning the declaration emitted by the religious orders. He replied: 'If the President of the Council has negotiated with the Pope, he will leave the cabinet.' And on the next day, as the Mason had foretold, M. de Freycinet was forced to resign his portfolio." On September 23 a new cabinet was formed and Jules Ferry was constituted its head. The war against everything religious continued. The Sisters of Charity were expelled from the hospitals. A law establishing divorce was introduced in the Chamber. Cemeteries were secularized. It was proposed to subject seminarians to military service. Public religious processions were prohibited. New laws were enacted for the purpose of concentrating more thoroughly all instruction of youth in the hands of the State. The enforcement of the Ferry laws, primarily directed against the Jesuits, but applied also to the other orders whose members devoted themselves to teaching, was an occasion for the most revolting abuses of the governmental authority; in many instances even the honor of the army was compromised by its use in the sieges of convents and monasteries.

Under the influence of the emotions excited by these scandals, many French Catholics were then disposed to find fault with Pope Leo XIII. on account of his silence in the premises, and many blamed the Pontiff for his sympathy with, if not his instigation of the conciliatory declaration emitted by the superiors of the persecuted communities. But we must remember that from the very beginning of the anti-Catholic campaign undertaken by the Third Republic, the Holy See had realized that the circumstances were such as called for a persistent exercise of the patient prudence which is the most salient characteristic of the Roman Curia. And let us remember also, with one of the most judicious of the critics of the pontificate of Leo XIII.,<sup>1</sup> that His Holiness had deemed it wise to abstain from any demonstration which might have compromised the interests of the Church in France by throwing obstacles in the way of the relatively conciliatory advances which Freycinet seemed to be ready to make. But the Pontiff had emitted his complaints and protests in a diplomatic manner, and he was about to repeat them in a more solemn style when there appeared the semi-official proposition in regard to the declaration of the religious superiors. As for that document, well observes T'Serclaes, "there was no reason for disapproving it; not only did it contain nothing contrary to prin-

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<sup>1</sup> T'SERCLAES; "Pope Leo XIII.: His Life, His Religious, Political and Social Acts." Paris, 1894.

ciple, but it gave rise to a hope that the persecution would terminate. When these anticipations failed of realization, and when the Pontiff perceived that reticence was no longer a duty, he issued his eloquent letter to Cardinal Guibert, dated October 22, 1880." In this letter Leo XIII. gave great praise to the conduct of the French Catholics, both clerical and secular, and he lauded the heroism of the hundreds of French magistrates who had abandoned their positions rather than execute the decrees of the persecutors. In reference to the declaration of the superiors, the Pontiff reminded the superlatively zealous among the Catholics that it ought to be sufficient for them to know that "the declaration had been prepared by the authority, by the instigation, or at least by the permission of their bishops." Then the Pontiff recalled, for the benefit of the zealots, the principles on which the permissibility of the declaration was based; that is, the well-understood fact that the Church is opposed to no form of government—that the Church seeks only the good of religion in all of her relations with the civil power. "No one can deny," added His Holiness, "that in all things which are not unjust the powers that exist are to be obeyed, so that there may result a preservation of the order which is the source of public security." The Pontiff was careful to observe, however, that from what he had presented as the duty of Catholics toward the republican government of France, "it did not follow that in obeying the existing powers, they should necessarily approve whatever might be wrong in the constitution or administration of the government."

On March 28, 1882, there was promulgated a law concerning primary instruction which rendered that instruction obligatory in the case of all children who were between six and thirteen years of age; but the instruction was not necessarily to be received in the institutions of the State—a privilege which favored, of course, only those Catholics whose pecuniary condition enabled them to patronize the private schools which received no subsidies from the government. During the discussion of this law in the Senate the innate love of justice animating Jules Simon, ultra-radical though he was, impelled him to move an amendment to the effect that the children in the State schools should be taught "their duties to God and to their country;" but Schœlcher, the president of the commission charged with the examination of the law, exclaimed: "I cannot accept that amendment, as I am an atheist." The Catholics of the smaller towns and villages often succeeded in partially obviating the curse of the prohibition of religious instruction in their public schools, since the Municipal Councils enjoyed the right of naming the School Commissioners, and frequently they appointed ecclesiastics as such members. The cabinet of Freycinet was replaced

during seven months by one organized by Duclerc; and Duvaux, its Minister of Public Instruction, was apparently content with what his predecessors had effected to the detriment of the Church. But on February 21, 1883, President Grévy assigned to Ferry the task of forming a new Ministry, and of course the champion priest-eater hastened to resume his favorite occupation. Here we would note that as a Minister of Public Instruction, Ferry was animated by strange notions concerning the moral needs of the daughters of France. Whereas most of the giants of his school ever desired that their wives and daughters should be religious women, Ferry took care, when reorganizing the Normal School for Girls at Versailles, not only to appoint as president a Protestant (the widow of Jules Favre), but also to give the chair of moral science to Joseph Fabre, a notorious and rampant infidel. This Fabre, the trainer of so many of the future wives and mothers of France, wrote in his *Elements of Philosophy*: "Morality can and ought to be taught independently of any idea of a God. . . . The contrary doctrine would justify the poisoning of Socrates; it would renew the great scandal of the cross of Jesus; it would exalt Nero and Domitian; it would rekindle the pyre of Giordano Bruno; it would repeat the horrors of St. Bartholomew's Day. . . . The pretended demonstrations of the existence of God are insufficient."

Ferry signalized his advent to power by depriving innumerable pastors of their "salaries," merely because informers, often notorious liars, had denounced them as violators of unjust laws. The cross was torn from the gates of the cemeteries of Paris and in many of the other large cities. Since the Masonic designs were often thwarted by the "undue" moderation of some magistrates in their application or interpretation of the persecuting enactments, Ferry engineered through the Chamber a law which suspended the irremovability of the judges for three months; and immediately their office was taken from all the magistrates whose integrity and independence gave umbrage to the lodges. More than six hundred magistrates were thus dismissed. During 1884 the ecclesiastical budget, never too large, since it was equal to about the half of one per cent. on the value of the property stolen from the Church, was greatly diminished, the Chapter of Saint-Denis was suppressed, and the allowances of the Archbishop of Paris and of many other prelates were reduced to derisory amounts. The year 1885 witnessed no new persecutions other than the withdrawal of "salaries" from some hundreds of pastors, who were accused of influencing their voting parishioners at the previous elections. In 1886, however, the work of the Educational League was completed. We have seen that the Ferry laws of 1879 banished all members of religious organizations

from the teaching staff of the secondary and superior schools. It remained for Paul Bert to deliver what was perhaps the most effective of all blows against Catholicism in France, by means of an elaborate bill which completely laicized primary education. Bert had always frankly avowed his object. During the discussion on the Ferry projects in 1879 he had been appointed to draw up a report for a commission which rejoiced in such members as the Masonic luminaries, Louis Blanc, Lockroy, Lacretelle, Constans, Spuller, Floquet and Duvaux. In this report he had said: "Instruction must be laic, *exclusively laic*; no teacher can be taken from among the members of any religious association, whether that association be authorized or not. . . . The commissioners have not wished to trouble themselves, as legislators, with the eternal disputes of metaphysicians (on such subjects as God, the immortality of the soul, etc.) . . . We have concerned ourselves principally with the discipline of intelligence, being sure that when natural science has taught the child how to observe; when physical science has taught him how to prove; when mathematical science has taught him how to draw consequences; we will have formed a mind which will be free from prejudices and one which will not be easily seduced by sorceries and superstitions. By the study of natural phenomena the child will be superior to foolish terrors and to unworthy credulities (such as belief in future punishment for sin.) . . . He will never hope for a sudden miracle to cure the evils of society, any more than he would look for it to cure his physical maladies. The saviors will never seduce him." When Bert's bill on primary education had been presented to the Deputies, such orators as the Count de Mun, Lamarzelle and Mgr. Freppel combatted it most vigorously, and as a last resort endeavored to draw some of its poison by apposite amendments; but the Chamber passed the measure as the lodges had drafted it. It was modified but slightly by the Senate; and when it was promulgated on October 30, 1886, it was found that all members of religious communities were to disappear from the primary schools, just as they had already been expelled from the others. Such was the remedy which Bert and his brethren prescribed for a society which was afflicted with the disease of Catholicism. Article vii. had been rejected, but the Bertian substitute was a preventative, according to its author, "against the phylloxera of modern society." Therefore it was that at a banquet given by the General Council of Yonne, Bert offered the toast: "I drink to the inventor who gave us the sulphate of carbon to banish the phylloxera of the vine, and I drink also to the framer of that Article vii., which would banish the phylloxera of Catholicism."

Having given a succinct account of the chief causes which have

contributed to render the name of the Third French Republic so distressing to the ears of all faithful children of the Spouse of Christ, we would request the attention of the reader to the Encyclical *No-bilissima Gallorum Gens*, which Pope Leo XIII. issued in June, 1884—a document which portrays the history of the relations between the Holy See and France during the previous few years, which recapitulates in a most solemn manner the evils inflicted on the Church by those who now guide the destinies of the Eldest Daughter of the Church, and which indicates the causes of those evils and assigns their remedies. Naturally the Pontiff begins by reminding the world of the Christian glories which have pre-eminently distinguished France; of praises which, more than any other nation, France has received from the Sovereign Pontiffs; of the gifts which France has received from God in the natural order; and then His Holiness laments that “sometimes France has forgotten herself and has neglected the duties which God imposed on her.” However, the Pontiff consolingly remarks: “France has never given herself entirely to such madness, nor has she forgotten herself for a long time.” But now, we are reminded, in the entire extent of Christendom there circulates the poison of wicked doctrine—a doctrine which aims at the complete destruction of every Christian institution, and in France the evil presents itself in the guise of a heterodox philosophy which has given birth to a spirit of immoderate liberty and *in the form of a secret society which has sworn the death of Catholicism*. The Pope insists that “no State can be prosperous when virtue and religion languish;” for without the idea of God authority and law lose their force, governments become tyrannies, the governed become rebels—such are the consequences of a forgetfulness of God. Again, unless society has recourse to God, its Protector, it cannot hope for His blessing. History demonstrates this fact, and most especially is the fact shown by the history of France during the last hundred years. Then the Father of Christendom shows how for the family, the basis of society, it is necessary that a Christian education be given to the child, and how it has been on account of this necessity that the Church has always condemned the theory of a “neutral” education. Uninfluenced by a belief in a God who is Creator, Rewarder and Punisher, the young will never bend beneath a rule that commands even a decent life; habituated to a refusal of nothing to their passions, the young will easily be a source of trouble to the State. Thenceforward confining his reflections more especially to the needs of the State, the Pontiff reminds us that among men there are two societies which are thoroughly independent, each in its own sphere. These societies are the spiritual and the temporal; but we must not forget that there are certain “mixed mat-

ters" in which each of these societies naturally has an interest, and concerning a regulation of which they must come to an agreement. This need was understood in France by the civil authorities, after the subsidence of the revolutionary turmoils in the beginning of the nineteenth century; and therefore the two powers, spiritual and temporal, agreed on that Concordat, in which Pope Pius VII. condescended to such an extent in favor of the French Government. The results were happy, both for the Church in a revival of the Christian conditions, and for the State in the receipt of a promise of tranquillity. Such a result, remarks His Holiness, is much to be desired in these days of revolutionary enterprise; now, more than at any other time, the State ought to ask for the beneficent intervention of the Church. Nevertheless, the Head of the Church is compelled to admit that the acts of the French Government are now of such a nature that they indicate an imminent rupture of the Concordat; and he calls attention to his letters to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris in reference to the persecution of the religious orders, as well as to his letter to President Grévy on the general hostility of the Republic to the Church. Then the Pope praises the courage of the French bishops in the present circumstances, and he especially commends their efforts for the establishment of Catholic schools, despite the enormous revenues of the governmental establishments, against which they must contend. He repels as a calumny the Masonic assertion that these efforts prove that the bishops are enemies of France; he insists that when the prelates champion the interests of souls, they simply perform their duty. And the Pontiff grows warm in his commendations of the zealous and charitable French priesthood, as well as in his acknowledgment of the heroic courage of so many of the French laity. On June 27 Leo XIII. addressed a brief to the Bishop of Perpignan, accentuating the counsels given in this Encyclical, and especially deploring the political divisions among the French Catholic laymen—divisions which prevented their presenting a united front at the polls, where they might destroy the Masonic hydra which was strangling France. The so-much-needed union, says the Pontiff, will easily be consummated if Frenchmen will seek their motives in the Encyclicals issued by Pius IX. and by himself, but especially in the *Syllabus* promulgated by his predecessor. "Let Frenchmen do away with disputes, the objects of which are merely private interests—interests which are of secondary importance when compared with matters which belong to a more elevated order."

It has been well said that the history of the modern European Revolution is but one enormous lie; and one perpetual hypocrisy; and certainly the record of the dissension between the Church and

the Third French Republic does not indicate that the latter institution is an exception. Mendacity and hypocrisy were needed, indeed, for the assertion that the persecuting decrees of Ferry, Bert, etc., were merely actuations of "existing laws." The most honest among the Liberals of France manifested their disgust toward this hypocrisy. Laboulaye cried: "They exhume the edicts of the olden kings, the decrees of the Reign of Terror, those of the Cæsars, etc. . . . All is acceptable to the democrats when they desire to strangle liberty or to hunt the 'Jesuits.' As for those ordinances which recognized liberty of conscience, freedom of teaching, the right of association, all these do not exist, according to our democrats. 'All for them; nothing for any others,' but especially 'nothing for religion'—that is their war-cry." And the injustice of such procedures caused Jules Simon, the most learned and otherwise most eminent man in the Republican party of France, to thus apostrophize the majority of his brethren: "To-day the republicans imitate the adversaries whom they once combatted; it seems to me that when they attain to power, they have learned only how to proscribe. . . . Do not make us say that whenever liberty troubles you, you do not love it. You do not love liberty unless you are willing that your adversaries should enjoy it. If you love liberty for yourselves alone, you do not love it; you do not know its meaning; you are unworthy of understanding it."<sup>1</sup> It was an easy task for two veritable luminaries of French jurisprudence, M. Rousse, of Paris, and M. de Demolombe, of Caen, to demonstrate in two masterly juridical *Consultations* on the decrees of March 29, 1880, that the plea of those decrees being founded on "existing laws" was a cowardly hypocrisy; and their declaration was endorsed by more than two thousand lawyers, among whom were all of the most illustrious and most disinterested members of the French bar and magistracy.<sup>2</sup> Certainly the Masonic conspirators against the Church could not have trusted greatly in any "existing laws" when they devised their new Article vii.; and it was only when the Senate had rejected that article as too despotic, that men were informed of those "existing laws"—ordinances which "existed" with so little vitality that, in order to give any force to them, two new decrees were made as substitutes for the condemned article. In their search after "existing laws" which might crush the "clericals," the democratic despots raked among that past which they continually cursed. They seized on all the

<sup>1</sup> It was this plea for true liberty that made Jules Simon an object of detestation to his Masonic comrades. Smarting under their ingratitude, he said: "It is we who are defending the Republic—we who are trying to preserve it from the stain of despotism; and it is precisely because of that effort that we are, I will not say discussed, but reviled and outraged." <sup>2</sup> RIVAUX; "Cours d'Histoire Ecclesiastique," vol. III., p. 674. Paris, 1883.

arbitrary decrees and violent measures of the two Napoleons, and hailed them as proper chastisements for the slaves of Rome; thus, as some one wrote at the time, presenting a picture of "Democracy licking the mud from the boots of the Empire." They even stirred up the debris of the royalist Restoration, which they anathematized with a bitterness which did not animate their curses against the two Empires, hoping to find their hatred justified by the acts of a government which they absurdly proclaimed as "clerical." They found a number of ordinances which were hostile to freedom of education, and which the Universitarian monopoly and the threats of revolutionary Liberalism had extorted from the feeble Louis XVIII. and Charles X.; and with these testimonies they essayed to convince the world that even the government of the Restoration, "clerical" though it was, had for its own safety been compelled to restrain the "Jesuits." The lie was so barefaced, remarks a judicious historian,<sup>1</sup> that it might be considered a wicked pleasantry, a revolutionary *gaminerie*. "For the Revolution was wont to amuse itself with its victims; we all know the little chant sung by the cannibals in the Café de Foy at the Palais Royal while they squeezed the blood from the heart of Berthier and then drank it: 'There can be no feast, if the heart is absent.'" The task of the Masonic persecutors was easy when they peered into the pile of documents bequeathed to France by the men who had travestied all that was good in the Principles of 1789. Here they were rewarded by the discovery of laws which were not only sanguinary, but more despotic and irreligious than any which Satan had as yet ever breathed into the mind of man. Certainly these records, stained with the blood which, as Taine remarked, "is the soul of the Revolution," ought to have satisfied the seekers of "existing laws;" but they must needs recur to the philosophic, Masonic and Jansenistic parliaments of the eighteenth century. "These democrats," reflects Paul Féval, "experience no shame in donning the old ducal wig of Choiseul, the favorite and accomplice of the Pompadour. They applaud loudly the judicial crimes of those parliaments now styled by history 'the parliaments of Choiseul-Pompadour;' and they are happy in being able to imitate and to resuscitate those despots of the robe." When a similar enterprise, but one projected on a smaller scale, was essayed in 1825, it was no more moderate anti-clerical than Pierre Leroux, who said: "That man does not understand liberty who demands an execution of the olden parliamentary decrees against the Jesuits; I shall say more—he himself is guilty of Jesuitism." Of course, having whetted their appetites with the morsels dragged from the graves of the Second Empire, the Restoration, Napoleon I., the Revolution and

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<sup>1</sup> RIVAUX; loc. cit., p. 677.



Louis XV., the democrats of the Third Republic hastened to regale themselves with the drippings from the caldron of Gallicanism, as it had been prepared during the reign of Louis XIV. Undoubtedly these gentry had no more accurate idea of the meaning of Gallicanism than that which is entertained by ninety-nine per cent. of our Protestant scholars; but they knew that Gallicanism had been used by the Grand Monarch as an engine of war against certain temporal claims of Rome, and therefore they determined to imitate a sovereign whom they especially abhorred. Then we heard of dragoons being directed against harmless old men of prayer, and against convents of consecrated virgins, whose sole defense was the crucifix. Then we read of the siege of the Abbey of Frigolet, so bravely conducted by a republican general. Before these scenes were witnessed, that serious republican, Dufaure, had declared in full Senate: "In the programme openly displayed by an eminent republican deputy, a distinguished orator of the Chamber, I find that there are projected against the Catholics all of the measures indicated in those edicts of Louis XIV. which accompanied or followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes." Commenting on an appropriation of weapons from a Gallicanism which his comrades could not comprehend, Jules Simon said: "The Most Christian King had at least an excuse in his faith; but you, who represent free thought, and who therefore do not claim to be the sole depositaries of absolute truth, you cannot pretend to share in a doctrinal unity. It will be said of you that you use repression for the sake of negation." But Paul Bert, the champion of the Third Republic in its deliberate contempt of logic, did not quail before this arraignment by Jules Simon. With phenomenal cynicism he accepted the allegation: "Yes; *we are the negation*. Protestantism, Jansenism, all other heresies, are merely partial negations, half-measures of days long vanished. We are a negation which is total and radical." And then, as though he had heard St. Augustine's cry: "Catholicism is integral truth," that is, a real and total *affirmation*, Bert added: "The question between us (the Church and the Third Republic) is one of life and death." No wonder that Gambetta felt that he was justified in proclaiming: "Clericalism is our enemy."

REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

**I**N the dialogue of Plato which is named after Timæus, an adept in the system of philosophy and astronomy held by the disciples of Pythagoras, the author sets forth his views as to the nature of the universe—views which were founded upon a belief in the nebular theory and the gradual evolution of the material universe from an original formless, irregular and disorderly mass. But before beginning the exposition of his thesis Timæus speaks in the following words to Socrates: "All men, Socrates, who have any degree of right feeling do this at the beginning of every enterprise, great or small—they always call upon the gods. And we, too, who are going to discourse of the nature of the universe, whether created or uncreated, if we be not altogether out of our wits, must invoke and pray the gods and goddesses that we may say all things in a manner pleasing to them and consistent with ourselves." What a contrast to many modern books of science. They deal with the marvelous works of God without the slightest reference to the Deity. Rather is it not the fashion to speak of Nature, to personify her, to write her with a capital N, to descant on her marvels, to utter rhapsodies in her honor? And verily it would not be befitting that we Christians should need to be taught our duty in this respect by the very pagans. And so before we enter upon any discussion of that sublimest of all speculations in the domain of natural science, as to the mode in which God Almighty formed the system which is controlled and governed by the sun, we make our act of acknowledgment and faith in Him as Creator and Ruler of the heavens and earth and all things contained therein, and taking the words of Timæus, we make our invocation to the One True God, "to which I add an exhortation to myself that I may set forth this high argument in the manner which will be most intelligible to you and will most accord with my own intent."<sup>1</sup>

Had He so willed, God might have created the sun and the members of our planetary system in the state in which they are at present, and in which, so far as observation goes, they have existed throughout the whole period of historical time. But a universal tradition has existed even in the earliest ages of culture and civilization that the world, meaning by that generic term our system of worlds with their central sun, was formed from primeval elements which were scattered without order or disposition throughout the

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<sup>1</sup> The Dialogues of Plato, translated by Jowett. Vol. II., p. 523.

firmament. "Chaos" is the term used by some classical writers, indicative of primitive confusion and disorder. Lucretius had even advanced a theory of the clashing together of atoms to account for the gradual aggregation of the parts of the sun, earth, moon and stars. The same tradition is to be found among the Christian writers and doctors of the earlier centuries. According to this tradition, which appears among many others in the writings of Athenagoras, St. Hippolytus, St. Theophilus, St. Basil, St. Ephrem and St. Ambrose, matter was originally created in an elementary state, and, moreover, this informal mass was one and not multiple. Even Origen and his school and St. Augustine agree on this point with the writers above named. Again, we have almost perfect accord among these Christian writers from Tatian to Hugh of St. Victor, and through Peter Lombard to St. Bonaventure, that the sun, moon and stars were all at first parts of this universally diffused mass.<sup>1</sup> The exposition of these views as given in the works of St. Gregory of Nyssa is most remarkable. In fact, he appears to have forestalled Laplace by fifteen centuries in the central idea of his cosmogony, which is the formation of the solar system from a diffused mass of primitive nebular matter. Had he possessed the knowledge gained by astronomical observations in the intervening years, his subtle mind might have even worked out the details of the theory. The hypothesis, as we now know it, seems to have been independently broadened by Kant at the end of the last century, and by Laplace in his "*Système du Monde*," likewise published in Paris in 1796. The facts on which the theory is founded may be thus summarized. The orbits or paths of the planets round the sun are all nearly circular, and all again lie nearly in one and the same plane. There is, moreover, a regular progression both in the distance of the planets from the sun, with but one exception, and in their density on either side of the planet Saturn, which is the least dense of all. Again, the plane of rotation of each planet on its axis very nearly coincides with its plane of revolution round the sun, and the direction of revolution and of spin are also in the same sense—in that namely which is opposed to the direction of motion of the hands of a watch. The satellites, again, of the various planets in revolving round their respective primaries share this common direction of motion, and their planes of revolution are almost coincident with the planes of revolution of the planets. Identity, then, of direction of motion and of plane in which the motion takes place is a remarkable feature of the solar system. The probability that this is due to a common cause and not to mere accident or chance is overwhelming, and has been computed to be as about four million to one.

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<sup>1</sup> *Origine du Monde d'après la tradition*, par l'Abbe Motaïs.

With these facts before him, Laplace supposed that the whole of the space at present occupied by the solar system was originally filled by a primitive nebula in the form of a cloud of intensely heated gas, hotter even than the sun is now. The different portions of this nebula had in the beginning diverse motions of their own, but each and every particle of matter mutually attracting and being attracted, the formless mass of independently moving atoms finally resolved itself into an immense globe of highly rarefied gas, with a motion of rotation about a central axis. Such a rotation would inevitably result in a flattening at the poles in the gaseous globe, and the ultimate form would be that of a lens-shaped nebula. The gas was at first expanded by heat, but condensation took place, owing to radiation at its surface, with a consequent quickening of the speed of rotation according to a well-known mechanical law. Successively the edges of the lenticular mass ceased to be continuous with the parent mass, and so in turn were abandoned as rings. Laplace appealed to the instance of the planet Saturn and his rings as a proof of his hypothesis. We may remark, however, that had the rings of the nebula remained as near to the condensing and revolving primal mass as the rings of Saturn are to their putative parent, within a distance the limits of which can be calculated according to laws first enunciated by M. Roche, a distinguished French mathematician, in the year 1848, they could have continued to exist without coalescing in the form of rings of discrete particles of matter. The rings, however, as imagined by Laplace would after a time break into fragments, and their materials would be swept together into globes, revolving in all cases—so thought the author of the theory—though this universality of common direction of motion is not absolutely necessary or likely in the same sense as the mass out of which they had been formed. The same process would be applicable to the newly formed and highly attenuated gaseous globes, which would themselves in their turn become the parents of their moons. The example of the rings of Saturn seems to have suggested to Laplace the idea as to the origin of the planets and satellites. These rings, however, as Clerk Maxwell has demonstrated, are composed of a myriad of meteorites, a truth which has been spectroscopically confirmed by Professor Keeler at the Lick Observatory. We have already stated that rings so close to a primary as Saturn's rings are would be torn to pieces by the tidal forces due to the planet and would never be aggregated into moons.

We are not concerned to defend the hypothesis of Laplace in its entirety, for as, among other critics, M. Faye, the learned author of the excellent little book, "*L'Origine du Monde*,"<sup>1</sup> has shown, it

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<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1884.

needs modification in several particulars. Since Laplace, however, broached his theory two most potent instruments of research have been placed in the hands of the astronomer—the spectroscope, not yet fifty years old, and the photographic plate, which was not fully introduced as an adjunct to the telescope and spectroscope until the year of a total solar eclipse, visible in India, namely, in 1868. The observations which have been amassed by means of these instruments have greatly strengthened the probability of the truth of the theory. The telescope had revealed the existence of nebulous masses in the heavens, and even as early in the century as the year 1811 the observations of that giant among observers, Sir William Herschel, had led him to adopt the view that nebulae were transmuted into stars by a gradual process. For the materials that he had collected in his scrutiny of the starry firmament fell naturally into several broad divisions or classes, and so he advances from faint and different nebulae to nebulae in which a centre of condensation is barely visible, and thence to nebulae in which the nucleus becomes a point of star-like brilliancy. An easy transition leads to nebulous stars or stars which are surrounded by an atmosphere of nebulous light, and hence to masses of stars involved in nebulous matter, and so by way of diffused clusters he arrives at length at rich star clusters. And photography, which has brought to light by means of long-exposed plates objects which the most powerful telescope yet built could not unaided show, has in the main amply confirmed the generalizations of Herschel and the theory of Laplace. We have but to turn over the pages of the volume in which Dr. Roberts has gathered together specimens of his truly marvelous photographs of “Stars, Star-clusters, and Nebulae,” or to examine the photographs produced by Professor Barnard at the Lick Observatory, or that exquisitely beautiful series which has been secured by Mr. Wilson, to have it borne in irresistibly upon the mind that we are not looking at a collection of disjointed pictures, but at representations of objects which merge gradually one into the other, until we arrive at last at the group or cluster of finished stars. Not that the process of formation has been along one line only, for the pictures show that the ways in which systems of worlds have been formed are evidently diverse and various. The special nebulae, for instance, which form a kind of celestial whirlpool seemingly form stars along the trend of the luminous whirls which start from a centre of condensation, as is evidenced, for example, by the beautiful photographs of the spiral in the constellation Canes Venatici. Dr. Roberts has recently brought into juxtaposition four pictures of such spiral nebulae and four other pictures of star clusters, which are most suggestive. In the latter plates the nebulous streams of the former

photographs are replaced by clusters of stars which almost exactly pick out the paths of pre-existing spirals. Smudge the stars and the nebulous hazy spirals would be reproduced. Yet, again, the many instances of rings and discs of cloud-like luminosity—as, for example, the nebula in Perseus, or that in Andromeda (New General Catalogue, 891), or the famous ring nebula in Lyra, with its brilliant central star-like condensation surrounded by a thick ring of light, or the great nebula in Andromeda, with its central mass encircled by a system of rings, or the wonderful nebula in the constellation Cetus, with a stellar nucleus and broad nebulous ring full of strong condensations, apparently forming into stars, or yet again a nebula in the Great Bear, which has a dense stellar nucleus, apparently bear witness to the process of star formation as imagined by Laplace, as actually taking place in the heavens. How delighted would the distinguished Frenchman have been could he but have seen Dr. Roberts' photograph of the great nebula in Andromeda, an object which can only just be glimpsed by the naked eye, and the rings of which not even the excellent drawings made by Bond by means of a powerful telescope had succeeded in showing. Then, again, we have the so-called "Dumb-bell" nebula in the constellation Vulpecula, seemingly condensing into a globular cluster of stars, while the process is advanced a stage further in the cluster in Lyra, which is numbered 56 in the catalogue of Messier. There the globe of stars has condensed around a central nebulosity, nebulae and stars being intermingled. The beautiful cluster in Hercules, so well photographed by Mr. Wilson, is yet a further example of this same mode of formation. And if we seek for nebulae which are merely diffused whisps of luminosity without any structure, presumably the primeval form of all, let us look at the nebulae in the Pleiades, or the "Crab" in Taurus, or the gigantic streaks of gauze-like matter which stretch through Cygnus, or yet again the brilliant, foam-like masses that surround Antares and the star  $\gamma$  Scorpii, or the dense clouds about  $\gamma$  Argus, as shown in the pictures by Dr. Gill, Professor Bailey and Professor Barnard.

By means of the fine nebula in "Orion," so often photographed by Draper, Conuvas, Roberts, Wilson and others, we can advance yet a further step. For in its structure and in its position with regard to its axis it bears a striking resemblance to the characteristic forms of the solar corona which are seen at times of total solar eclipse. So that to the argument drawn from the pictured processes of formation of stars from nebulae we have in addition an argument from similarity in structure between the external solar atmosphere and the furthest appendages of the nebula. How like, too, are comets' tails to whisps of nebulous matter; and a comet

was seen in the outer parts of the corona of the eclipse of 1882 and 1893. Is it possible that comets are the refuse of the celestial workshop which wander aimlessly through space until they are captured and bound in invisible links by the attraction of some mighty sun or planet?

Laplace imagined the primitive nebula to be a mass of highly heated gas. Spectroscopic observations have confirmed his hypothesis as far as the gaseous nature of the nebulae is concerned, and Sir William Huggins, who was the pioneer in this branch of work, regards the characteristic lines of the spectra of nebulae, which are bright thin lines, as indicating a high temperature in the gaseous structures. This reading of the spectrum is, however, contested by Sir Norman Lockyer, who would see in nebulae immense aggregations of meteors which on account of innumerable collisions are surrounded by a gaseous atmosphere. The nebulae, according to this view, are relatively cool, as compared with many stars. Such a nebula in which the gaseous particles are magnified into stones or liquid drops is dynamically a possibility, and could have been transformed into solid globes according to the investigations of Professor George Darwin. The weight of astronomical opinion seems, however, to incline towards the supposition of the highly heated gaseous nature of the nebulae. But the point which is of the greatest weight as lending countenance to the hypothesis of the gradual evolution of suns from nebulae is that whether the nebulae be hot or cold there is a well marked and connected graduation in the spectrum of the heavenly bodies from the nebulae to finished suns like our own. Very soon after the spectroscope had been applied to the study of the stars, Father Secchi proposed a distribution of these bodies according to five well marked types. In the first type he placed stars like Sirius and Vega, which yield spectra crossed by the hydrogen lines, which are much broader in these stars than in the solar spectrum. Besides these characteristic lines of hydrogen a few faint lines due to other substances appear. The second type, which embraces nearly all the other lucid stars, and in which our sun finds its place, is characterized by numerous lines due to metals in addition to the hydrogen lines. The third type contains stars in which the line spectrum is replaced in the main by a spectrum due to bands, the atmospheres of these suns being at a lower temperature than those of the first and second types. The star  $\alpha$  Herculis is probably the best example of this type. The bands are very sharp and dark at the extremity, which is towards the violet end of the spectrum, and become more diffuse and fainter towards the red. In the fourth type are the red stars, which presumably are merely glowing in the firmament before utter

extinction. Their relative coldness is indicated by their spectra, which contain broad bands, but shaded in the opposite direction to the bands in the third type of spectra. A further possible indication of their moribund condition is to be found in the fact that no bright stars belong to this type or class of spectra. To a fifth type Secchi relegated all stars which like  $\gamma$  Cassiopeiæ give a spectrum of bright lines. Modifications of this scheme of division have been suggested by Voget, by Pickering and by Lockyer. The last named, beginning with a relatively cool nebula, would arrange his materials on an ascending and a descending scale, according to their presumed temperatures, the highest place being occupied by his Group No. 4, which corresponds to Secchi's Type I. However, Secchi's types for all practical purposes of classification are still sufficient, provided that his classes are sub-divided to show more markedly the transitions in the different varieties of the characteristic general type. Such a plan has been adopted with great success by Dr. Frank McClean in his recently published admirable memoirs on the spectra of all the stars down to the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  magnitude,<sup>1</sup> and a series of star spectra secured by Father Sidgreaves at the Stonyhurst College Observatory shows the transition stages exceedingly well. Following Dr. McClean, therefore, we may arrange the spectra in the following order:

First, the nebulae which give a spectrum of bright lines due to hydrogen and of the gas helium from cleveite. Next three divisions of Secchi's Type I., the first of which includes the stars which are characterized by the dark lines of hydrogen and cleveite gas, and which, as they follow in their distribution in the sky the zones which are occupied by the nebulae, are presumably in the first stage of development from the nebulae. These stars are particularly thick in the region of the Milky Way, especially in its southern portion. Is it possible that, as Dr. McClean suggests, the "Galaxy itself is composed of clouds of isolated and extended nebulae, each studded with its quota of helium stars, both large and small, in the first stage of development?" It is noteworthy in this connection that the ninety-two stars so far known of Secchi's Type I. which contain bright lines, and which, therefore, are supposed to be at a high temperature, are confined, as Pickering has shown, to the Milky Way and to the similar structures in the southern heavens known as the Magellanic Clouds.<sup>1</sup> To return, however, to McClean's sub-divisions of Secchi's types. The lines of oxygen next put in an appearance, and they only disappear with their helium companions to give place to lines due to calcium, barium

<sup>1</sup> Comparative Photographic Spectra of Stars to the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Magnitude. Phil. Trans. R. S. Series A. Vol. 191. (1898.) The Spectra of Southern Stars. London, Stamford. (1898.

<sup>2</sup> Astronomy and Astro-Physics. Vol. viii. No. 4. November, 1898. P. 232.



and magnesium. We thus have two further sub-divisions of the first division of Secchi's Type I. In Division II. are the *serium* stars, or stars showing the strong hydrogen lines. Helium is now altogether absent, and calcium is distinctly less strong than hydrogen. Calcium asserts itself, however, in Division III., as, for instance, in such stars as Procyon, in which it is characterized by a line as strong as any due to hydrogen. We are thus led up gradually to the solar stars, and thence to the banded spectra of *ness* which belongs to the last type of spectra.

the class of  $\alpha$  Herculis, and to the final stage of redness and dim-

But whatever classification we adopt, this salient fact remains that there is an undoubted merging of the spectrum of one class of stars into another, and that the spectra of the stars are connected with the spectra of the *nebulæ*. In the case of the stars in the trapezium of the nebula of Orion, Sir William Huggins' photographs of the spectra show that the bright lines characteristic of the nebula are not confined to the nebulous region alone, but extend to the stars involved in the nebula also, thus showing a physical connection between the stars and the gaseous materials of the nebula. Nor can it be argued that this is an isolated case, and that the *nebulæ* must be so immeasurably more distant from us than the stars that it is impossible for the stars projected upon them to have anything more than an optical connection with them. Even had we not the evidence of the photographs of the *nebulæ*, and the aggregations and condensations formed in them to guide us, Keeler has actually detected by means of the spectroscopic velocities in our line of sight in the case of several planetary *nebulæ*. Hence it follows that their distances, great as they undoubtedly are from us, are comparable with the distances of the stars.

A further argument for the probability of the truth of the theory of star formation as imagined by Laplace is to be found in the fact that it squares most admirably with the only feasible hypothesis as to the maintenance of the solar heat which has so far been broached, that namely which is due to Helmholtz and Lord Kelvin. According to this view the stores of solar heat which are being continually poured forth by the sun are maintained by the gradual contraction of the gaseous ball of the sun towards his centre under the force of gravity, which is resisted, and hence the heat radiated into space by the force of expansion due to his great temperature. In the process he becomes more and more dense. There was a time then when, as a mass of highly attenuated matter, he extended very far indeed beyond his present boundaries, a time, in fact, some twenty million years ago, when he was a nebula.

For all these reasons, then, it seems to be highly probable that

stars and suns are formed out of *nebulæ*, and that at least in its main propositions the mode of formation imagined by Laplace is a possibility. But even so we must fain admit, in the words of Sir Robert Ball, that the theory "is emphatically a speculation; it cannot be demonstrated by observation or established by mathematical calculation."<sup>1</sup> The whole matter may well be summed up in the words of Professor Newcomb: "At the present time we can only say that the nebular hypothesis is indicated by the general tendencies of the laws of nature; that it has not been proved to be inconsistent with any fact; that it is almost a necessary consequence of the only theory by which we can account for the origin and conservation of the sun's heat; but that it rests on the assumption that this conservation is to be explained by the laws of nature as we now see them in operation. Should any one be skeptical as to the sufficiency of these laws to account for the present state of things, science can furnish no evidence strong enough to overthrow his doubts until the sun shall be found growing smaller by actual measurement, or the nebula be actually seen to condense into stars and systems."<sup>2</sup>

A. L. CORTIE, S. J.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ency. Brit.*, 9th edition, 1888. Vol. xvii., pp. 310, etc. <sup>2</sup> *Popular Astronomy*, p. 515.

## THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

**S**URELY it is not only the pessimist who suspects a faint echo in the wind to-day of the ancient cry of the Prophet Jeremias, "Saying—Peace, peace: and there was no peace." On the 18th of May the representatives of the great war lords of the earth, having in their company the agents of a number of smaller wights, who, because they have most to fear from war, must of necessity stand well with the warriors, met at The Hague to discuss the ways and means of peace. On the 29th of July they closed their sessions with the issue of a protocol, the terms of which were partially signed and subscribed to, embodying the results of their deliberations. This contains three declarations and three conventions, all of the former and two of the latter distinctly facilitating war by making it less repulsive to the human mind, and only one convention making in any way for peace, and that weakly, by creating an optional board of arbitration as a possible means of avoiding war. At the outset the European press viewed the scheme as insincere upon the part of its authors and Quixotic on the part of its friends. The ground of this view as alleged was pretty much the same as that attributed to the false criers of peace by the prophet of old. "For from the least of them even to the greatest all are given to covetousness," saith the prophet: and it was stipulated in the preliminaries of the gathering that no question should be raised of territorial rights or *claims*. It was not unwisely said by Lord Russell of Killowen, at a public meeting in support of the conference: "One further consideration prevented our being too sanguine of immediate beneficial results. It was this: On what basis could the conference proceed? With a map of the world before it, marking existing territorial lines? Would it be accepted as a basis of future action in Africa, in China, in Asia and even in Europe or America? I fear not." At the conclusion of the conference the American press gave way a bit to jubilation, chiefly because whatever good was to be hoped out of the first convention concerning arbitration was in large measure due to the American delegates.

It would be stupid to deny all good outcome to the meeting of so many able men representing so many peoples and interests in council for common good, or to the possibilities of international arbitration; but it would be unwise to be too sanguine of practical results in the scheme of optional arbitration. Yet there is a cir-

cumstance in connection with the conference to which prudent men the world over have adverted, to wit, the exclusion of the Sovereign Pontiff from representation at The Hague, which has certainly injured its own influence, while putting a slight upon one who is universally recognized as the chief representative of peace upon this earth. The most seriously influential daily newspaper in the United States does not hesitate to insinuate its recognition that a peace conference from which the Pope is absent is almost a contradiction in terms. And Mr. Stead, erratic as his genius is, surely represents more English opinion than his own when he writes that it is practically impossible to get on with the peace problem while ignoring "the one Sovereign in Europe, a spiritual Sovereign, whose voice is more potent for peace and war than that of almost any other territorial sovereign."

The facts in the matter seem to be these. The original annunciatory rescript of the Tsar of Russia was transmitted to the Sovereign Pontiff at the same time that it was communicated to the governments of the earth, and was answered by His Holiness with the most cordial encouragement and promise of support. Then the Italian Government, either because it considered any reception of the Prisoner of the Vatican among the sovereign powers as an imputation against the legitimacy or menace against the security of its own sovereignty or because it anticipated that the Papal delegates would seek and find a means of raising the question in the conference of the indefeasible right of the Roman Pontiff to his temporal power, protested that were Leo XIII. invited to participate in the conference, Italy must decline to take part. Italy's withdrawal might not mean much, but Italy's protest, when backed by two or even one of the other great powers, jeopardized the very existence of the conference. So in the end the Pope was not invited to send any representative to The Hague.

This was a serious mistake. Historically, from the days when Leo the Great, alone and unaided, invested only with the majesty of his high office, turned back Attila and his Huns and so saved Western civilization from utter obliteration, down to our own time, when Leo XIII. became arbiter between Germany and Spain in the matter of the Caroline Islands, the Roman Pontiffs have been the champions of peace and the most potent factor for its preservation known to diplomat or potentate. It was in the early part of this century that, in a conference of the Powers, Prince Metternich announced to the Ministers of England and France "that the Cabinets of Austria, Prussia and Russia, wishing to exhaust every means of reconciliation before having recourse to force, came to fix their attention on a new step tending to bring about the intervention of the Holy

Father as mediator in the measures to be taken in regard to the actual state of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies." It is instructive to recall from the joint note of the Powers on this occasion, addressed to Cardinal Consalvi as representative of the Holy See, the following sentences: "Not doubting that your Lordship honors their determinations with his support and that his wishes desire the success of their enterprise, the allied courts are equally convinced that His Holiness, in his exalted wisdom, will lend his co-öperation to the accomplishment of the work of peace which they propose to consummate and to strengthen in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. . . . The Cabinets will not indicate the mode of intervention of His Holiness nor here mark out the means which he ought to employ for the success of the mission which a unanimous confidence entrusts to him." This note was followed by a personal communication on the same matter from the Tsar of Russia, Alexander I., which opened impressively with the words: "I am always ready to testify to your Holiness the veneration I bear for your exalted virtues and for the august character<sup>1</sup> of the power with which you are invested. Your Holiness will find in the service I am about to ask of you a proof of the same sentiments, of the confidence with which your sagacity inspires me and which on just grounds I place in your sublime authority." These words will serve to confirm the very obvious statement that the nations of the earth have recognized and still do recognize the majesty of the Sovereign Pontiff, his potent influence for good and the fact that, though despoiled of his patrimony and of that small tithe of territory and temporal subjects which would fill up the technicality of kingship, his authority over the minds of men is vaster than that of all human monarchs combined.

By a little reflection we may see the application of this authority to the present problem. In any federation of the world, whether partial or total, the different nations which would be its units may be compared to the families or individuals who are the units of any civil state, and an examination of the workings of courts of justice in securing domestic peace will throw light upon the possibilities of an international board of arbitration as the guardian of the peace of the world. There are two possible sources of domestic discord: doubt about individual rights, where the right is uncertain, or each of two individuals thinks the right is on his side and neither is willing to surrender or compromise; and, secondly, the unrighteous acts of claims of the wicked. With a machinery established, possessing the confidence of the people as a whole for the determination of uncertain right and for the vindication of law against the iniquitous, and with an executive strong enough to enforce recourse to

such tribunals and to carry out its decrees and sanction law, we have practical means, though limited, for securing domestic tranquillity. But to retain such a state of affairs there are several requisites. We must have a people sufficiently enlightened and of sufficient good will to desire, establish and retain such an order of things, and sufficient individual good conscience to keep the relative number of the wicked small. Force alone never made a man virtuous, nor could court or police restrain the disorder if the vast majority of the people went over to unrighteous ways. Hence profound statesmanship always looks to the enlightenment of the public mind and the elevation of the public conscience. Moreover, there must be something approaching unanimity of conviction about the aim of civil society. However rank heresy it may sound to-day, it is true that the purpose of civil society is not by right the increase of national wealth and power, no more than it is the enriching of the individual or the enlarging of his power. If we are all to be given over to covetousness, then we shall cry "Peace, peace," and there will be no peace.

Now in like fashion to make an international board of arbitration possible, we must have the majority of the people in each nation—for when all is said under any form of government to-day, the majority of the people, if of any considerable strength, will make its desires felt in the councils and transactions of State—desiring only justice, and that through the medium of such a tribunal and with confidence in the tribunal, because assured that it is so constituted as to work only for justice. Secondly, we must have executive force sufficient to sanction its decisions against the recalcitrant, and the deliberate workers of injustice must be kept in a decided minority. This is all a case of universal public enlightenment and public conscience, to be accomplished only by the enlightenment of the mind of the individual and the elevation of his conscience. To-day not all of the nations of the earth want only justice. I do not mean to emphasize in that statement the great Powers who excluded territorial claims from discussion in the conference, and who limited the work of the international arbiters to certain restricted matters, who look yet to the partition of China, of Africa, of Turkey and of heaven knows what else. But there are others, semi-barbarous or wilful, who do not aspire to the white robes of the saints until they are done with the reality of the world. This marks a field for work upon the human conscience. Some, too, while just enough in their desires, may not care to secure justice by any such tribunal, because of the sacrifice of national independence entailed thereby, preferring untrammelled liberty to peace and justice by any such concession. There is room there for a little ethical development in the dis-

crimination between liberty from oppression and independence of all unnecessary coercion, and liberty from all restraint and independence of all law. Peace in Commonwealths is only attained by the surrender of some individual liberty to the protection of law, and international peace will necessitate the concession of some national independence to the supreme law for the sake of universal good order. Furthermore, all the tribes of the world will want representation upon this new judicial bench, and in a measure they will have it; and a method has been devised<sup>1</sup> aiming at the best results by having the members of the court appointed by the highest authority in the judiciary of each of the represented nations. But will that be satisfactory to the more enlightened? Shall we be satisfied to have our interests in the hands of the highest form of judicial integrity produced by China, Turkey, Persia or Siam? One suspects not. How can that be mended? Only by a further civilization of the doubtful lands, which will result in a higher platform of right and wrong. A matter of conscience again.

Furthermore, to consider arbitration as proposed, it is doubtful whether nations will often wish to recur to this optional tribunal. At home, where we think to consider arbitration native, what has become of our boards of arbitration for labor and strikes? We knew the public mind was not ripe for coercive arbitration, so we have tried a voluntary type. With what result? That the stronger party has uniformly declared that it had nothing to arbitrate, or in a few instances where compromise was thought advisable, the parties preferred to deal directly with one another. The fact is the questions resolved themselves not into a matter of right and wrong, but of common pecuniary interest. Internationally, similar results are probable. <sup>1</sup> The United States maintained that it had nothing to arbitrate in the matter of the Maine explosion. It to-day maintains the same with regard to the Alaskan boundary. England is sure that she has nothing to arbitrate in Africa, and we are at present waiting in daily expectation of the crackle of machine guns in the Transvaal. We ourselves having assumed that the obedience of a whole people, who are in large numbers better educated than the average European, for a consideration of twenty millions of dollars paid to their former masters, could be transferred without their consent to our authority, are now settling the matter by the arbitrament of arms. <sup>2</sup> To use voluntary arbitration supposes a high and delicate sense of right and wrong and a brave determination to be always right at any cost. Conscience again.

Lastly, what is to become of the recalcitrant—of those who, appealing to the court and distrusting the integrity of its motives and dissatisfied with the justice of its decision—shall refuse to abide by

the same? They must be coerced. Yes, but that means war. Some coercion, it is true, and therefore some application of force, will be necessary among the nations, even as there must be police work—and sometimes militia work—in the maintenance of domestic peace; but it should be reduced to a minimum, and the most potent element of reduction will be from the proper moulding of conscience in the individual and thence in the nation.

There has been frequent reference in the universal discussion of our peace problem to an appeal to public opinion, to an education of public opinion. Now what are we to understand by public opinion? Surely not the ephemeral conviction or clamor produced by an aggressive newspaper syndicate, a public opinion which would give color of truth to the Californians dubbing our Spanish difficulty as Willy Hearst's war, or justify Kinglake in attributing the Crimean War, the most senseless of modern conflicts, to the agitation of the *London Times*. Not a public opinion created by a political canvass which persuades by motive of pecuniary advantage or political power. No; but a public opinion which is but the outward expression of a lasting state of conscience based upon principles of truth and right firmly grasped from reason and revelation. There is no use of maundering over the influence of mere secular education and material civilization wrought by the almighty influence of the common school, emasculated by the elimination of religious principle and distraught by the pedagogical vagaries thrust upon them by too enterprising school-book publishers. There never was a single savage civilized without Christianity as the means of his elevation, nor a single child brought up to a high degree of moral integrity without the direct influence of religious principle. The history of the world puts the former statement out of the arena of disputation, and the latter, though still under dispute, has only one side to it for the calm, experienced, unprejudiced judicial observer.

If, then, the chances of peace are dependent upon an educated conscience, what unspeakable folly it was not to make place for the Sovereign Pontiff in the discussions of the Peace Conference! The war lords with battles just over, now on, and others pending, survey the commercial, manufacturing and agricultural advantages of peace in possession. The Teacher of right and wrong to one hundred millions of loyal Catholic consciences the world over (whether the non-Catholic world likes it or not) is left to meditate upon the shortsightedness of selfish men. These millions of people are being moulded by an efficacious and far-reaching machinery of an organized body to the highest canons of divinely revealed truth and justice, and that body is directed by the untrammelled guidance of one aged and venerable Prince at Rome, and those millions are obedi-



ently listening for his authoritative voice. He has directly and fearlessly attacked the live problems of our time and by a series of encyclical utterances marked out the lines of security and equity for capital and labor, for sovereign and subject, of law and of freedom, of truth and of error. In every doubt he is their court of last appeal; in every matter of conscience they bow to his arbitrament. In the face of larger though less righteous liberties, or independence broader though less secure, in despite of argument, contempt, ridicule, material disadvantage and the menace of the sword, they have been loyal and they will be loyal. Instead of lessening in numbers, they are increasing; instead of weakening in the courage of their convictions, they have grown more brave. In the State of Connecticut alone two-thirds of all the children born last year were baptized in the Roman Catholic Church.

Had the Peace Conference issued any word that should be of counsel to the human race signed by the representative of the Holy See, one-fifteenth part of mankind distributed at points of vantage throughout the world would have studied to make it a matter of conscience to support the right. Nor is this all. For thousands who are not Roman Catholics receive with respect for their wisdom and security the moral counsels of the Sovereign Pontiff. Seated apart from the battles, the competition, the rivalry and the ambitions of a world struggling for material spoils, the calm judicial mind of Leo XIII. is a tower of strength for those who look for equity of judgment and correctness of principle in all the ethical doubts that beset the mightiest and the least of men. Moreover, his missionaries are busy in all far lands, from Alaska to New Zealand and round the whole belt of the globe, in raising the savage and the semi-civilized barbarian to a plane where world-citizenship is possible because Christian principles and practices are acquired. The sword has never made a man of its conquest, but at most a trembling, treacherous and immoral serf. The unchristian East Indian, however docile or apt a soldier he may be, is no fit subject for voice in the federation of the world. The South American Indian has not gone forward, but back, since the breaking up of the Catholic missions. The North American Indian *secularly* civilized has no help to offer us save in his own extermination. That seems a cruel thing to say, but it is the *arrière pensée* of practical statesmen. Non-Catholic foreign missions I wish to say nothing unkind of, but the indictment brought by Mr. Shearman, in an address to the New York Board of Foreign Missions, of the results of missionary efforts in the Hawaiian Islands are not very encouraging to one who hopes for citizenship among the natives of Hawaii.

So when all is said, not only the main hope, but the absolutely essential means to the peace of the world is the influence of the Holy

Father in forming public opinion based upon public consciousness of right and loyalty thereto. He is the only one capable of forming and sustaining sound ecumenical public opinion, which is what the wise and the practical look to for the achievement of permanent universal peace. If there is a difficulty in recognizing the Pope in any international conference because he is not a temporal Sovereign, it is but an argument why he should have his temporal kingdom and have it at once. If the difficulty be otherwise insuperable, let the Powers restore his temporal sovereignty to him at once. The Powers are not insensible to their own insufficiency without the help of the Sovereign Pontiff, and it is not surprising that at the closing session of the conference at The Hague, immediately after Jonkheer van Karnebeek, of Holland, had announced the signing of the different conventions and declarations by the respective representatives, Secretary Van Ris read a letter written by Queen Wilhelmina asking the Pope for his moral help in the humane work of the conference, and then read the reply of His Holiness, stating that he now, as ever, considered it his duty to promote all humanitarian and Christian purposes, and expressing his best wishes for the success of the labors of the conference. And here the press reports curiously add that the action of the Queen was loudly applauded. By what intuition the applause at that moment could be discerned as only for the action of the Queen and not for that of the Pontiff likewise, is another press mystery. When we do our duty lamely, tardily and reluctantly, there is a tendency to save our own pride by a half protest that it is from magnanimity and not from a sense of duty that our action proceeds.

None the less the Holy Father will coöperate promptly and efficaciously. The preparation of an encyclical on the subject is already announced and will be shortly forthcoming. But while His Holiness will do his best to promote the world's peace, he can never forget that there is no peace possible without Christ, and no justice sure without a Christian conscience, and no conscience safe except when directed and safeguarded by that Vicar whom He has appointed to teach revealed truth and right to all nations and to every creature. He has already voiced his judgment of the inseparability of this as of any sane form of civilization from true Christianity, when, at a reception of the Cardinals on April 11, he said in reference to the then approaching Peace Conference: "Our thoughts turn to an act which we have anticipated by our desire and which sheds a consoling ray upon the closing century. This act, which aims at rendering more rare and less bloody appeals to the sword, paves the way for a calmer social life. There is a mission which, in the history of civilization, will glorify him who took the initi-

ative in it. We hailed it with joy, and we raise our prayers that the exalted intentions of its originator may bear abundant and general fruits. May Heaven show the way to a solution of the differences pending between nations, by purely moral and pacific forces. The Church desires nothing more deeply. As the mother of nations, as the enemy of violence and the shedding of blood, she is charged with a mission of pacification, not only in the domain of conscience, but also in the public and social sphere. This mission the Church fulfils in proportion with the freedom left to her action. Every time she has intervened directly in the serious affairs of the world the Church has assured the public welfare, and the Popes have often put a stop to oppressions, secured truces, agreements, treaties of peace. Civilization would have perished without the Papal authority, which time and again vindicated the supremacy of right over might. Remember Alexander III. and Legnano, Pius V. and Lepanto. Oppressions may now and again embarrass and curtail the powers of religion, but, amid all these vicissitudes, the Church pursues her beneficent mission, which embraces heaven and earth. Pure humanitarianism could not assure real and lasting prosperity. The endeavor is even now again perceptible to withdraw civilization from the influence of Christianity."

CHARLES MACKSEY, S. J.

## THE FOUNDATION OF ÆSTHETICS. ✓

**I**N what does Beauty consist? It is a question which cannot fail to interest us, for we are all conscious that in the Beautiful, both in nature and art, we have a manifestation of something more perfect and more true than what falls under our common experience. The function of the artist and the poet is not simply to affect our senses agreeably and raise in us the æsthetic thrill. They are men whose vision pierces deeper into the sphere of reality than does ours, who see the perfect through the veil of the imperfect, and the eternal through the temporal, and to whom it is given to reveal what they themselves have seen. Nor is it without justice that Mr. A. J. Balfour urges it as a fatal objection against the philosophy of naturalism that it provides us with no adequate explanation of our ideas of the Beautiful. We scarcely need any further argument to assure us of the falsity of a theory which tells us that the only reason why music delights us is that the crude sounds with which it first began were connected with certain pleasant occasions in the lives of our ape-like ancestors, and that a state of things is perfectly conceivable in which the cackling of a hen-yard should be more beautiful than the compositions of Beethoven. Even before we are able to give any direct reason for our belief, we are certain that the works of the great masters claim our admiration in virtue of an intrinsic excellence and because they approach to some ideal standard.

Nor is it only because it reveals to us glimpses of a more perfect order of things that we are naturally drawn to enquire into the true meaning of Beauty, but also because the art of any period is a sure index of the inmost character of the men of that age. The cathedrals of the fourteenth century speak to us of the faith of that epoch, the Renaissance style reveals to us no less clearly the neo-paganism of a later day. We ourselves are leaving behind us the impress of our own minds in the style of the present time. Consequently as long as men love to scan the records of the past in order to trace the history of human character, so long will the nature of the Beautiful be a favorite subject of philosophic enquiry.

It will help us to discover what really constitutes Beauty if we ask ourselves what effect the contemplation of it has upon us. We could scarcely hesitate to reply that its natural effect is to excite our love. And our answer is in accord with the unanimous verdict of nearly all the world's greatest thinkers. We may perhaps be

allowed to quote two striking testimonies from antiquity. "Wisdom," Plato tells us in the *Phædrus*, "cannot be seen with the eyes; for her beauty would have filled us with unspeakable love had there been a visible image of her." So also, seven centuries later, S. Augustine writes: "Tell me, I pray, is it possible for us to love aught except what is beautiful?" But indeed it is hardly necessary for us to go back so far. Lines with which we are all familiar express the same truth:

"O happy living things! No tongue  
Their beauty might declare.  
*A spring of love gushed from my heart,*  
And I blessed them unaware."

To determine with accuracy the nature of this love which we feel towards the Beautiful is a point of paramount importance. For there are two kinds of love which spring from totally different sources, though in actual life the motives of our affection are often so mingled that it is impossible to say how much flows from one source and how much from the other. We can, perhaps, best explain our meaning by an example. Let us suppose two men each to have purchased a house in the midst of the lovely scenery of the Yorkshire dales, and each to be delighted with his purchase. One is a man whose pleasure lies solely in the scene before him. The other finds his satisfaction in the fact that his house is fitted up with all the most modern appliances for comfort, and that it is within easy reach of the city where his fortune was made and where his interests are still centred. Here we have instances both of the higher and the lower love. The latter has no regard whatever to the intrinsic perfection of its object, for its sole motive lies in the power which that object possesses of conferring some pleasure or advantage on the person who feels it. In the case I have supposed the retired merchant would not care in the least if the building of some hideous factory marred the whole beauty of his purchase; he might even feel pride in it as an index of the prosperity of his county. On the other hand, his neighbor's whole delight in the place would be destroyed; for its *raison d'être* lay in the perfection of the landscape and in that alone. Such was the love which the Ancient Mariner felt when he saw the fairy-like loveliness of the water-snakes; such in a very different degree is the enthusiasm we feel when we read of any of the heroic deeds which light up the pages of history.

It might perhaps seem as though we were wrong in dignifying the lower love by so exalted a name. Yet it is impossible to deny it a title to be called love merely because it is selfish. In both cases we find that strong attraction towards the object which is the essential characteristic of love. And even in the higher love

there is an element which if not selfish in the usual sense of that word, is at least self-regarding. Love must seek its own satisfaction, and even if its satisfaction lies not in any advantage to be gained, but simply in the contemplation of its object, it is impossible to exclude the self-regarding element altogether. Indeed, as we have already said, in life the higher and the lower love are generally found in combination; for instance, the love which a child feels for its parents and which makes every child believe that his own father is at once the wisest and the best man living is not solely motivated by reverence and admiration, but contains also a sense of favors to come. The same may be said of our religious feelings; although we may not be able to say in the concrete where one begins and the other ends, we can have no hesitation in affirming the existence of two elements in our love to God, which are as different as the oxygen and the hydrogen that unite to compose water.

Which of these two kinds of affection is it of which Plato and S. Augustine speak when they tell us that affection is the natural result of the sight of the beautiful? We reply at once that it is the higher and not the lower love of which they speak. No power of satisfying some desire and so conferring pleasure would be a ground for attributing beauty to any object. The sounds of the tom-tom possess no inherent loveliness because they stir the scantily-clad African to wild delight. To be beautiful an object does not need to be of any utility to us, but it must fulfil the conditions requisite to awake in us the higher love; in other words, it must possess its own proper perfection. And in this answer we have a clue to the true characteristic of beauty. It lies in the intrinsic perfection of the object.

Let me, however, guard myself against the ambiguity contained in this word "perfection." For evidently it can be used in more senses than one; and while we should all allow that a perfect horse was necessarily a thing of beauty, a perfect cab-horse can scarcely lay claim to the title. The reason is that in the first case perfection expresses the possession of the excellence which is proper to the nature of the horse; in the second case it merely means that the object spoken of has all that is needed to enable it to fulfil the external end to which we wish to put it. In this sense we apply the term to the commonest things. But when applied to beauty it of course has no reference to any external aim, and expresses only the possession in the fullest degree of the excellence which belongs to the nature of the object.

We may illustrate this by an appeal to experience. We all of us realize the beauty of the gayer butterflies which flutter from flower to flower in summer, of the "red admiral" or of the "clouded-

yellow;" but the common white butterfly fails to attract our attention. Why is this, except that whilst the former sorts strike us as being perfect in their kind, the latter seems to us as but an ordinary type? But we have only got to note the white butterfly more carefully to observe how soft is the down upon its wings, how delicate its shading, to recognize that it, too, is wonderfully perfect, and in consequence wonderfully beautiful.

There is, however, a feature in the love with which the sight of the beautiful inspires us which must not be overlooked. It is not that which consists in the aspiration after something which we do not possess. It is the love of fruition or union; it is what we commonly term joy or delight. These two phases of love—*aspiration* and *fruition*—may be paralleled by the power of the magnet to attract steel: it not only draws the steel towards it, but holds it united to it. The objects of our love exercise a similar influence. They first draw us towards them, and since their attractive power is in no way exhausted by this, they bind us in a close union to them. In the case of the beautiful we enjoy this union from the first; the delight of fruition enters at once into the soul. The means by which we enjoy it is, as experience tells us, contemplation, and the more profoundly our contemplation penetrates and realizes the perfections of the object, the deeper grows our love and our delight. Any one who enters the Turner collection in the National Gallery at London is conscious of the beauty of that master's works; but only the trained artist realizes what a treasury of perfections each picture is.

The conclusion at which we have arrived, that beauty consists in the intrinsic perfection of the object, allows us to decide another point of no little moment. It is that beauty is perceived by the mind, and the mind alone. By this I do not mean to say that the senses take no part in the perception of the beautiful. To maintain this would, of course, be absurd, and we shall shortly see what is the part which they play. My contention is simply that the knowledge of beauty as such is outside their sphere. For it is only the intellect which can understand what perfections are proper to any object. It is the intellect which considers any class and sees which things fall below the type of that class and which realize the perfections of the type in their fullness. The senses could not see in the Gothic arch the lightness and the spring—if we may use the word—which constitute a large part of its superiority over the Norman. There is nothing in a line engraving which is calculated to give special pleasure to the sense. Yet common consent allows to line engraving a high place among the arts.

The senses can tell us nothing of the perfection of an object, for they speak to us only of what is pleasant to them themselves. The eye delights in light; the ear in sweet sounds. But this pleasure is purely subjective. The sense of sight cannot tell us whether the bright color which gratifies it is a perfection or not in the object viewed. So we find that children will always like the bright color for its own sake. It is not till the powers of reflection have developed that we can judge whether or not the color is appropriate, whether in fact it is "in good taste." There is a passage in Burke's *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful* which bears on this subject and which I quote all the more willingly because his view of the nature of Beauty differs so widely from that maintained here. He says: "Wherever disposition, where decorum, where congruity are concerned I am convinced that (in taste) the understanding operates, and nothing else, and its operation is in reality far from being always sudden, or when it is sudden it is often far from being right."

So little indeed has sense to do with the perception of Beauty that there are only two of our senses—those of sight and hearing—the objects of which are capable of being termed beautiful. It is only by a conscious misapplication of terms that we can say that a thing tastes beautiful or smells beautiful. And the reason that this prerogative falls to the lot of the senses of sight and hearing is that these two minister in an especial manner to the mind, while the others are more purely physical in their use. This argument from our current modes of speech, though at first sight it may seem trivial, is in reality of no little weight. Long before men have begun to discuss problems of philosophy, the language which they use forms a philosophy for them. It testifies to the way in which, by the very nature of things, they view the world around them, and is a true witness because the laws of the intellect are the handiwork of God. If beauty had been something of which the sense takes cognizance, why should it be found impossible in any language to apply the word to the objects of taste, touch and smell? If it is not the object of the reasoning intellect, why do we call not only what we hear and see, but also a heroic deed or a self-sacrificing life beautiful?

The same conclusion is strengthened if we approach our subject from a different point of view and consider what are the special characteristics which render any object beautiful. The scholastic philosophers tell us that there are three requisites—proportion, integrity or the absence of all curtailment, and resplendence—*Proportio, Integritas, Claritas*. I am not concerned to show that no other assignment of its essential constitutives could have been



made, but mention their opinion, since I believe that on reflection it will be recognized that these do in the main sum up what is required to confer the charm of beauty on an object. For the moment we may defer the consideration of resplendence, as it will best be treated of when we come to speak of the manner in which the senses aid us in æsthetic perception. But the part played by proportion and integrity is plain enough. It is proportion which gives us in a picture the harmony of color, the due relation of the various parts to each other and the subordination of them all to one end; in poetry it gives us metre and rhyme; and how entirely music depends on it is testified by the appropriation of the word harmony to that art. It is the absence of proportion which would displease us if we were to see a Hebrew prophet represented with the features of an Apollo. However beautiful the sculptured face might be in itself, we should feel that there was a lack of harmony between the character to be represented and the representation given us by the artist. With regard to integrity, it is evident at once that the least curtailment of any part impairs the beauty of the work of art. How much charm is lost to the Laocoön by the diminutive figures of the two sons! How many masterpieces of Greek sculpture, the perfection of whose lines cannot be equaled at the present day, have by some insignificant mutilation lost nearly all their attractiveness except to the practised eye of the artist whose imagination is able to restore what they have lost! If a bust does not fall under the condemnation of this canon it is solely because the human head possesses a certain completeness in itself so that we are not conscious of any deficiency in representation. But it is not owing to mere fashion that we enjoy the sight of a fine bust, while we should turn with dislike from a figure which represented half the human form.

Now, both these characteristics can be perceived by the mind and by the mind alone. The mere sense could never experience any repugnance to an incomplete figure or to a statue that was unduly diminutive, nor could sight, apart from reflection, tell us aught of the harmony of the colors in a sunset, or appreciate the manner in which Vandyke's portraits appeal to us like the characters in a great drama.

What then is the part which we are to assign to the senses in the perception of beauty? The question is easily answered if we remember that however great be the intrinsic perfection of an object, there is one condition which must be satisfied if it is to appear beautiful to us. We must know it not in a vague or abstract manner; but it must either have fallen under our own personal experience or be known to us in so clear and definite a way that we can represent it sensibly to our imagination as though it were

present to us. Without this it can have no more attractiveness for us than one of those chefs d'œuvre which are the glory of some foreign cathedrals, but which except on a few great festivals are covered with a curtain. Indeed even if we see the object, and there yet remain some impediment which hinders us from fully appreciating its qualities, the love which it excites in us is diminished in a like degree. Thus a slight obscurity of expression is sufficient to prevent many a noble passage of poetry from obtaining its due meed of admiration, and a defective ear may render us totally unappreciative of music.

Here then we find in what our dependence on the senses consists. For it is a law that all knowledge comes to us primarily through the senses; abstract ideas are only attained by analogies and comparisons, or in other words by the aid which the senses and the imagination can afford us. But to admit that this is the only road to human knowledge is tantamount to saying that it is the only road to human love. And this truth, as it seems almost unnecessary to point out, is most wonderfully illustrated in the Incarnation. This was the great appeal to the love of man, the supreme effort on the part of God to awake in all hearts the dormant fires of affection. And the means used were proportioned to the aim. He manifested Himself in a sensible form, and it is by His beauty as thus made known that He draws all hearts to Himself.

The need of this sensible manifestation is expressed by the third element mentioned above, resplendence. An object can only be called resplendent when its perfections are such as to compel attention, when they force themselves upon our notice, when they are clear to us with a clearness which our eyes can see and which seems in itself to confer a halo of beauty. It is this quality of resplendence that all are conscious of in such a picture as the Madonna di San Sisto. But in no other way than by an appeal to our senses or our imagination can the perfection of any object thus impress us.

There may, of course, be other kinds of beauty which do not need to appear in a sensible form. We may go further and affirm that there are such kinds of beauty. We ourselves recognize it when we talk of a beautiful life or of a beautiful character; for thereby we give an unconscious testimony that beauty is to be found in man's moral and spiritual nature, in that part of him in which the senses have no share. It is this spiritual beauty which belongs to the angels and to God. In this life we cannot perceive it, for we can only recognize the beautiful in its material veil; but we hope for the day when the veil will be no longer needed, and

we shall be able to gaze not merely on the shadow, but on the unclouded reality of beauty.

There is, however, a reflection which naturally suggests itself with regard to the comparatively small part played by the senses, and which might seem fatal to this view. It is that there are certain colors in nature, as, for instance, the blue of a southern sky, which are beautiful in themselves and to which it would be as unnatural to refuse the name as it would be to apply it to the objects of the senses of taste and smell. Yet it is hard to say that there is any intrinsic perfection in them apart from the pleasurable impression which they convey to the senses, or that proportion and integrity have any place in them. This is, of course, true. There are certain colors and certain sounds which may without exaggeration be called not merely pleasant but beautiful. Nor is the reason far to seek. There are certain objects between which and the sense which perceives them there is a natural harmony. Light in this way confers a pleasure on the eyes which dark and sombre colors cannot do. But it is only when the mind consciously or semi-consciously reflects on the admirable harmony which is found between the sense and its object that we conceive of light not simply as agreeable, but as beautiful. So even here we may claim that the principle that beauty can be only intellectually known is not violated, but on the contrary confirmed.

How, then, shall we define beauty? It is a bold thing to attempt to do when definitions have already been given by so many great authorities. But as we have stated clearly what we hold to be its most essential elements, to give a definition will not be doing more than what has already been ventured. It is clear that any definition framed must be understood to have reference to æsthetic beauty alone as distinguished from moral, since the beauty of man's spiritual actions can in this life be only dimly realized through the help of sensible analogies, and is in fact seen "through a glass, darkly." The two chief characteristics which we seem to have distinguished in it are the perfection of the object and its manifestation to us in an especially clear and evident manner. Our definition may, therefore, run thus—the luminous manifestation to the senses or the imagination of the intrinsic perfections of an object.

There is still one problem which we have hitherto left unsolved, namely, the reason for the love which we feel towards the Beautiful. Why should the mere contemplation of a fair landscape fill our hearts with delight? What cause is there that our nature should react to this stimulus? And, more noteworthy still, why should

our own characters be enabled by our power to appreciate the higher forms of beauty?

The answer to this question is to be sought in the nature of the human will. The will is always attracted by what appears to the mind to be good. This is a law as universal as the law of gravitation. It is the spring of all our action, good and bad men alike acting because their will adheres to what seems good. The difference between the two classes lies in this, that while the good aim at what is truly the best, the bad, fixing their attention on something lower, cherish the idea of it until it influences them. We may see something similar in art. We perhaps prefer a badly executed sketch by some one whom we love to a far more beautiful one by a stranger. It is not that we are incapable of appreciating their respective merits, but that we have diverted our attention from the intrinsic excellence of the picture to a relative goodness which it possesses for us. Where, however, there is nothing of this kind to influence our judgment, our will acts spontaneously; it feels the attractive force of any perfection which is sufficiently apparent and adheres to it; in other words, the ultimate reason of our love for the Beautiful is to be sought in our natural tendency to what is good. If there was question of something which we saw to be good, but the enjoyment of which depended on any action on our part, the will would set our faculties in motion to attain our end. But here the enjoyment of the good lies purely in the act of contemplation, and the only task before us is to contemplate the beauty before us and fathom its perfections as far as we are able. In the contemplation itself we find satisfaction and delight.

Fr. Jungmann, late professor at the University of Innsbrück, in his important work, "*Æsthetik*," puts forward a theory which while similar in many respects to the view which we have maintained, differs from it in certain particulars. A brief account of this theory may be of interest, for it draws attention to a special aspect of natural beauty which has at all times appealed forcibly to all whose temperament has anything of poetry in it. Fr. Jungmann, indeed, insists strongly that our love for beauty is due to our natural desire for perfection; but he considers that in this case the operative force is the attraction which that which constitutes our own perfection naturally exerts upon us. We look, he says, on the face of nature and there behold perfections which we recognize as similar to those which we may see realized in our own souls. What we admire in the surge as it dashes against the rocks is its vigor; the colors of the sunset delight us with their harmony; the landscape with its variety and ordered peace; the cliffs by their unchangeable stability. We cannot fail to love those things which seem as if

were to be allied to us and to mirror the secrets of our hearts; and even without formulating to ourselves why we thus delight in the contemplation of beauty, we find satisfaction in it and love it.

It certainly seems at first sight that the resemblance which we thus trace is a poet's fancy. But our author assures us that there is a far more intimate connection between nature and ourselves than that which is made by the work of the imagination; it is no mere play of fancy that we see a resemblance to ourselves in the lower forms of creation, for they are truly allied to us. Man is in a special way the image of God; but all other created beings are the work of the same hand, and throughout creation, though there is infinite variety, there is no contradiction, and the whole cosmic order is one great manifestation of the Divine character. In this unity of creation as declaring its author, Fr. Jungmann finds the justification of his theory. It is in response to a law of our inmost being that man is attracted to what is in fact the Divine image stamped upon the external world.

What we have already said will have shown that we cannot accept this view altogether. Our love, as we believe, is motivated solely by the perfection of the object considered in itself. Nor do we think that it is in any way essential that there should be any similarity between the perfections which we admire in it and such as we seek to realize in ourselves. But there can be no doubt that we do find a special delight in tracing resemblances between the spiritual and the material world, and though these similes be the work of the imagination, yet we are conscious of something deeper than the mere play of the fancy; they often possess the power to give us a new insight into some spiritual truth, to raise for a moment the veil which hides from our sight the unseen world.

We may perhaps be allowed to quote as an illustration of this the last three verses from Mr. Warren's "Lines written at Minthead:"

"One lesson still my spirit learned  
From flood and daylight fleeting past,  
And from its own strange self that yearned  
Like them to lapse into the vast,  
And merge and end its vague unrest  
In some wide ocean of the West ;  
"Ere we can find true peace again,  
Our being must have second birth,  
Purged and made one through toil and pain  
With Him who rules and rounds the earth,  
Beyond the dark behind the light  
In mystery of the Infinite ;  
"And we like rivers from their source,  
Through cloud and shine, by deep and shoal,  
Must follow that which draws our course  
The Love that is its guide and goal :  
Of life of death ye made me free  
Waters and hills of Severn Sea."

It is true that the poet has here invested a scene rich already in its own perfections with a new loveliness in making it symbolic of the course of the soul towards God. But he has, it seems to us, won a greater success than this; for he has shown us a glimpse of a beauty of a far higher order, the beauty of that spiritual world which, since the senses are unable to perceive it, cannot appeal to us unless through the imagery of the poet.

Naturally, we do not realize the beauty of the relation of the soul to God. But in those verses, which take us to the shores of the Severn and bid us watch the waters rolling on to the great deep, we discover what its loveliness is.

Here, then, as we believe, we have the explanation of the fact, which seems to have exercised so great an influence on Fr. Jungmann, that we are always striving to express natural beauty in terms of our spiritual experience, and to represent our inner life by symbolism drawn from nature. We are conscious within ourselves of an order of beauty other than that which lies without us, but we are unable to realize it or to imagine its true character. We are thus driven to embody it in an external symbolism, through which it may appeal to us, however inadequately. Indeed, this need under which we lie of interpreting our mental states by the aid of visible phenomena is true not only of the beautiful, but of the terrible as well. Thus in *King Lear* Shakespeare uses the battle of the elements to bring before us the terrific nature of the tempest in the king's mind. And on the other hand the world without, glorious as it is, lacks something: if we really believed that it was nothing but matter, the product of a merely mechanical evolution, it could not seem to us to be really perfect, for thought and mind would be lacking to it; it would be unable to move our love. We therefore bring the external world into close connection with our spiritual life, and looking on it through a medium which as it were transfigures it, find in it a charm and a beauty which would otherwise be wanting.

Yet while we do not hold that we perceive beauty because the same perfection which we delight in is found in our own nature, we are in full accord with Fr. Jungmann when he tells us that the material world is a revelation of the beauty of God. Many an incident in the lives of the saints shows us how at all times the holiest souls have delighted to find new manifestations of God's perfections in the wealth of beauty which He has scattered round us. It was this thought which inspired the well-known lines of S. Francis d'Assisi and caused S. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi to shed tears of joy at the sight of a flower.

The soul was created to seek God, and it is for this reason that

it is ever seeking the good, for it recognizes some reflection of His perfection in all that is good and is attracted towards it. Beauty is but one manner in which He who is infinitely perfect shows Himself to us, and though our mind may be fully occupied by the intrinsic perfection of the object, and may not find its way from the creature to the Creator, yet if its beauty were not derived from Him it would possess nothing for us to admire. Once viewed in this light, the material world no longer lacks the spiritual element of beauty, nor depends on our imagination for its possession, for even in its humblest forms it reveals to us the thought of God. Thus, too, we are able to justify that instinctive feeling common to all men, that the perception of beauty elevates and ennoble the soul. No sensualist account of the origin of our ideas of beauty could explain this; with such an origin beauty might perhaps please us, but it could do nothing to ennoble. But that its tendency really does exercise a purifying and ennobling effect on us is the unanimous testimony of the wise from the days of Plato to those of Wordsworth. The contemplation of what is fair, of "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely" moulds us and influences us for good, as surely as the sordid surroundings of life in many of our great cities tend to deaden the imagination and to stunt the soul.

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## THE CELTIC GROUNDWORK OF "THE INFERNO" AND DANTE'S PROTOTYPE.

✓ **I**T is well known to students of the "Divina Commedia" that the poem did not spring from the brain of its author like Minerva from that of Jove, full-panoplied and full-grown. Mediæval literature is full of the rough-hewn materials which the Tuscan poet's genius, like a divinity in its action, shaped into an everlasting monument of thought. The genesis of the "Commedia" was somewhat akin to the formation of our own planetary system, according to the nebular hypothesis—a mere film of matter whirling wildly in space, gathering other particles and taking shape as it went, and at last emerging from chaos a magnificent and beautiful organism. Many

legends of visits to the world beyond our own had come down from early days, founded for the most part on the weird tradition of "St. Patrick's Purgatory." The most complete form of these quaint stories is found embodied in "The Golden Legend," and in Dante's day it was quite usual to have the story presented on the public stage in the popular form of religious drama called "Mystery." But there was a better defined groundwork for the "Inferno" still. It was handed down by Venerable Bede in his biography of the Irish culdee, St. Fursæus or Furseus.

If Shakespeare had been aware of the story of St. Furseus he would hardly have penned the line, "the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns," for the chief fact in this holy man's career was his death and restoration to life in a miraculous manner. Not only did he die, and then return to life, but this happened three times within the course of a few days. This may appear to some minds a staggering statement to make, but there is such convincing evidence of its truth to be relied on that no scholar versed in the literature of the early Irish Church entertains a shadow of doubt on the subject. Protestant scholars like Dean Reeves and the Rev. Baring-Gould have made their readers familiar with the wonderful story, but the best version of it is to be found in Sir Francis Palgrave's "History of Normandy and England." It was reduced to popular form so far back as the days of the Venerable Bede, who by commending a certain "little book" narrating the Saint's life proves that more than one biographer had already been at work on the wonderful story.

Here, then, was a man who had not only penetrated the secrets of the grave, but gave out, when his soul returned to its earthly envelope, what he had seen therein. Here, again, we find our gentle Shakespeare overdrawing the case when he makes the shade of the slain Danish King declare that "this eternal blazon must not be to ears of flesh and blood." Furseus's experience was more terrific even than the poet's fancy was able to conjure up. It was a tale, indeed, to harrow up the soul and make each particular hair to stand on end, if any utterance of human lips could effect such a marvel. And of its literal truth he brought back from the unseen world a living tangible proof of its horrors, in the shape of a hell-mark imprinted on his person by the arch-fiend. The demon whom the angel-guide of the Saint through the Shadow of Death had vanquished flung at him the form of a lost sinner from whom Furseus had accepted a gift in life, and the force of the blow left a burning scar on his cheek and another on his shoulder. These wounds, imprinted as with a searing iron, were seen to appear on the Saint's body as he lay in the swoon of death.



In this particular fact—a fact demonstrated and testified by so many indubitable witnesses that Venerable Bede and other chroniclers accept it unreservedly—we have a mystery of psychology and physiology more unfathomable than anything ever recorded before, save with regard to the post-mortem sojourn of the Saviour in the tomb. Flesh and spirit seemed to have been united in the flight of the Saint through the world of shadows, and yet the flesh was there, before the eyes of the watchers, though frozen in the chill of death. Here is a problem before which metaphysical speculation is paralyzed. St. Fursey's hell-brand, if one may without derogation so style the scars he bore from the conflict with Satan, is more wonderful in its way than even the stigmata of St. Francis or St. Catherine. Taking into review all the circumstances of the case, the episode is the most incomprehensible mystery, and at the same time the most convincing proof of the Divine power, even over the hosts of perdition, that ever was given to man.

Hence while Dante's rhapsody may aptly be described as a Vision, St. Fursey's revelation, which by many writers is also styled a Vision, bears the same relation to a picture of the mind as a dream does to the sleep-action of the somnambulist. It reveals a hidden link between body and spirit explicable only to the Divine intelligence, and shown to the world in order that its faith might be strengthened in proportion as its curiosity is left unsatisfied.

That it was with the Prince of the fallen angels himself the soul of the Saint had a conflict it is impossible to doubt. It was on the second night of his trance, if we may so term it, that the encounter took place. On the first night he had apparently died, with the words of a psalm on his lips. This was in the monastery at Rathmor, or Kill-Fursa as it is now styled—a cenobium which he had founded on an island in Lough Corrib. Around his couch were assembled his waiting and watching disciples and companions. When the veil of death, as they believed, had fallen upon his eyes he beheld four hands extended downwards, then four vast white wings spread out, and lifted by angelic arms he was borne away through spirit-space. Faces of indescribable beauty he now found his conductors bore, and presently he discerned a third angel, of dazzling mien, armed with shield and sword of blinding radiance, marshaling the way. The blessed trio, as they advanced, chanted in strains of glorious harmony the words of the prophet, "The saints shall advance from virtue to virtue, the God of gods shall be seen in Zion." Soon the music appeared to be caught up by myriads of voices, and as the travelers neared the throng the light became insupportable and the music overpowering in its sweetness

and immensity of volume, leaving only one definite line upon his spiritual ear: "They shall come out before the face of Christ."

He fain would have tarried forever in this entrancing gate of heaven, but the angels bore him back to earth with a promise that they would return. He awoke to find his friends standing disconsolate beside his pillow; he held his peace regarding what he had beheld, but, fortified by the Holy Sacrament, he awaited the promised return of the angelic visit.

Next evening, at the hour of tierce, the house being full of his kinsmen and followers, the numbness of death again fell upon his frame, and he became, to all outward semblance, a corpse. He had not spoken to any one of his previous experience, and those around him now gave him up as forever lost to earth. But his time had not as yet come. No sooner was the glaze of death upon his eyes than the same hands and faces that had greeted him before again presented themselves, and again was he borne with the swiftness of thought through the invisible spaces.

No obstacle had arisen in the course of the first journey, but in the second the spiritual wayfarers had to cleave their way through an intercepting host from the nether world. Why this was so is not attempted to be explained. We can only theorize on the analogous physical fact in meteorology, when the earth, after sailing many months in clear space, finds itself suddenly plunged into the midst of a dense stratum of meteorites and shooting stars. May not the vault of space be also occupied at times with clouds of malignant spirits, intent on evil to the souls of men?

In our present condition we can only speculate on this profound metaphysical theme, but limited as our knowledge of the laws of matter and spirit is, we have too many recorded instances of the influence of individual evil spirits upon mortals to doubt of their existence, though we may wonder at their audacity and the wide latitude allowed them in the working out of their fell designs. Let any one who doubts what St. Fursey said he saw, while his material eyes were closed, to all appearance, in death, recollect what is visible to his own eyes in the land of dreams. Our senses are for the time suspended, yet we see faces and objects and hear sounds and conversation, experience feelings of repugnance or pleasure in connection with those of whom we dream, exactly as we feel or have felt in our waking hours. This is a tangible fact, within the experience of every human adult; and we can no more explain it than we can the boundless phenomena of visible nature. Yet we have scoffing skeptics who, because they cannot seize hold of the unseen forces behind those things as they seize hold of chemical agencies and subject them to scientific material tests,

have the audacity to deny that there is anything behind the visible and tangible phenomena of nature and life.

We have here to note another significant difference between the creation of Dante's imagination and the actual record of a soul's experience, as furnished in the narrative of the Irish Saint. In the "*Divina Commedia*" the poet followed the archaic cosmography of Aristotle and the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, making his inferior world to correspond in configuration to the plan of a volcanic crater, with nine successive circles of punishment narrowing down to one central point of concentrated torture and eternal energy of punitive malice. The nine stages of beatitude, antithetically, ascend in gradually widening circles of honor and bliss until they embrace the whole extent of the universe beyond the fixed stars—the "*Primum Mobile*" or crystalline heaven where the angels and archangels, the cherubim and seraphim, God's mighty lieutenants, carry out His behests in the ordering of all things beneath and the music of the celestial choirs is perpetual.

Matters of cosmography and time measurement are existent only in the human mind. They are artificial arrangements, necessary to man and dependent on the planetary system of which this world of ours is taken as the centre. St. Fursey's spirit-flight took him beyond the bounds of the physical world. He was taken into a region wherein mathematical and astronomical terms lose their meaning. Hence, in his revelation we meet with no reference to anything touching on measurement or period or locality. We are led without explanation into a plane of spiritual life in which the laws which govern the mundane life are non-existent. This fact at once impresses the mind, and enables us to distinguish the work of the poetical fancy from the genuine utterance of an experience impressed upon the soul by means which could never be forgotten, so awful were they in their reality.

He describes the first contact with the outposts of the enemy as ushered in by horrible cries from the dark abyss. He could distinctly hear one of the demons summoning his companions to stop his progress and make war upon his angelic conductors. Then he beheld to the left of his path what seemed to be a great cloud rising from the deep, whirling and swaying as it ascended; and on looking closer found it to be composed of demoniac shapes twined in a writhing, confused mass. Presently this mass extended and began to assume the shape of embattled legions. The faces and forms of these infernal soldiers, he discerned on nearer approach, were most horrible to behold. They were not substantial, but seemed to melt into each other and pass through each other, as they flew hither and thither, as though they were only shadows or

exhalations. They flung themselves upon his angelic guides, but the warrior angel beat them off with his irresistible sword and his impenetrable white buckler. Then the leaders began to argue with the messengers of heaven. They began by saying that it was unjust on God's part to save sinners from doom, as it was written that "not only they who sin, but those who agree with sinners, are worthy of death." Many more things they urged, showing that they had a very intimate knowledge of the Saint's human imperfections in his earlier days. Several of the arguments used were taken literally from the words of the Gospel, such as—"Unless you be converted and live as little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." "This man," one demon added, "has by no means fulfilled that precept." To all these specious pleas the angel's almost invariable answer was, "He shall be judged before the Lord." To one of the demon's astute arguments he retorted with a query as to how Fursey had failed to observe his Master's behests. "He has accepted the gifts of the wicked, before they had given proof of their repentance," was the wily one's response. This had reference to the fact that the Saint had been bequeathed a garment by a man who was dying, and it was the form of this unfortunate being, who had been consigned to eternal perdition, which was hurled at Fursey, on his return journey, as the baffled demons retired from the conflict. It struck him, as he believed, on the shoulder, and his face also felt the impact of the cheek of the damned. The frightful contest was at last terminated by the arrival of the wayfarers at the celestial gates. The eyes of the Saint were transfixed with the glory of the outer circle of the Holy of Holies, and his soul was ravished with the divine melody of the sea of song which surged up from myriad angel voices. It was not given to him, however, to gaze upon the inner paradise, but from within came two glorified Irish saints, Meldan and Beoan, who bade him go back to earth and resume his labors for the reclamation of sinners. He was escorted back by the same angelic convoy, and on arriving at his monastery saw himself laid out as dead with his friends and brethren standing around his couch in sorrow and prayer. Their amazement at his return to life was beyond the power of words to express, and when he told of his experience and showed the marks of the fiend's attack, which remained with him, a burning reminder, until his death, they were simply stupefied. The matter was committed in full detail, as it fell from his lips, to writing. Twelve months afterward, on the anniversary of the same day, he was again stricken as by death, and again was he carried away to the abode of the blest. On this occasion he was directed to go abroad, to Britain and Gaul, and

preach Christ there. Twelve years, he was told, he was to have for this work, and so it turned out. He did as he was bidden, and the conversion of many thousand heathen in those lands was the fruit of his wonderful apostleship.

Fursey's first missionary efforts were spent in East Anglia. Sigebert II., the ruler of that territory in those days, was extremely anxious for the diffusion of Christianity and education among his uncouth and unskilful subjects. He had already secured the help of Felix the Burgundian and a staff of teachers from the famous monastery of Canterbury; and Felix, having been consecrated as Bishop, fixed his see at Dunwick. He found that the magnitude of the task presented to him required much more help; and Sigebert, who had been converted and baptized in Gaul by St. Columbanus, could think of none better qualified than the monastic compatriots of that great apostle to win over the hearts of a rude and fractious people. Simple wants, a winning kindliness of manner, an unostentatious but profound piety, an unfailing cheerfulness under all physical drawbacks or moral difficulties were the invariable characteristics of those wonderful men who, coming forth from the Isle of Destiny, had spread themselves over the West of Europe, to sow the seed and gather the harvest where the swords of Attila's Huns had ploughed and drenched the soil. Augustin Thierry testifies to the hold they speedily obtained over the people of the Continent by their simplicity of life, their wonderful eloquence and the extreme ease with which they conformed to the customs and the way of life of the localities where they settled down to their beneficent labors. They asked nothing more than ground on which to build their encampment of wattled huts, and this once given, as it was in most cases, most gladly, it was not long ere the scrubby and weed-overgrown waste bloomed forth as a garden. Their whole outfit, according to the eminent antiquary, Dr. Wattenbach, consisted of a pilgrim's staff, a wallet, a little case containing holy relics and a leathern water-bottle. Money or valuables they neither possessed nor accepted. Their practice was to pitch their encampment in the vicinity of some large town or city; and thus, says Dr. Wattenbach, "they first supplied the defect in the organization of Christian society which arose with the development of cities, for until their time monasteries had been founded only in the solitude of the country, excepting such as were attached to episcopal seats." Sigebert had had personal experience of these blessings and potencies; hence when he heard that a company of these saintly Irish missionaries had landed on the opposite shores of Britain, under the leadership of Fursey, he lost no time in inducing them to visit his kingdom and in placing a piece of ground at

their disposal. Here, according to the Venerable Bede, while converting many unbelievers to Christ by the example of his virtues and the efficacy of his preaching, Fursey was again visited by his angelic friends and admonished to proceed diligently with his work as well as to continue his watching and prayers. In consequence of this vision, adds the historian, he applied himself with all speed to build a monastery on the ground given him by King Sigebert, and to establish regular discipline therein. The site was formerly the Roman station called Ganionum, but when the Romans had evacuated Britain, their Saxon successors had given the place the less euphonious name of Cnobbersburgh. On this site St. Fursey built his monastery, and Venerable Bede says it was a noble one, and worthy of its great object. After Sigebert's death his successor and the nobility of the kingdom endowed it richly, so that it soon sprang into a cluster of stately buildings, attracting many of the youth of the country to the religious life.

During this period of his life there were many repetitions, Venerable Bede tells us, of those wonderful hints from the world beyond which made Saint Fursey take the initial step in his missionary career. "As for the matter of his visions," he says, "he would only relate them to those who from holy zeal and desire of reformation, wished to learn the same." Whatever the hearer or reader of those extraordinary revelations might think or feel about their relation, they would seem to have had phenomenal effects upon their subject. Bede himself did not witness what he writes of, but he declares he has had the story from good sources. One of the witnesses whom he quotes testifies that though it was mid-winter weather, with a sharp frost, when St. Fursey was telling of his trans-mundane experiences, and though the narrator had on only a thin garment, perspiration poured from him as though it were a hot day in summer.

In this epoch of high criticism it will take much argument to convince any student of the exacting kind that there is any value whatever to be placed upon such primitive legends. They will not be accepted as proof that such visions were beheld by those who declared themselves their subjects, or that, if they were so beheld, they establish anything more than a preternaturally active brain on the part of the beholders. It is impossible, however, to deny the existence of a mass of definite lore upon the subject, and a concurrence of testimony on the part of witnesses separated by long intervals of time and latitude. The Visions of Tundale, the Voyage of St. Brendan and the story of St. Patrick's Purgatory were fused into a Latin romance, purporting to relate the supernatural experiences of the Knight Owen Miles, by Henry, a monk of Saltry, in

Huntingdonshire; and this work soon acquired a European reputation. An English translation of it was quickly followed by three different metrical renderings in French, as well as one in Anglo-Norman by the famous poetess Marie de France. As this stream of undoubtedly Celtic origin rolled down the years it received many an accession from other springs and rivulets. It was swollen by the visions of St. Mechtildis, St. Hildegarde, St. Elizabeth of Schönau, St. Bridget of Sweden and the Italian monk Alberic, of Monte Cassino. Giraldus Cambrensis, who traveled through Ireland for the purpose of calumniating its people, refers to the mysterious lakes and islands of Ulster with their terrible but glorious associations. In the next century Matthew Paris related the progress of a pilgrim through the purgatorial regions, and Froissart, later on, also embodied the narrative in his Chronicles. In an Italian romance (attributed to Andrea Patria) of the same period, the "Guerrino detto il Meschino," a similar pilgrimage of one of Charlemagne's knights was very popular. So famous had Lough Derg become by reason of these legends and romances that pilgrimages to it became the order of the day. The late Sir John Gilbert quoted extracts from the archives of Dublin Castle giving certificates from King Edward III. declaring that certain Italian noblemen had faithfully performed the Lough Derg pilgrimage. In these documents the place is referred to as "the Purgatory of St. Patrick." These noblemen were Malatesta Ungaro, of Rimini, and Nicolo Beccaria, of Ferrara. This quaint royal document is so much evidence of the genuine piety of those early days and indirectly of the authenticity of the stories about the "Purgatory," that it is not amiss to quote it, as translated by Sir John Gilbert from the old Norman-French:

"Among the archives of England are enrolled certificates, issued by Edward III. during the viceroyalty of St. Amand, declaring that Malatesta Ungaro of Rimini, and Nicolo de Beccaria of Ferrara, had performed pilgrimages to the famous Purgatory of St. Patrick, Lough Derg. Ungaro, Lord of Rimini, Fano, Pesano and Fos-sombrone, was renowned in Italy for his warlike enterprises, his knowledge and piety. 'Whereas,' wrote the King of England, 'Malatesta Ungaro, of Rimini, a nobleman and knight, hath presented himself before us, and declared that, traveling from his own country, he had, with many bodily toils, visited the Purgatory of St. Patrick, in our land of Ireland, and for the space of a day and a night, as is the custom, remained therein enclosed, and now earnestly beseeches us that, for the confirmation of the truth thereof, we should grant him our royal letters: we, therefore, considering the dangers and perils of his pilgrimage, and although the assertion

of such a noble might on this suffice, yet we are further certified thereof by letters from our trusty and beloved Almaric de St. Amand, knight, justiciary of Ireland, and from the prior and convent of the said Purgatory, and others of great credit, as also by clear evidence, that the said nobleman had duly and courageously performed his pilgrimage; we have consequently thought worthy to give favorably unto him our royal authority concerning the same, to the end there may be no doubt made of the premised; and that the truth may more clearly appear, we have deemed proper to grant unto him these our letters, under our royal seal.'"<sup>1</sup>

Whether Dante was ever really in Oxford, as some writers believe, or not, there is not the smallest doubt that he was well versed in all the marvelous legendary lore of Ireland. He was, as the Vicomte de Villamonque declared, "nurtured on the marrow of Celtic legends." Fazio degli Uberti, in his famous poem called "The Dittamondo," leaves us in no doubt of the familiarity of the early Italian writers with the subject of the famous "Purgatory." A crude English translation of this work, unearthed by the graceful Irish essayist, the late Mrs. Sarah Atkinson, embraces in a cursory general description of Ireland this special reference to Lough Derg:

"Thus, exploring the distant parts of the country and making inquiries on the way, we got information concerning a certain very holy and devout monastery. Thither we betook ourselves, and there were hospitably received. The good monks conducted us to the cave which makes the blessed Patrick so famous.

"'What shall we do?' said my beloved counsellor to me. 'Do you wish to pass within? You are so anxious to fathom the meaning of everything new and strange!'

"'No,' I replied, 'I will not enter without the advice of the monks; for it is terrible to me to think of penetrating to the very depths of hell.'

"Thereupon one of the monks answered: 'If you do not feel yourself pure and clean, resolute and full of faith, you cannot be sure of returning should you enter.'

"And I said: 'If you can satisfy me on this point: rumors are afloat through the world concerning many who have come back from those torments.'

"To which he replied: 'With regard to Patrick and Nicholas, there can be no doubt whatever that they went in and returned by this entrance. As for the others, I cannot venture to say that one

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gilbert gives in a note (p. 513) a passage from Muratori's *Annals of Italy*, in which the last illness of the aged Malatesta, Lord of Rimini [A. D. 1364] is referred to and a high testimony borne to the piety and good works by which such edification was given in his latter days. The certificate given above is inscribed on the patent rolls in the Tower of London, under the year 1358.



in a hundred may not have the reputation of having made the descent. But I do not know one for certain.'

"Solinus broke in: 'Put away this idea and do not tempt your God. It would be a grievous thing if any one were to perish here. It is enough for us to carry on our researches above ground.'

"'You are quite right,' said the monk. And then, departing, we bade farewell to the community whom we left behind."

Italian MSS. versions of the Voyage of St. Brendan, St. Patrick's Purgatory, the Visions of Tundale and some minor Irish legends of a similar character were extant in Dante's time, as Professor Villari, at the Dante centenary of 1865, demonstrated. These fascinating snatches of the supernatural, this learned authority believes, had a powerful effect upon the poet's imagination. We find many scenes, many personages and many punishments related in those legends utilized in Dante's descriptions. The portrayal of the figure of Lucifer especially he finds suggested by the weird and terrific limning of the early Irish depicitors.

In his "Heroes and Hero-Worship" Carlyle touches upon this question of the genesis of the "Divina Commedia," but in a characteristic way. In his grandiose, jerky and didactic method he recalls the fact that Dante is but the craftsman, the smith fashioning the metal he finds to his hand. "He is the spokesman of the Middle Ages; the thought they lived by stands here, in everlasting music." This is very fine, and no less true. But it is not very honest. Carlyle suppressed the fact that the thought was furnished by the Irish Celt, for the simple reason that he detested the very name. Ireland, to him, was the home of "human swine." What heroes could come out of such a land as this?

That eminent priest and antiquary, Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, in his "Lives of Irish Saints," establishes still more closely the connection between the Irish legends and the great Italian poem. He sees in the "Visions of St. Fursey" the prime idea as well as the plan of Dante's work. Various passages, which he juxtaposes with each other, in both works show so much similarity in thought and phrase as to leave no doubt of the immediate connection. The venerable Canon has made a special study of Lough Derg, its present conditions, its past, its voluminous literature and its earliest traditions. Lough Derg, where the "Purgatory" is situate, lies in the County Donegal, not far from the town of Ballyshannon. On its bosom there are several small islands. To two of these in especial—Station Island and Saint's Island—the footsteps of the pilgrims have been turned all the centuries during which the fame of the place has proved magnetic; and thither still, it may be remarked, crowds of the devout in Ireland and from distant Catholic places wend their

way to go through salutary penitential exercises, in the season between June and Lady Day in August. As early as the sixth century a monastery was founded on Saint's Island by St. Dabheoc, and later on, all during the Middle Ages, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine had a religious house on the same island, till they were expelled by the emissaries of the recreant Stuart monarch, James the First. At present it is Station Island which is most affected by the great body of the pious visitors. The locality, situated in the midst of a desolate brown moorland, ringed around with low, shapeless heather-clad masses of hillocks, is dreary and depressing; hence it is not wonderful that the impressionable Irish mind early linked the place with the world of the weird and the terrible. Canon O'Hanlon has traced this impression even so far back as pre-Christian days in Ireland. In a more recent work of his called "Irish Local Legends, he links the past with the present in this web of folk-lore regarding Saint's Island:

"In the old Pagan times a peistha or water serpent of immense girth and of still greater trail was believed to haunt the celebrated Lough Derg in the northern parts of Ireland. Sometimes his horrid head and open jaws were seen above the surface, as if drawing in the upper air. More frequently the fishermen saw him gliding slowly through the depths. When St. Patrick landed at Saint's Island that large water serpent was known to have tenanted the waters of Lough Derg. He had caused the destruction of many a dwelling on the banks. But the Saint could not tolerate the presence of such a monster, and accordingly with a stroke of his staff the peistha was destroyed. Afterwards the waters of the lough began to assume a reddish tinge, so freely did the monster bleed, and to the present day has that color continued; hence the name given to it—Red Lake. The skeleton remained on Station Island to the beginning of the present century, as the old people living around the shore are ready to asseverate; and many of them have conversed with persons who alleged they saw the last remaining portions of that serpent's body mouldering into dust."

Dante may have heard of this monster, regarded, no doubt, as a sort of guardian of the mysterious region beyond the material world at Lough Derg. As he approaches the city of Dis, the metropolis of Lucifer, he descries the Furies above the chief portals, surrounded by thousands of demons. The horrent damsels, as depicted in Greek mythology, were represented with coils of serpents for hair. Dante gives them an addition:

"Around them greenest hydras twisting roll'd  
Their volumes, adders and cerastes crept  
Instead of hair, and their fierce temples bound."

But as in Dante symbolism is usually intended by the introduction of animal life into various pictures, so in the literature of St. Patrick's Purgatory the same media may be employed for a similar purpose. The driving out of serpents and venomous creatures generally, ascribed to the Apostle of Ireland, would seem to be merely allegorical; for there are no fossils or skeletons of saurian species found in the island, and Cambrensis and other early writers, noting the absence of such noxious forms of animal life, explain it by the quality of the air and the soil, whose peculiar property it is that nothing venomous can find vitality there. But, while it seems useless to speculate on the origin of this curious legend of a water-serpent at Lough Derg, it is highly probable that it came, together with the rest of the folk-lore concerning the mysterious region, to the ears of Dante, and helped in the formation of his own symbolism in the "Commedia."

There can be no doubt whatever, then, that the structure of Dante's work was almost entirely compact of Celtic material. This does not detract, by any means, from the majesty of the work. The great fabric of theology, philosophy, metaphysics, astronomy and history which he has reared out of the crude mediæval story is not affected in its claim to originality by the points of resemblance it presents either to St. Fursey's Vision or the references in the "Dittamondo."

He would, indeed, be an exacting critic who demanded entirely new materials as well as entire novelty in treatment in such great creations of master-minds. Of such a one Dante might complain, as Beatrice does to the angels when apologizing for her admirer:

"When from flesh  
To spirit I had risen, and increase  
Of beauty and of virtue circled me,  
I was less dear to him, and valued less."

The difference between the ancient legends and the sublime edifice of Dante's poem may not inappropriately be likened to the change from flesh to spirit—from the bald and meagre statement to the myriad-hued, subtly-woven, empyrean-piercing epic of the soul which has justly earned the title of Divine.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

REVIEW OF THE PAULINE CHRONOLOGY.—II. V

**I**N our first paper we have reviewed the Pauline chronology as far as it coincides with the historical part of the Book of Acts or down to the end of the Apostle's two years' imprisonment in Rome, and we have seen that the so-called New Chronology places this event about 59 A. D., while the Old Chronology dates it about 63 A. D. All agree that Paul died in the persecution of Nero, which began A. D. 64 and cannot have lasted beyond the Emperor's death, June 9, A. D. 68. But this leaves four or five years open for the martyrdom of Paul, and our nineteenth century critics have improved of their opportunity for hypothesis and conjecture. There are those who contend that the Apostle suffered martyrdom after his two years' Roman captivity mentioned at the close of Acts, A. D. 64;<sup>1</sup> others are of opinion that Paul was set free after his two years' imprisonment, about 59 A. D., and that after the lapse of five years he was taken again and put to death in July, A. D. 64;<sup>2</sup> others again maintain that the Apostle's liberation took place about A. D. 63, and his death A. D. 67.<sup>3</sup> Omitting in the present paper the minor difficulties of the subject, we shall dwell only on the principal questions: 1. Was Paul set free after a detention of two years in Rome? 2. Does the Apostle's double Roman imprisonment agree better with the New Chronology than with the Old? 3. What are the main events of Paul's life that intervene between his first Roman imprisonment and the second? Were we to answer these questions in order, we should have to quote the same authorities three times; in order to avoid useless repetition, we shall first investigate all the evidence referring to the points in question, and then briefly sum up the conclusions.

1. *The Pauline Epistles.* It is plain from Phil. i., 7, 13; iv., 22, that the Apostle wrote this epistle when he was in "bonds," near the "court," with the saints "of Cæsar's household;" in other words, when he was a prisoner in Rome. What the Apostle says, i., 12-20, about the success of his labors in his bonds leads us to believe that he must have been some time in Rome before writing to the Philippians. From this we infer that the prisoner was tolerably well acquainted with the hopes and dangers of his case. Now, though the words of i., 20, "so now also shall Christ be magnified in my

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jülicher, Einl., p. 125. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Harnack, *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, pp. 240 ff. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Zahn, Einl. in d. N. T., i., pp. 435 ff.

body, whether (it be) by life or by death," show that Paul has not as yet absolute certainty concerning his future fate; still, a few lines further on<sup>1</sup> he expresses his sincere conviction that his present captivity will not end in death: "But to abide still in the flesh is needful for you. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide, and continue with you all, for your furtherance and joy of faith." This hope is repeated in even clearer terms in the second chapter:<sup>2</sup> "And I trust in the Lord that I myself shall also come to you shortly." Finally, the epistle to Philemon,<sup>3</sup> probably written a little later than the epistle to the Philippians, contains the express warning: "But withal prepare me also a lodging. For I hope that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." If we add to these passages Rom. xv., 24, "When I shall begin to take my journey into Spain, I hope that as I pass, I shall see you," we obtain the following results: 1, The Apostle clearly expected a sentence of acquittal in Rome; 2, he intended to visit the church at Philippi, in Macedonia, and Philemon, in Asia Minor, after his acquittal; 3, we may suppose that during his Roman captivity he had not given up his intention of visiting Spain.

These inferences are confirmed by the following considerations: First, as far as the Roman authorities were concerned, they had no special charge against the Apostle; the Governor, Festus, did not know what to write against him,<sup>4</sup> and the persecution of Christians had not yet begun. For, according to Act. xxviii., 30, Paul "remained two whole years in his own hired lodging," so that even if we assume that he arrived in Rome only in the spring of A. D. 62, his fate must have been decided before the beginning of the persecution, October A. D. 64. That this last event cannot have occurred before October may be inferred from Tacitus,<sup>5</sup> who testifies that the persecution broke out on account of the fire, and at the same time<sup>6</sup> places between the fire, July 18-24, and the persecution a great number of other events. Secondly, the Jewish authorities appear to have been quite remiss in prosecuting their charge against the Apostle. When the latter arrived in Rome, the Jewish community there testified: "We neither received letters concerning thee from Judea, neither did any of the brethren that came hither relate or speak any evil of thee."<sup>7</sup> There is no sign of any renewed hostility during the two following years; the Jews were so sorely pressed by the vicious government of their procurator, Albinus, 62-64 A. D.,<sup>8</sup> that they found no time to urge the condemnation of the prisoner who had vanished from their sight and whose reputed crime was a matter of the past. Thirdly, the contents of Tit. and I., II. Tim., as compared with

<sup>1</sup> I. 24, 25. <sup>2</sup> II. 124. <sup>3</sup> 22. <sup>4</sup> Act xxv., 18 ff.; xxvi., 32. <sup>5</sup> Ann. xv., 38-41; cf. Sueton. Nero, 38; Eus. Chron. a. Abrah. 2079. <sup>6</sup> Ibid., cc. 42-47. <sup>7</sup> Act xxviii., 31. <sup>8</sup> Cf. Schürer, "The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ." I., ii., p. 188.

the narrative of the Book of Acts, show that these epistles were not written before or during the Apostle's two years' Roman captivity.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the epistle to Titus must have been written in the vicinity of Nicopolis in Epirus,<sup>2</sup> I. Tim. in Macedonia,<sup>3</sup> and II. Tim. again in a Roman prison, but under circumstances wholly different from those accompanying the Apostle's first detention.<sup>4</sup> If, then, these three pastoral epistles are authentic, and their authenticity cannot be doubted, the Apostle must have recovered his freedom after his first Roman captivity, journeyed through parts of Greece and Asia Minor, and then fallen again into the hands of the Roman authorities. Zahn<sup>5</sup> points out that these conclusions are valid even if we make the false supposition that Tit., I., II. Tim. are spurious, being written by a pseudo-Paul between 70 and 140 A. D. For had not Christian tradition even at that early date clearly contained the record of Paul's two Roman imprisonments and of the intervening journeys, no pseudonymous writer could have dared to connect these events so closely with his would-be Pauline epistles. Finally, the author of Acts would certainly have acted very strangely in omitting the death of the Apostle, if it had occurred immediately after his two years' imprisonment. After devoting chapters xv.-xxviii. to the history of Paul, relating often incidents of minor importance, he naturally must be expected to give an account of the Apostle's martyrdom, too, if it falls within the range of his narrative. From the silence of Acts on this event we rightly infer that it occurred after the times chronicled in Acts.

Against the inference that Paul, after his sentence of acquittal in Rome, revisited the churches of Asia Minor, our opponents allege the words of the Apostle as recorded in Act xx., 25: "And now behold I know that all you, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." At first sight the exception appears to be valid, since the context of the words shows that they were spoken at Miletus to the ancients of Ephesus about two years and a half before the Apostle's first Roman captivity. To say that our inferences have been derived from Paul's words as written down by himself, while the exception is based on Paul's words as recorded by another person, either does not remove the difficulty or creates a new one against the inerrancy of Sacred Scripture. Nor is it consistent with the nature of inspiration to assume that Paul inspired (Act. xx., 25) must be corrected by Paul inspired (Phil. ii., 24). Again, it can hardly be maintained that the Apostle, in Act xx., 25, does not refer to a mere visit, but speaks of a permanent relation of shepherd and flock. It would be equally nugatory to contend that the Apostle may have revisited the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cornely, *Introd.* in U. T., iii., pp. 563, 569, 576. <sup>2</sup> Tit. iii., 12. <sup>3</sup> I. Tim. i., 3; iii., 14, 15. <sup>4</sup> II. Tim. iv., 6 ff.; i., 8, 16, 17, etc. <sup>5</sup> *Einleit.* i., p. 43c.

churches of Asia Minor without seeing the elders of Ephesus; for in I. Tim. i., 3, he is represented as going from Ephesus to Macedonia, and according to I. Tim. iii., 14, he expects to return to Ephesus shortly. The only satisfactory solution therefore is found in the assumption that the uninspired words of the Apostle as recorded by the inspired author of Acts must be corrected by the inspired words of the same Apostle as recorded in Phil., Philem., Tit., I. and II. Tim.; in other words, Acts xx., 25, records a merely natural persuasion of the Apostle which proved to be false in the event, though it seemed to be well founded when Paul gave utterance to it.

To sum up the results of our investigation of the Pauline epistles, the Apostle regained his liberty A. D. 63, or early in 64; he visited Crete,<sup>1</sup> the churches of Asia, and especially Ephesus,<sup>2</sup> the churches of Macedonia,<sup>3</sup> then Asia again,<sup>4</sup> by way of Troas,<sup>5</sup> and finally went by way of Miletus<sup>6</sup> to Nicopolis,<sup>7</sup> and through Macedonia and Achaia to Corinth<sup>8</sup> and Rome. Nor can it be said that these various journeys of the Apostle must be identified with those recorded in Acts. That his visit to Crete mentioned in Tit. i., 5, cannot be the same as that mentioned in Acts xxvii., 7, ff., follows from the fact that during the latter he was a prisoner, while he was free during the former.<sup>9</sup> Again, the Cretan visit cannot fall in the time before Paul's residence in Ephesus during his third missionary journey; for at that time Apollo was not yet among the Apostle's companions,<sup>10</sup> while this was the case at the time of the Cretan visit.<sup>11</sup> Since, finally, the visit in question cannot fall in the period of the Apostle's residence at Ephesus,<sup>12</sup> it must evidently have occurred after his first Roman captivity. The same line of reasoning may be followed as to the time of the journey from Ephesus to Macedonia, mentioned in I. Tim. i., 3. It cannot be identical with the journey recorded in Acts xx., 1, since, before and during the latter, Timothy was absent from Ephesus, having been sent into Macedonia,<sup>13</sup> where he stayed with Paul when writing the second epistle to the Corinthians,<sup>14</sup> while during the journey mentioned in I. Tim. i., 3, Timothy remained at Ephesus. Finally, the Apostle's journey to Rome, related in the last chapters of Acts, cannot be identified with that presupposed in II. Tim.; for on the latter the Apostle passed through Troas,<sup>15</sup> Miletus and Corinth,<sup>16</sup> places which he did not touch on his former Roman journey.<sup>17</sup>

2. *The epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* was certainly written about 96 A. D. In it the Roman Church deplores the feuds that have gained ground in the Church at Corinth, whose present state

<sup>1</sup> Tit. i., 5. <sup>2</sup> Tim. i., 3. <sup>3</sup> I. Tim. i., 3. <sup>4</sup> I. Tim. iii., 14. <sup>5</sup> II. Tim. iv., 13. <sup>6</sup> II. Tim. iv., 20. <sup>7</sup> Tit. iii., 12. <sup>8</sup> II. Tim. iv., 20. <sup>9</sup> Tit. iii., 12. <sup>10</sup> Cf. Act xviii., 24; I. Cor. xvi., 12. <sup>11</sup> Tit. iii., 13. <sup>12</sup> Act xix., 9 f.; xx., 31. <sup>13</sup> Act xix., 22. <sup>14</sup> II. Cor. i., 1. <sup>15</sup> II. Tim. iv., 13. <sup>16</sup> II. Tim. iv., 20. <sup>17</sup> Act xxvii., xxviii.

is wholly different from their exemplary concord and charity in the past. Now, their ruling passion is envy, which led Cain to slay his brother, sent Jacob into exile, persecuted Joseph, compelled Moses to flee, drove Aaron and Miriam out of the camp, threw Dathan and Abiram alive into the pit, and incited Saul against David. After developing these thoughts the writer comes to the passage that bears on our present question. "But to pass from the examples of ancient days, let us come to those champions who lived nearest to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. There was Peter, who, by reason of unrighteous jealousy, endured not one or two, but many labors, and thus having borne his testimony, went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife Paul, by his example, pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance."<sup>1</sup>

In order to appreciate this passage at its full value, we must add the following considerations. First, the writer speaks of persons he has known and of facts he has witnessed. This is rendered most probable by several expressions that occur in the passage. The phrase rendered, "who lived nearest to our time," reads in Greek, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγγιστά γενομένους "to those that are nearest" to us either in time or in place. That the writer implies nearness of time follows from the expression in the next sentence, "which belong to our generation." That nearness of place is implied may be inferred from the phrase, "among ourselves," occurring in the first sentence after the passage we have quoted. Besides, the author betrays a certain degree of familiarity with his two heroes: Not to mention his accurate information "that he (Paul) had been seven times in bonds," a statement that occurs in no written document before 96 A. D., we must draw attention to the phrase rendered, "let us set before our eyes the good Apostles." For Zahn<sup>2</sup> has pointed out that, according to the usual Greek construction, we must translate "let us take in view our good apostles," i. e., the apostles of the Romans and the Corinthians; the writer appears to imply a per-

<sup>1</sup> Clem. I. Cor. 5; Engl. transl. by Lightfoot. <sup>2</sup> Einl. i., pp. 445 f.



sonal acquaintance with them, both on his part and on that of his readers. If the words of Clement contained no such implication, there would be no reason for restricting the meaning of "our good Apostles" to Peter and Paul alone, since the suffering of James and of the other Apostles would have illustrated the point in question equally well.

Secondly, according to the passage of Clement, Paul suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Nero, though the year of his suffering is not accurately determined. It is true that in the language of Clement, *μαρτυρεῖν*, "to bear testimony," does not yet have the meaning, "to suffer martyrdom," which it acquired during the course of the second century; but the whole context of the passage shows that the testimony borne by Paul immediately preceded his suffering. On the one hand, the phrase "contended unto death" prepares us for this meaning, and on the other, the climax requires it. The sufferers are described as the "champions who lived nearest to our time," and again, as the "noble examples which belong to our generation." This is the sort of language which implies a certain lapse of time, and yet the persons so designated can well be the contemporaries of the writer. Now all the early Church writers, Melito, Tertullian, Lactantius, Eusebius, speak of the first persecution under Nero, and the second, under Domitian; from their universal silence we safely infer that the intermediate reigns between Nero and Domitian formed a period of a general peace for the Church.<sup>1</sup> Now, Clement wrote towards the end of the reign of Domitian, so that he places the martyrdom of the Apostles in the persecution of Nero (A. D. 64-67) by reason of the interval he demands between the time of writing and the time of the Apostles' suffering. Again, there are writers who infer from the phrase "when he had borne testimony before the rulers" that Paul was tried and condemned not before the Emperor Nero, but before his prefects, Tigillinus and Nymphidius; in other words, that Paul was tried during Nero's absence from Rome. And since the Emperor visited Greece A. D. 67, these same writers infer from Clement's testimony that Paul suffered A. D. 67. The inference as it stands is defective, seeing that *οἱ ἡγεῖμενοι*, "the rulers," signifies the highest authorities, including even the Emperor. But since Clement would most probably have mentioned the fact of the Emperor's presence, if Paul had really been tried before him, we may agree with the conclusion of the foregoing writers, though we do not grant their premises.

<sup>1</sup> The only exception to this universal belief is Hilary, who mentions Vespassian as a persecutor of the Church. If his language be not founded on a misapprehension, it must refer to some merely local troubles in Gaul.

Thirdly, according to Clement, Paul visited Spain before he suffered martyrdom. It is true that this cannot be inferred from the expression "preached in the East and the West," since this would be true even if the Apostle had come only as far as Rome. Nor can it be inferred from the words "having taught righteousness unto the whole world," since they might be regarded as an oratorical embellishment of Paul's apostolic labors. But such explanations cannot be applied to the phrase "having reached the farthest bounds of the West." For the Greek word τὸ τέρμα does not signify the limit at which something begins,<sup>1</sup> but has been properly rendered "the farthest bounds;" nor can we interpret "having reached the end (of his apostolic career) of (in) the West,"<sup>2</sup> since such a rendering not only does violence to the language, but implies an opposition between the Apostle's western and eastern termination of his missionary labors. Finally, it is not implied in the words of Clement that the Apostle "departed from the world," "when he had borne testimony before the rulers" in "the farthest bounds of the West,"<sup>3</sup> for the material succession of phrases does not force us to assume an identity of place for the various actions mentioned. If it be true, therefore, that the English translator has rightly interpreted the Greek phrase by "the farthest bounds of the West," it is not less true that in the language of a Roman writer this phrase designates Spain. For living in the metropolis and centre of power, he could not speak of it as "the extreme West," especially at a time when many eminent Latin authors and statesmen were or had been natives of Spain, and when Strabo,<sup>4</sup> Velleius Paterculus<sup>5</sup> and Appian<sup>6</sup> applied the foregoing description to the Spanish coast.<sup>7</sup> This is the natural way of speaking, while the interpretations "his extreme limit towards the West,"<sup>8</sup> "the sunset of his labors,"<sup>9</sup> "the boundary between the East and the West,"<sup>10</sup> "the goal or centre of the West,"<sup>11</sup> "before the supreme power of the West"<sup>12</sup> are as violent as they are false.

To sum up the results of our study of Clement's testimony, we infer from his words: 1. Paul extended his missionary labors even into Spain; this supposes that the Apostle regained his liberty after his first Roman captivity. 2. (Peter and) Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome during the persecution of Nero, probably A. D. 67. Since Clement wrote at a time when the history of the Apostle was still fresh in the memory of his readers, his epistle naturally supposes the knowledge of many facts unknown to us, and appears, therefore, obscure or incomplete to the reader of our age. If we keep these

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld. <sup>2</sup> Baur, Paulus, Hilgenfeld, Otto. <sup>3</sup> Lipsius. <sup>4</sup> ii. 1, 4; iii., 1, 5. <sup>5</sup> i., 2. <sup>6</sup> Bell. civ. v., 64. <sup>7</sup> Cf. Lightfoot, Clement ii., 30. <sup>8</sup> Baur, Schenkel. <sup>9</sup> Reuss. <sup>10</sup> Schrader, Hilgenfeld. <sup>11</sup> Matthies. <sup>12</sup> Wieseler, Schaff.

facts in mind, we shall not be tempted to consider the foregoing commentary of Clement's passage far-fetched or violent. The writers of a later age address readers less well acquainted with the facts of the apostolic times; hence their statements must be more explicit, and they are therefore clearer to us. It is for this reason that the following testimonies need less explanation.

3. *Testimony of the second century.* a. The Muratorian Canon is ascribed by various critics to different epochs between about A. D. 160 and A. D. 220; it is generally placed about A. D. 170, though Harnack<sup>1</sup> dates it about A. D. 200. All the necessary information respecting the text will be found in Tregelles' Canon Muratorianus<sup>2</sup> and in Westcott's History of the Canon.<sup>3</sup> Though the actual text is not certain in all points, there can be no reasonable doubt that, according to the writer, Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, only records incidents which took place in his presence, and that, therefore, his silence about the martyrdom of Peter, or the journey of Paul into Spain, evidently shows that he was not present at either of these events. The words of interest to us read: *sicuti et semote (-ta) passionem (-ne) Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem (-ne) Pauli ab urbe in Spaniam proficiscentis*—"as he evidently shows by setting aside without notice the martyrdom of Peter, and even the journey of Paul from the city to Spain." It is clear that the writer lived in the "city" (Rome) and had not the slightest doubt as to Paul's journey into Spain; we need not repeat that the Apostle's acquittal in his first Roman trial is implied in the writer's statement.

b. The apocryphal *Acta Pauli* are placed by Harnack between A. D. 120 and A. D. 170; by Zahn about A. D. 160. Though the work has been imperfectly preserved, it certainly supposes that Paul was set free after his first Roman captivity. At the time when Titus had returned to Rome from Dalmatia, and Crescens (Luke) from Gaul (Galatia), Paul is still outside the city.<sup>4</sup> He is taken prisoner only after he has worked some time in Rome. It cannot be said that the *Acta Pauli* do not know of any prior Roman residence of the Apostle. For according to reliable records, the *Acta* related a meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome. Now nothing is said of such a meeting in the history of Paul's last stay in Rome, which has been preserved entire. The *Acta* must have contained, therefore, the report of a prior stay of the Apostle in the capital.

c. The *Acta Petri* are ascribed by Harnack to the first half of the third century, while Zahn dates them about A. D. 160. Without en-

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte d. altchristl. Literat.* ii., p. 646. <sup>2</sup> Oxford, 1867. <sup>3</sup> *Append. C.* <sup>4</sup> Lipsius, p. 104; cf. p. 23. We need not state that this order of facts does not well harmonize with II Tim. iv., 10.

tering into the question whether the writing is tainted with Gnosticism or exhibits strictly orthodox doctrine, we confine ourselves to what concerns the life of Paul. The Apostle was freed from his first captivity in Rome not by a sentence of acquittal, but through the kindness of his convert jailer; "Quartus permansit (permisit) Paulo ut ubi vellet iret ab urbe."<sup>1</sup> Paul goes to Spain at the bidding of a vision which he received after a three days' fast;<sup>2</sup> at the request of the Roman Christians not to forget them, and not to stay away long (ut annum plus non abesset), a voice is heard from heaven: Inter manus Neronis . . . sub oculis vestris consummabitur.<sup>3</sup> Many accompany the Apostle to Portus, and two youths go with him to Spain.<sup>4</sup> Not to mention the other passages in which reference is made to this part of the Apostle's life,<sup>5</sup> we must state that at the bidding of Paul, Timothy and Barnabas set out from Rome for Philippi about the beginning of the Apostle's journey to Spain.<sup>6</sup> Here the *Acta* seem to refer to Phil. ii., 19. At any rate, there is no doubt as to Paul's leaving Rome after his first imprisonment and as to his journey to Spain.

d. Tertullian most explicitly assigns the martyrdom of Paul to the time of Nero.<sup>7</sup> The words of Dionysius of Corinth<sup>8</sup> and of Irenæus<sup>9</sup> refer rather to the simultaneous suffering of Peter and Paul than to its definite time. Hippolytus<sup>10</sup> refers to the end of Paul's life only indefinitely, saying that Simon Magus resisted the apostles (Peter and Paul) in Rome. We cannot here determine whether the Muratorian Canon was written by Hippolytus. It would be folly to say that the tradition concerning Paul's journey to Spain arose out of Rom. xv., 24-28; the Apostle's intention expressed in the latter passages had been frustrated so evidently that no fiction of a later missionary excursion to the extreme west would be received as its fulfilment.

4. *Testimony of the subsequent centuries.* Though the foregoing evidence is amply sufficient to prove the existence of an early tradition on the subject-matter we are now discussing, the following witnesses will at least show that this tradition did not disappear with the writers of the first and second centuries. The fact that Origen<sup>11</sup> describes Paul's missionary labors in the Apostle's own words (Rom. xv., 19) does not show that this learned writer knew nothing of the Apostle's Spanish mission; we might infer in the same way that Origen knew nothing of Paul's Roman ministry. Besides, Zahn<sup>12</sup> has shown that Origen was acquainted with the

<sup>1</sup> Lipsius 45, 6. <sup>2</sup> Lips. 45, 8. <sup>3</sup> Lips., p. 46, 3, 8. <sup>4</sup> Lips., p. 48, 8, 17. <sup>5</sup> Cf. Lips., 51, 26; 45, 10, 12; 100, 13. <sup>6</sup> Lips. 49, 9. <sup>7</sup> Cf. Apol. 5, 21; Scorp. 15; Præscr. 36. <sup>8</sup> Eus. H. E. ii., 25, 8; cf. iv., 23, 9-12. <sup>9</sup> III., i., 1; iii., 2, 3. <sup>10</sup> Refut. vi., 20. <sup>11</sup> Cf. Eus. H. E. iii., 1. <sup>12</sup> Geschichte d. nt. Kanons ii., 866, 878.

Acta Pauli, and could not, therefore, be ignorant of the Apostle's journey to Spain. On the other hand, it is not clear that the great Alexandrian alludes to this fact in hom. 13 in Gen.

Eusebius usually summarizes the prior patristic tradition with sufficient accuracy. Now, in his Ecclesiastical History<sup>1</sup> this writer expressly states that Paul was taken prisoner a second time in Rome after he had escaped from the mouth of the lion (Nero) the first time. Certain writers<sup>2</sup> infer from the arrangement of the material in H. E. II. xxv., xxvi., that the Apostle must have suffered martyrdom about the beginning of the Jewish war. Eusebius himself, in his Chronicon, places the death of Paul in a certain year: according to the Armenian version<sup>3</sup> in the year of Abraham 2083, or A. D. 67, according to Jerome's version in the year of Abraham 2084, or A. D. 68. The two versions differ also in their text. The Armenian text reads: "Nero super omnia delicta primus persecutiones in Christianos excitavit, sub quo Petrus et Paulus apostoli Romæ martyrium passi sunt," while Jerome's text has "persecutionem" instead of "persecutiones," and "in qua" instead of "sub quo." In other words, according to the Armenian version, "Nero, under whom Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome, raised persecutions against the Christians," while according to the text of Jerome "Nero raised a persecution against the Christians in which Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome." It is true that we have here a difference of form between the Armenian text of Eusebius and the Hieronymian; but considering the fact that Eusebius placed the death of Paul, as well as the Neronian persecution of Christians, in A. D. 67 (68), Jerome cannot have been very wrong in his inference that the former event happened during the course of the latter. Since Eusebius mentions the fire in Rome in connection with the year of Abraham 2079, or A. D. 63 (Jerome's text: The year of Abraham 2080, or A. D. 64), and thus explicitly admits an interval of several years between the fire and the death of the Apostle, we cannot assume that the date of the latter event was unknown to the historian.

Harnack<sup>4</sup> argues thus against the foregoing explanation: Eusebius places the beginning of the Neronian persecution and the death of Peter and Paul in the same year; but we know from Tacitus that the Neronian persecution began A. D. 64; hence Eusebius testifies that Peter and Paul died A. D. 64. Granting the minor premise for the present, we deny the major as it is expressed by Harnack. For Eusebius does not speak of the "beginning" of any persecution; in fact, according to the Armenian text, he speaks of "persecutions," and moreover he distinctly separates these "perse-

<sup>1</sup> II., xxii., 5. <sup>2</sup> Theodor., cf. Swete i., 115. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Schœne ii., 156. <sup>4</sup> Chronologie, p. 241.

cutions" from the year of the fire, A. D. 64. In doing so he must have followed a tradition that was as clear respecting the year of the Apostle's death as is the text of Tacitus respecting the year of the Roman fire. In other words, the exception of Harnack supposes that Eusebius must have made a mistake as to the year of Nero's persecution. Is it not quite as probable that Professor Harnack makes a mistake as to the duration of this persecution which he supposes to have lasted only a short time, without giving us any reason for his supposition? The foregoing plural "persecutions" points in the opposite direction. Euthalius, about A. D. 350, appeals to the Chronicon of Eusebius for the truth of his statement that Paul died in the thirteenth year of Nero, A. D. 67. Epiphanius<sup>1</sup> appears to have been led by the same authority to place the death of the two Apostles in the twelfth year of Nero, while Jerome's version places it in the fourteenth. Whether these variations as to the year of Paul's suffering be accidental or intentional, they show in any case that the event occurred in the last years of Nero, and, therefore, favor the assumption of a period rather than a year of persecution.

According to Zahn<sup>2</sup> Eusebius cannot intend to give the definite year of the death of the Apostle, because he places the accession of Peter's successor in the year before Peter's death.<sup>3</sup> Now Light-foot<sup>4</sup> shows that in our present text of the Chronicon transpositions of events are numerous, owing to the uncertainty of reference to their respective years. "Of these transpositions," the writer continues, "we have an example in the martyrdom of St. Peter and the accession of Linus, which two events in the Armenian version . . . are placed in two successive years. In the Hieronymian version, on the other hand, they are in the reverse order and in the same year."

Finally, the exception of Harnack<sup>5</sup> that the Chronicon dates the death of the Apostles A. D. 67, on account of the legend of Peter's twenty-five years' residence in Rome, loses its force when one considers that in the Armenian version only twenty years are expressly assigned to the Apostle's Roman ministry.<sup>6</sup> But even supposing that the Hieronymian and Syriac texts of the Chronicon, in which twenty-five years are set aside for this period,<sup>7</sup> present the original form, there is no proof that in the early church the number twenty-five was regarded as more sacred than the number twenty; and,

<sup>1</sup> Haer. 27, 6. <sup>2</sup> Einleit. i., p. 453. <sup>3</sup> Abraham 2082 or A. D. 66: Romanæ ecclesiæ post Petrum episcopatum excepit Linus annis xiv. <sup>4</sup> Clement i., p. 229 f. <sup>5</sup> Chronologie, p. 241. <sup>6</sup> Ann. Abraham 2055: Petrus apostolus cum primum Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset, Romanorum urbem proficiscitur ibique evangelium prædicat et commoratur illic antistes ecclesiæ annis xx. <sup>7</sup> Jerome's text: Ann. Abraham 2058: "Petrus apostolus cum primus Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset. Romam mittitur, ubi evangelium prædicans xxv. annis eiusdem urbis episcopus perseverat."

therefore, if there be question of starting a legend, the one would prove as serviceable as the other. The originators, therefore, of Harnack's so-called legend concerning the duration of Peter's Roman ministry must have been led to choose the number twenty-five by reasons quite distinct from the mere fancy of the number; and unless Professor Harnack gives a more satisfactory explanation of their choice, we believe it has directed by the objective reality of historic facts.

After all that has been said, it seems almost useless to add the testimony of Cyril of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> Epiphanius,<sup>2</sup> Ephrem,<sup>3</sup> Chrysostom,<sup>4</sup> Theodoret,<sup>5</sup> the author of the *Acta Xanthippæ et Polyxenæ*.<sup>6</sup> In some passages Jerome speaks rather indefinitely of Paul's journey to the west,<sup>7</sup> in others he reports the opinion of the Nazarenes,<sup>8</sup> who see in Paul's western labors a fulfilment of prophecy, in others again he plainly expresses his own opinion: *Ad Italiam quoque et, ut ipse scribit, ad Hispanias alienigenarum portatus est navibus*.<sup>9</sup> Even if the letters of Innocent I. (A. D. 416)<sup>10</sup> and Gelasius (A. D. 495)<sup>11</sup> contained all they are said to contain by our opponents, their testimony could avail nothing against the consensus of tradition prior to their age and its revival in the writings of Gregory<sup>12</sup> and Isidore of Seville.<sup>13</sup> But though Innocent may deny that Paul founded in Spain a church independently of Peter, and though Gelasius draws attention to the fact that Paul could not go to Spain as he had intended to go, neither of these writers explicitly excludes Paul's ministry in Spain, and much less a mere visit to the extreme west.

Returning now to the three questions proposed in the beginning of this paper, we are justified in maintaining that Paul was set free after the two years' detention mentioned in the Book of Acts. Moreover, since the whole drift of tradition points rather to A. D. 67 than A. D. 64 as the year of the Apostle's martyrdom, we must maintain that the Apostle's double Roman imprisonment agrees rather with the dates of the Old Pauline Chronology than with those of the New. Finally, as to the events intervening between the Apostle's two imprisonments, he must have set out for Spain in A. D. 64 (or A. D. 65); here he appears to have remained only a short time, a year at most. Returning to the east, he visited Crete, and then began the various visits of the churches of Asia, Greece and Macedonia, which we have enumerated in this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Cat. xvii., 26; cf. cat. xviii., 9. <sup>2</sup> Hær. 26, 7. <sup>3</sup> *Expositio ev. concord.* 286: *Paulus ab urbe Jerusalem usque ad Hispaniam (prædicavit)*. <sup>4</sup> *De laud. Pauli*, hom. 7; *Act. apost. hom.* 35: II. Tim. hom. 10; *Epist. Hebr. hypoth.* Montfaucon ii. 516; ix., 414; xi., 724; xii., 2. <sup>5</sup> Phil. i., 25; II. Tim. iv., 17. <sup>6</sup> Cf. *Apocrypha anecd.* ed. James, 1893, pp. 58-85. <sup>7</sup> Vir. iii., 5: *in occidentis partibus*. <sup>8</sup> *Comment. in Is.* viii., 23; ix., 1. <sup>9</sup> *Comm. in Is.* xi. <sup>10</sup> *Epist.* 25, 2. <sup>11</sup> *Epist.* 30, 11; ed. Thiel i., 444. <sup>12</sup> *Moral.* xxxi., 103. <sup>13</sup> *De ortu et obitu patrum*, c. 69, ed. Arevalo v., 181.

- ~ In Corinth he met Peter, and the two Apostles went to Rome together<sup>1</sup>, where they sealed their faith with their blood.

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THE PHILIPPINE FRIARS AS MISSIONERS.

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**F**ROM the earliest settlement of the Philippines those islands have been regarded by the Spanish religious orders as a mission centre for the conversion of Eastern Asia. The work of the Philippine friars has not been confined to the territories under Spanish rule. Japan, China, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin China and Tonquin have continued to receive missionary priests from the Spanish colony since the sixteenth century. Three hundred years ago Franciscans from Manila furnished the first martyrs of Japan, and more than a century afterwards it was claimed for the central house of the order in that city that it never had failed to have some members destined to give their lives for the faith. At the present time the Augustinians and the Dominicans of the Philippines have charge of dioceses in China, and the Dominicans have charge of two in Tonquin. In neither have the missionaries the support of governmental influence, yet they have built up populations of thousands of practical Catholics among the natives. A sketch of the Dominican mission in Tonquin during the last sixty years will give a better idea of what kind of men the Spanish friars really are and what kind of Christians they have formed from the Asiatic races than any arguments.

Tonquin and Cochin China, which during the last century were united into the Kingdom of Annam, were visited by Spanish missionaries three hundred years ago. The number of converts was large enough in 1663 to warrant the establishment of two dioceses. One, Eastern Tonquin, was placed by the Holy See under the management of the Philippine Dominicans; the other was entrusted to the French Congregation of Foreign Missions. The work of both French and Spanish missionaries was the same in character and in results. In spite of the hostility, or, at best, the contemptuous toleration of the native governments, a Christian population of nearly four hundred thousand had been formed in Annam by the early part of the present century. In 1835 the Dominicans of Eastern Tonquin reckoned a hundred and eighty thousand Catholic natives in their charge. They had formed a native clergy both

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<sup>1</sup> Dionys. Cor.; cf. *Eus. H. E.* ii., 24.



secular and Dominican, had established two seminaries, more than twenty-five convents and a large organization of lay teachers. The first twenty-five years of the century were a time of peace for the Catholics of Tonquin. The King, Gia Long, was favorable to Europeans and admired the Christian doctrines, even if he did not follow them. French officers were employed to discipline his army, and a French Bishop, Mgr. Pigneaux, was for many years his most trusted counsellor in the administration of government. On the death of Bishop Pigneaux, in 1799, he was buried with almost royal honors, and his burial place was reckoned among the chief monuments of the Annamite capital. The Catholic population was allowed the fullest liberty of worship, and it increased rapidly, especially among the country people.

Gia Long died in 1818, and under his son, Min Men, a reaction against European ways and Christianity set in. Min Men was an Asiatic Conservative, violent in temper and despotic in rule. He looked to China, not to Europe, as the model of government and civilization, and he tried to make a smaller China of Annam. He revived the idolatrous rites and required his Christian subjects to join in them in spite of the exemptions granted by his father. After several years of petty persecutions an edict was issued in 1835 forbidding absolutely the practice of the Catholic religion in Annam and ordering all the European missionaries to leave the country under penalty of death. There were at the time four Bishops and about twenty-five European priests in Annam. Bishop Cuenot, with ten French and thirty native priests, was charged with the vicariate of Cochin China, the Catholic population of which was about eighty thousand. Bishop Havard had ten French missionaries and eighty Annamite priests in the western diocese of Tonquin. The diocese of Eastern Tonquin was administered by the venerable Bishop Delgado since 1794. His coadjutor, Mgr. Henares, had been consecrated Bishop in 1800, and both were approaching their 80th year, but still active in their duties. Five Spanish and thirty native Dominican priests, with about twenty secular priests, all natives, made up the clergy of the Spanish diocese, which numbered nearly two hundred thousand Catholics.

A French missionary in Cochin China, Father Marchand, was the first victim of the Asiatic Kulturkampf. He was arrested while traveling from one Christian village to another, and ordered to abandon his religion publicly, in obedience to the edicts of Min Men. On his refusal he was beheaded in 1835. Two years later Father Cornay, a young priest of 30, met the same fate in Tonquin. Annam at the time, like China and Japan, was completely shut against European intercourse of any kind. The executions of the

two French priests passed unnoticed in Europe, and Min Men proceeded to carry out his plans for the destruction of Christianity within his dominions. A formal test of apostacy was decreed, modeled on the practice of the Japanese Shoguns. Any one suspected of professing the Christian faith might be directed to trample on a cross in public. On the 18th of March, 1838, an attempt was made to enforce this test on the whole population of Eastern Tonquin. Crosses were placed in the streets at the entrances to all the towns and markets and police officers stationed to oblige every one to walk on them as a sign of conformity with the religion of the State. Some Christians yielded; others were arrested and flogged, Chinese fashion, or heavily fined. A general feeling of agitation developed itself through the provinces where the Christians were numerous, and the officials, after a few days, thought it wise to give up the attempt to enforce wholesale apostacy.

It was not that Min Men had any idea of relaxing his war against Christianity, however. The provincial Governors were ordered to spare no pains to discover any Europeans who might be in the country and arrest them all. A native who was carrying letters to the Spanish missionaries was arrested by chance. The Governor forwarded them to the King and got a characteristic answer. Min Men deprived him of his government and sentenced him to death unless he could capture the four Spanish missionaries to whom the letters were addressed within a month. He was allowed six thousand soldiers and several vessels to carry out the task. The Spanish diocese was at once overrun by spies, and a clue was found to the residence of Bishop Delgado, who with his coadjutor and another Dominican, Father Ximenes, were hidden in a remote village. It was suddenly surrounded by troops. Father Ximenes, an active young man, succeeded in slipping through the soldiers on foot. The old Bishops were unable to do the same. The native Catholics put them into covered baskets and carried them to other villages. The bearers of Bishop Henares succeeded in reaching a fishing settlement some miles away, but it was only to have him seized there within three days. Bishop Delgado was captured in the village itself. Both were put into wooden coops just large enough to admit their bodies and carried in this fashion to the Governor. He sent the news of the arrests to the King, and by his order the two Bishops were brought before the Annamite Judges and cross-examined as to their character, the number of priests in the country and their places of abode. The sentence finally passed on Bishop Delgado is given in a letter of Father Hermosilla, the provincial of the Dominicans in Tonquin, to his superiors in Manila, written early in 1839, while the persecution was still going on.

The reasons for the sentence given by the Annamite Judges at that time have a remarkable likeness to some used against the Catholic Church during recent persecutions in Europe.

"It is in obedience to the law," wrote the Asiatic Judges, "that we condemn the Bishop Ignatius. This foreigner spends his life in the study of the human heart and meditation on things incomprehensible. He is chief of the dangerous men who are spreading a false religion among us, and when brought before the court he refuses to give the information asked of him. Having read, then, with submission the decree of the seventeenth year of Min Men the King (1835), which says, 'We order all Mayors of towns and villages to arrest Europeans wherever they find them, and hand them over to the Judges to be tried, according to the laws against such as seduce the people by teaching a foreign and false religion.' And whereas there is also a law against enchanterers, and that under the name of enchanterers are included those who induce by trickery the people to follow false worships, we pronounce that such is the offense of this criminal, and that by law he is liable to hanging. But to proportion the punishment better to the crime, and to give a warning to the people, we order that Ignatius Trum Ca, here present, be beheaded and his head exposed in the public market."

The sentence passed on Bishop Henares was similar to that of Bishop Delgado. A Catholic teacher arrested in his company received a special sentence.

"Von Chien, a native of Tonquin, convicted of having been led astray by a European criminal and of having adopted his religion, in defiance of the law forbidding it, persists in refusing to abandon it, and says he loves it. His obstinacy makes him guilty of rebellion against the King and the laws of the country, and we sentence him accordingly to execution by beheading."

The Bishops had companions in their martyrdom. Father Fernandez, the Vicar General, and a native priest, Father Tuan, were captured a few days later and shared the same prison. Father Fernandez was offered life and transportation out of Annam if he would renounce his faith, and Father Tuan was offered official favor on the same terms. Both refused and got the same sentence, death by beheading. The sentences, as each was given by the Annamite Judges, were sent to the capital for approval or modification by the King in person. Meanwhile the Spanish Bishops and priests were kept in their narrow wooden cages in the common jail and the native priests and others in other cages with bamboo cages, a bucket-shaped case open at the top, on their shoulders. The sentences came back after some days with the approval of Min

Men; but in the interval Bishop Delgado and Father Tuan both died in prison. Torture and starvation were more speedy than the sword. To carry out the sentence passed, the body of Bishop Delgado was beheaded after death and the head exposed in the market place. He had been Bishop of Tonquin forty-four years, his coadjutor thirty-eight. His vicar general was thirty-three years on the same mission. Father Hermosilla describes the last scene in words which have a strange force from one who had shared in the work of the martyrs for nine years and was at the time exposed to their fate from day to day. He writes:

"The sentences of the Bishop Henares and the teacher were sent back from Hae on the 25th of June, with orders to execute them at once. At 9 in the morning they were led to martyrdom, escorted by soldiers and followed by crowds, both of Christians and infidels. The Bishop in his cage prayed with the utmost composure. He was followed by the teacher on foot carrying the cangue on his shoulders and fettered. An official went before and made proclamation on each street: 'Know all that this man is a European sentenced to death for preaching the false religion of Christ. Avoid that doctrine if you would escape a like fate.'

"After four hours the procession reached the place of execution. The teacher knelt down, and having recommended his soul to God with holy joy, had his head struck off. Meantime the Bishop was let out of his cage. He, too, knelt down and continued to pray with perfect calm, though the axe was raised over his neck. Unsullied purity of life, untireable zeal for the salvation of souls, entire devotion to his apostolic duties, with a keen desire of martyrdom, such were the virtues of which he constantly gave us the example. He was also remarkable for his perseverance in prayer, his study of the Fathers and unbounded love for the poor. He died at the age of 73, forty-nine years of which he devoted to the good of the mission."

Father Fernandez, the vicar general, was the next to suffer. On the 24th of July he was brought for the last time before the Governor, who offered him pardon and the means to return to Europe if he would trample on the cross. The missionary declared he was ready to die for the God whom they wished to outrage. He was at once carried to the place of execution, being worn so much with illness that he could not move. When placed on his knees for execution he had to be held up by a soldier to receive the sword stroke which ended his life. Father Vincent Yen, a native Dominican, had been executed on the 2d of June.

An old priest of 84, Father Bernard, followed the Spanish martyrs to death on the 1st of August, and two Dominicans, also natives, were executed on the 5th of September. Five laymen were sen-

tenced to death at the same time, but had not been executed at the date of Father Hermosilla's report. All the native Christians were not equally steadfast. "Would I could say the same," he continues, "of Vincent Yen, a secular priest, 87 years of age. To save a few days of life he trampled on the cross of his Divine Master and signed a written renunciation of his faith. The faithful have been terror-stricken and all the priests are covered with shame at his apostacy. When set free he felt/himself the enormity of his crime and wrote to me asking penance and absolution. I consoled him as best I could, but reparation had to be made for the scandal he had given, and I have therefore suspended him from saying Mass or administering the sacraments. I must say, to his praise, that he submitted to this punishment with the most edifying humility."

It would be hard to find a more characteristic expression of the spirit which actuated the Catholic missionaries than these words. The horror for the offense, the simple faith in the future life which makes the writer wonder how any one could betray his conscience for a few years on earth, the shame of the colleagues of the sinner and the kindly pity for himself, the sentence of suspension passed by one whose own life was forfeited to the law on another in the same condition, and the humble submission of the repentant priest of nearly 90, form a picture which can scarcely be paralleled. It is noteworthy that the Dominican prelate while praising the "edifying humility" of the repentant priest, makes no allusion to the weakness which might accompany 87 years. Duty with/him can never be subordinate to human weakness. No American non-Catholic would give a thought to any feeling except pity for a man of over 80 who happened to lie when confronted with a pistol. Father Hermosilla felt simply that man's duty only ends with his life. He had before him the example of his Bishops and of the old native priests just gone to their reward to prove that his view was the true one.

The conclusion of this remarkable letter sums up in simple language the state of the Catholics of Tonquin sixty years ago:

"So many Christians executed were so many steps to restore to the Governor Trin Quan Can the King's favor. His province, one of the most important and the centre of Christianity in Tonquin, has again fallen under his yoke. In many places the Catholic people have been required to trample on the cross and sign a promise not to follow the Christian religion. Many have refused or bribed the officials not to trouble them. The faith of others has been put to hard trials and they have had the glory to confess Jesus Christ in chains and tortures. How many tears must be shed

over the number who have had the weakness to yield to the will of the Prince. . . .

"The houses of the priests are destroyed, two colleges, twenty-two convents of nuns of the third order and three convents of the 'Daughters of the Cross' have shared the same fate. These poor women continue their community life, however, sheltered in poor huts. The property of the churches, of the poor, of the Bishop have been seized by pagans or bad Christians. Chalices, vestments, missals, breviaries, other pious books, almost all have gone. The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.

"When peace is restored," he hopefully adds, "my first care will be to restore the colleges, that the youth may not lack the benefit of a religious education. I look on this as of the utmost importance. At present all our priests, but especially the Europeans, have to hide in the most secret places. Our teachers and students cannot be gathered together anywhere for fear of new rigor."

"Deeds, not words," was the motto of the famous Seminary of St. Omer during its two centuries of existence as the support of the Church in persecuting England and persecuted Ireland. Deeds, not words, was the thought of the friars of Tonquin in our own day.

The outlook was in truth as gloomy as it well could be from a human point of view. When Father Hermosilla wrote his report there was no Bishop left in Tonquin. The Spanish prelates had been beheaded, and ten days later Bishop Havard, of Western Tonquin, died of fever. He had been driven by the persecution to hide in a cave in the fever-infested jungles, and for sixteen days he lived there alone, with no food but a little cold rice brought to him by some native women from time to time. The fever caught him, and feeling the end near he walked back to the nearest Catholic village and there lay down and died without a friend near. Father Borie, a young missionary of remarkable talents, had just been selected as his coadjutor, but before he could be consecrated he was arrested, and after months of torture executed in the capital of Annam. Father Retord, a veteran missionary, received the nomination of the Holy See to the western diocese on the death of Father Borie, and Father Hermosilla to the eastern, but there was no means of getting episcopal consecration in Tonquin. Father Retord, it was decided, should go to Manila to look for a Bishop for that purpose, and meanwhile Father Hermosilla should attend to the administration of the Church in Tonquin. It is hard to say which had the more dangerous task.

Father Retord was six months in finding a vessel that would take the risk of carrying him to China, and then, when he was car-

ried alongside it in a fishing boat, the captain changed his mind and refused to take him. Several months passed before another Chinese vessel carried him to Macao. He was smuggled on board in the neighborhood of two Annamite revenue junks which were watching the coast to prevent the escape of Christians. The junk was manned by heathen Chinese, and among them the Bishop-elect had to spend forty-six days in a coasting voyage to Macao. The misery of such an experience for a solitary European may be imagined, but in his letters Father Retord described those days as the pleasantest of his eighty years' life in the mission of Tonquin. At Macao he felt, as he said himself, like a fish thrown from the sand into the water. To speak freely with friends, to walk publicly in the streets, even to hear a church bell, were all enjoyments he had not known for eight long years. At Macao he was offered a passage to Europe for a much-needed rest, but he could not think of leaving the persecuted Catholics of Tonquin. He got to Manila and was consecrated by the Archbishop on the 29th of May, 1840, nearly two years after the death of his predecessor, Bishop Havard. By a remarkable coincidence, on the following day the Governor Trin Quan Can made a sudden raid on a Catholic village in Bishop Retord's diocese and captured three native priests, who were all beheaded, after months of torture, before the new Bishop's return. It was as hard to return to Tonquin as it had been to leave it. Finally a Chinese junk offered to carry the Bishop and three priests to Tonquin for sixteen hundred dollars. They sailed from Macao on the 3d of January and reached the part of the coast where the Bishop proposed to land, among some Catholic fishing villages, in eleven days; but only to find several revenue cutters on the watch for smugglers. After laying off for three days a fishing junk from a Catholic village came to meet them and took the Bishop and his priests, one of them a Spanish Dominican, the others Frenchmen, ashore at a remote part of the coast. They made their way by night to a village known already to the Bishop, but only to find it had just been<sup>1</sup> raided and its native priest arrested a few days before. A few hours for sleep, after three nights' wakefulness, was all the stay they dared to make, and after another night march they got to a village which had escaped the notice of the persecutors and were able to rest a few days. Father Berneux described his abode here as a bamboo hut, in which he could walk six steps and get light from a hole near the ground during the day. He could not leave it with safety, or even raise his voice, except at night. Leaving him in this abode, Bishop Retord traveled in similar fashion to his episcopal palace in another village, where he sent word for Father Hermosilla to come and receive consecration as soon as possible.

In Tonquin during Bishop Retord's absence the persecution had continued unabated. Besides the three priests already mentioned, several others and some teachers and other laymen had been executed during these two years. The King Min Men died at the beginning of 1841, just as Bishop Retord landed. His death had no immediate effect in slackening the Asiatic Kulturkampf against the Church. Just as Father Hermosilla reached Bishop Retord to receive consecration a body of seven hundred soldiers made a descent on the neighboring Catholic villages and arrested Fathers Galy and Berneaux, the two newly-arrived priests. The capture was made on Easter Sunday, after they had said their Masses, and the troops continued to hunt for priests. It was under these circumstances that Father Hermosilla was raised to the episcopacy three days afterwards. There was little of pomp or noise around the ceremony, and when it was over the new Bishop traveled back to his diocese under cover of night. He immediately consecrated as his coadjutor Father Ximenes, who had been with Bishop Delgado at the time of his arrest. Bishop Retord also consecrated a coadjutor. It is necessary here, he wrote to a friend in France, for a Bishop to anoint another head with the Holy Chrism, for there is no telling how soon his own may be removed from his shoulders.

Three more missionaries were captured during the year, and all five sentenced to death and confined in the prisons of the capital. The lash and other tortures were meantime freely used on all five. Bishop Retord ordained no less than eleven and his coadjutor two priests during the same time. By the middle of 1842 he had almost exactly as many priests as at the beginning of Min Men's persecution.

" Each stepping where his comrade stood  
The instant that he fell."

The number of converts was very remarkable at the same time. A respite was given to the persecution, though the laws against Christianity remained. Trin Quan Can was disgraced by the new King and removed from office. In the following year, 1843, Bishop Hermosilla received eight pagan villages into instruction and baptized ninety-six converts himself in two days. He also visited most of the Catholic villages and confirmed several thousand who had been unable to see a Bishop for many years.

The promise made in his report of the deaths of Bishops Delgado and Henares, to restore the two colleges, was speedily fulfilled. They were refounded in other districts in 1841, the year of his consecration, and before May of 1844 twelve native priests had been ordained from their students, the same number as had been executed. The provincial of the Dominicans in a report to the General



of his Order stated that there were in 1844 thirty native Dominican and eighteen native secular priests, with six Spanish friars, in the diocese. There were eight students of theology and twenty of Latin in the colleges, but it took a long time to fit the native candidates for ordination. In addition every priest on the mission was training some boys at his own house in Chinese literature and Latin preparatory to entering the seminaries. The twenty-five convents destroyed by Min Men had all been restored. The Catholic population, the provincial added, had grown both in numbers and fervor under the persecution. The administration of the sacraments was equal to the times of peace. Two native priests were arrested and sentenced to death for the faith during the year, but Father Marti considered that everything was going on rather peaceably. The amount of peace asked by Spanish friars on mission work was evidently not extravagant.

A letter from another friar, Father Barcelo, in the same year, gives a good idea of the kind of work that made up a missionary's life in Tonquin. Father Barcelo was called to Macao to act as procurator in the end of 1843, and he thus describes his voyage:

"Our vessel was manned by Christians and accompanied by two junks loaded with rice and manned by heathens. After three days we were becalmed near the residence of the Governor and boarded by some customs vessels, with the Governor's secretary on board one. I had no resource but to sit down covered with all the old clothes of the sailors, so that I was nearly smothered. Our visitors came aboard and stopped to dine on our vessel. The secretary took an after-dinner siesta of a couple of hours by my side, but they left without suspecting there was a missionary on board. On the 4th of December we reached Fu, the first town of Chinese territory. Five Catholic villages near it had been two years without seeing a priest and I had orders to attend to them. They came in crowds to confess, and the mothers brought their children for baptism. Being deeply affected by their fervor, I remained three days and nights without sleep to hear their confessions. As far as regards myself, the work was amply repaid. I baptized ninety-nine persons, grown-up and infants, gave seventeen extreme unction,) heard a thousand and thirty-six confessions and administered communion to over a thousand persons. Among the penitents were four or five village Mayors, the second official of Canton and the secretary of the Cantonal prefect.

"To get away from Fu I had to buy a boat, which I offered for a passage to Macao. It was small and leaky, as you may guess when I say I got it, with the rigging, for fifty dollars. I sailed in it, however, with seven Chinese and three Annamite sailors all

crowded together. On the third day we were boarded by three pirate junks. Our money, our provisions and fresh water, even some planks of our vessel, were carried off. What pained me most was to see the correspondence of the Bishops and missioners fall into these hands. I begged the pirates to return my breviary, which could be of no use to them, but one of them was so indignant that he seized his sword to kill me, and I had to slip under the deck to escape.

"Our journey lasted seven days longer. Having no protection against the cold, no provisions but a little rice mixed with some half-rotten fish and a little water full of dirt and sprinkled with brine, our company offered a sad picture; but, thank God, we reached Macao on Good Friday."

Here is another picture of the mission life of a Philippine friar in the Chinese Diocese of Fo Kien during a time of peace. Bishop Guillemin, of Canton, gave it in a report to the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris in 1860:

"At Amoy, confided to the care of the Spanish Dominicans, we saw the fine church which is being built by the missionary. This exemplary priest, who is dying of consumption, is spending the last remnant of strength in building a temple to the true God on this infidel soil. Though well aware of his condition, he thinks he may have time to finish his work. 'And then,' he says, 'my race will be run and I will ask the Lord to give me a low place in his heavenly temple.'

"We went twelve leagues into the interior to visit a congregation of five or six hundred converts. We did not get there till midnight, and the priest was away, but some young people in charge of the house received us with cordiality. After Mass at 6 in the morning we were going to take breakfast when we found the missionary himself had come. He had walked several miles during the night to meet us. His hair and beard are gray; though he is only 45. In his face and bearing there is an air of simple dignity, and at the same time gentle cheerfulness which struck my companions. We were more surprised when we saw this worthy disciple of St. Dominic, after his fatigue, not only not touching meat, as the ordinary rule of his order requires, but taking for all food a dish of corn and eggs, washed down with a few cups of tea, his only beverage. Such has been his diet during the twenty-four years he has spent on the mission."

A strange contrast these pictures to those given by so many scribblers in our own press of the "lazy and greedy friars" of the Philippines.

During the reign of Min Men's successor, which lasted till the

end of 1847, the Dominicans in Tonquin were comparatively in peace. The laws against Christianity remained in force and some native priests<sup>1</sup> were executed in accordance with them; but after the experience of Min Men's persecution the missionaries regarded themselves as happy to have so little to suffer. When Tu Duc became King, in 1848, new decrees were published against the Catholics. The text of the edict ran thus:

"The religion of Jesus, which has been outlawed by the last two Kings, is evidently a perverse religion, for in it they do not honor their dead parents; they tear out the eyes of the dying to make magic potions, and besides they practise many superstitions.

"Consequently, the Europeans who teach this religion, being the most culpable, they are to be thrown into the sea with stones tied around their necks. A reward of three hundred taels (six hundred dollars) will be paid to whoever arrests a European teacher.

"The Annamite priests shall be tortured to make them give up their religion. If they refuse to give it up, they are to be branded on the face and banished to the most unhealthy places in the mountains

"As the common Christians who won't give up their religion are mostly poor idiots and weak-minded creatures, the King in his benevolence does not condemn them to death or exile. The judges shall flog them and then let them go."

This remarkable edict, however, did not lead to the capture of any Europeans for some years. The five French priests sentenced to execution in 1842 had been released a year after on the demand of a French naval captain, and the Annamite Government did not care to risk a second experience of the same kind. The Catholic population continued to increase. In 1845 Bishop Hermosilla returned the Catholics in his diocese at nearly two hundred thousand, four hundred and sixty-five converts having been added during that year. There were over a hundred and fifty thousand confessions and a hundred and thirty-three thousand communions. The number of dioceses in Annam had been increased from three to seven between 1838 and 1852. In Tonquin the Dominicans had charge of the eastern and central vicariates, the Society of Foreign Missions the western and southern. In 1852 Bishop Retord thus summed up the growth of the Catholic Church in his diocese during fourteen years of proscription: "There were seventy-five priests in Western Tonquin at the death of Bishop Havard, and they had been reduced to fifty at the time of my ordination. There are now a hundred and eight. We have thirty-three students in theology and two hundred and forty in Latin in the two colleges, and eight hundred pupils in thirty-eight boarding schools attached to the

parishes. We have nearly five hundred Sisters, and the Catholics have increased about forty thousand in eleven years."

It is in the face of facts like these that lecturers in the United States speak of the Philippine friars as "exacting marriage fees which compelled the natives to live in immorality, and burial fees which obliged them to leave the bodies of the poor unburied."

A storm was to break over the Catholics of Tonquin which made even the persecution of Min Men appear a time of comparative peace. France tried to open relations with the Annamites in 1856, as she had already done with China, but Tu Duc refused any communication with the European "savages." The vessel which brought the proposition was not even allowed to take provisions at the port of Touranne, and a collision followed, in which the forts of that place were destroyed by the French guns. Two years afterwards a joint Franco-Spanish squadron came to demand satisfaction for various injuries received from the Annamite Court. They occupied Touranne and a war began which lasted until 1862. These four years were a period of destruction for the Annamite Catholics. The King launched decree after decree against their religion and themselves. The soldiers of the army were all ordered to clear themselves of suspicion of Christianity by joining in sacrifices to the ancestors and trampling on crosses. At the capital in 1858 a hundred and three refused these tests and were at once put in fetters and employed on cleaning the drains of the city pending further punishment. Crosses were laid on the ground at every gate of the city, and all passers were obliged by police officers to trample on them. A Catholic captain was beheaded for refusing to give up his religion, and fifteen others were sentenced to banishment. The next year the persecution was terribly increased. Crosses were laid in many country villages as well as in the cities, and the Catholics were arrested and imprisoned by dozens at a time. Fifteen priests, all natives, were executed and several hundred Catholics sent into exile this year in Cochin China alone. At the end of the year a new law ordered that all Catholic men throughout the country should be taken from their homes and sent as public prisoners to the pagan villages.

The next year was still worse. The whole Catholic population of several provinces was driven from its homes and the faces of the grown people branded with Chinese characters meaning "Infamous Religion." These were cut in with pieces of glass or pottery so that the scars might remain permanently. The Annamite governors and generals were left absolute freedom in dealing with the lives of the hated Christians. At Bien Ho, a city of Cochin China occupied by the French troops, the commander found the charred

bodies of three hundred native Catholics, men, women and children. They had been shut up before his approach in a wooden building, and when the Governor retreated he first had the building fired, and stationed guards around it to throw back any of the prisoners that forced their way out of the flames. In another city of Centrai Tonquin the Viceroy shut up three hundred in a prison and starved them all to death. The same official made a circuit afterwards of the Christian villages and beheaded all who refused to renounce their faith. On the 18th of May, 1861, he executed twenty-one thus, forty-three on the 22d of the same month, sixty-seven on the 26th and as many on the 27th. Two hundred and twenty-four Catholics still remained in confinement, and on the last days of May they were tied hand and foot and thrown into the river. In all the number only three consented to abandon their religion. So much for the Christianity taught by the Spanish friars, which is so glibly described as nominal by American lecturers.

One case deserves mention. A man of thirty-five after being kept some months in prison and repeatedly flogged, had his face branded with the Chinese letters, "False religion of Jesus." When returned to his prison he got a fellow captive to cut out the flesh on which "False religion" was marked, leaving only the sacred name. He was flogged unmercifully and then sentenced to execution unless he would allow the effaced words to be branded on again. On his refusal he was immediately beheaded.

In another place the Viceroy already mentioned had over two hundred prisoners thrown into a pit and covered it with planks. The living and dead were left together till the end slowly came to the last sufferer. The list of butcheries given by Father Estevez, a Spanish Dominican, who remained in Tonquin through all these horrors, may well make us think that Christian courage is not the gift of any special race. Writing on the 8th of July to his superiors in Manila, he says: "On the 20th of last month fifty-three Christians were executed in the capital of the southern province. Five days earlier the Prefect of Chan Din ordered two hundred to be drowned together. Forty-one were saved by the people living on the river. Five of these came to see me a few days since and gave me an account of the event."

He continues the list of executions thus: "In the chief town of San, fifty-six Christians were beheaded on the 27th and 30th of May. Ninety-six suffered the same fate at Chan Din. At Quin Co a number (we have not learned exactly how many) were imprisoned, fire set to the building and all perished. At Doi Yen a hundred and fifty were collected for execution together. The bungling executioners, after having fearfully mangled twenty, lost

patience and drove the whole body into the river. In the midst of this massacre," he adds, "it is most consoling for God's servants to know that amongst the thousands of confessors only *six apostates* have been found." We fear the test would hardly give the same result in our own land.

The summing up given by Father Estevez is as follows: "With regard to the number who have perished I shall only state that in one vicariate alone, Central<sup>1</sup> Tonquin, the multitude of victims has, it is well known, reached the figure of sixteen thousand. Some say, perhaps with reason, that twice that number have perished. (The census of 1856 numbered the Catholics at a hundred and fifty-five thousand.) In the capital alone of the upper province five thousand have suffered. Widows and orphans are met with in crowds on all sides. Possibly," he adds, with scrupulosity, in a note, "some inaccuracies may have crept into my letter, for we have not been able to verify everything ourselves. If so, I shall hasten to correct them as soon as accurate information is obtained."

How, it may be asked, did the clergy fare if such was the fate of the common Catholic population? Father Estevez tells this with simple force: "During the last five years we have lost three Bishops, thirty-six priests and the vicar general. Twenty-eight native priests were executed. Through the whole mission we have now only twelve native ecclesiastics, and three of these invalided. Of the seven hundred students and scholars in the parish seminaries very few remain. <sup>1</sup> Exile and the scaffold have disposed of the rest. And, thank God, out of so many, two-thirds of whom have undergone the torture in the courts, only six have fallen, and of these some have already made reparation and confessed the faith again."

It will be remembered that Father Hermosilla in his report of the martyrdom of his predecessor in the episcopate promised to give his first care to restoring the ruined seminaries of Tonquin. How faithfully he had kept his promise this report of his own successor tells in the very middle of the carnage of a new persecution. There was no tale of apostacy to lessen the glory of the generation of priests trained up by the Dominican missionary Bishop. They proved their faith by deeds, not words.

Bishop Hermosilla's own end is told in the same report of Father Estevez. He had been driven from one hiding place to another for three years, and when the Catholic villages were destroyed in 1860 he found no asylum but a native river junk. The Bishop of Central Tonquin, Mgr. Ochoa, and Father Almato, a veteran Dominican missionary, hid themselves in another boat. All three were captured in October, 1861, near Hai Duong, the capital of a province. They were marched there on foot, examined before the Annamite courts

and then shut up in wooden cages, exactly as Bishop Delgado and his coadjutor twenty-three years before. As Bishop Hermosilla had then described the end of his predecessor we will let Father Estevez tell his own:

"The feast of All Saints, the thirty-first anniversary of my companion's novitiate (Father Almato had been fellow novice of Father Estevez) was the day chosen for the triumph of the three apostles. When it was known they were to be executed a crowd assembled and followed to the fatal spot. Two elephants led the funeral procession and four companies of infantry followed in line. The three cages of the confessors were surrounded by soldiers. In the first was Father Almato, bent down, his rosary in his hands, praying to her who had so well preserved his innocence. In the second cage was our venerable Bishop Ochoa, absorbed in deep meditation, which practice had long made familiar to him. The Bishop of Western Tonquin, Hermosilla, was seated in the third cage, as if on a throne. He kept blessing the people around him.

At the place of execution the cages were opened, the confessors knelt down and Mgr. Hermosilla asked a few minutes for prayer, which was granted.

"It was a touching sight to witness the silence of the crowd while the three prayed with eyes lifted to heaven, offering the sacrifice of their lives to their Creator.

"The prayer finished, Mgr. Hermosilla told the commander they were ready. Their arms were then bound behind their backs and their bodies tied to stakes so tightly that their chests were swollen and their necks stretched as if in suffocation. The voice of a trumpeter then ordered the soldiers to stand at attention and arrest any one who should show sympathy with the martyrs. The poor trumpeter had tears running down his cheeks while proclaiming this order; he was himself a Christian. At the third stroke of a gong three swords fell on the three heads, which rolled on the ground, the first at one stroke, the others at the second. The bodies were left on the spot for twenty-four hours, while the heads were fixed on posts and exposed there for three days. A little later the relics were bought at a high price by our Christians and buried with all secrecy at dead of night."

Compare this account of the close of a missionary's career with that of his predecessor, Bishop Henares, twenty-three years earlier, which we have already given, and then let who will talk of the degeneracy of the religious orders in Spanish lands. Bishop Ochoa was only 34 years of age. He came to give his life to the conversion of Tonquin at the moment when the fiercest persecution broke out in 1858. Bishop Garcia at once selected him as his coadjutor

and consecrated him in June of that year. Eleven days later the consecrating prelate was beheaded himself. Five Bishops drawn from the same orders as the Philippine Friars have thus laid down their lives for the Catholic Faith within a quarter of a century. They are included among the forty-nine martyrs of Annam who have this year been solemnly declared such by Leo XIII. The men of any race who will undertake to give a higher type of Christianity to the Philippines must be bold indeed. One cannot help drawing a comparison between the English Bishops of the days of Henry VIII. and these Spanish Bishops of our own day.

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## SOCIAL STANDPOINT IN RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY.

**T**HE principal matter of debate in the controversies of thirty years ago between Intuitionism and Empiricism was the attempt of the empiricists—from Hume to J. S. Mill—to deny to the mind the power of intuition, and to trace all our knowledge to sensible experience. The method used by the intuitionist in this controversy was that of individual self-analysis. He appealed to beliefs accepted as valid by intuitionist and empiricist alike; analyzed their logical basis; showed that this *must* include certain primary intuitions irreducible to experience. The empiricist was challenged to examine his own mind, to apply the intuitionist analysis and to show if he could that the conclusion was not inevitable—that the beliefs in question rested on intuitions. The crucial part of the process, on either side, was individual introspection. The case was decided by the verdict of accurate self-analysis. The standpoint on either side was that of the individual examining his own mind. The object of the present article is to show how a change has arisen in the standpoint from which these controversies are now regarded and the method employed in their solution; how the social method and social standpoint have come largely to supplement the individual.

Among the issues fought out on the old lines of controversy were the intuitive character of memory, the intuitive basis of necessary truth, the nature of the primary ethical perceptions. Huxley had traced our confidence in memory to our *experience* of its truthfulness. The intuitionist challenged him to analyze his own mind more accu-



ately. He could not even know that memory had been truthful without *first* trusting its own records of the past. Nor could any argument justify our trust in the most positive assertions of memory as to recent events. To *understand* an argument you must trust that memory which connects the first part of a sentence with the last. It is a condition of all coherent reasoning that the memory should be trusted. Our trust in it is therefore ultimate.

So, too, it was argued in the case of the empirical theory that belief in necessary truth is based on induction. You must necessarily admit that the belief that the truths of geometry obtain universally is more than an induction from experience, because to observe carefully one instance in which a trilateral figure is triangular proves to you that all trilaterals *must* be triangular.

Again, you must admit (it was argued) the simplicity of the idea of "moral worth"—that it is something distinct from the idea of "beneficial to the race" to which some of the older utilitarians reduced it—because you yourself must recognize that to say "what ever is beneficial to the race is good" is far from being the tautologous proposition "whatever is good is good."

So far (I repeat) each party appealed to the analysis of the individual mind—to instances in which mental experience is the same, and the only question is of true and false analysis; and the intuitionist claimed that by the inevitable confession of his antagonists his own analysis was shown on these points to be the true one. He claimed a victory, and set down as admitted first principles that our trust in memory is ultimate and intuitive; that the acceptance of necessary truths is not of the nature of an induction, but is intuitive, or derived from intuition; that the idea of moral worth is a simple idea, and not identical with "beneficial to the race," or with other suggested analyses of its import.

If the controversy ended here, if to show that Hume and the Mills had denied what the analysis of the human mind clearly establishes were tantamount to a philosophy of religion, it might be unnecessary to consider another standpoint. But this is not so.

The admission of certain axioms as primary, and even as known by intuition, does not necessarily involve the admission of all the axioms postulated in a Theistic philosophy. You may bring the empiricist, as Mill was brought, to admit memory as an ultimate means of knowledge, but he may stop short, as Mill did, at the intuition of causation. You may prove the inadequacy of "beneficial" as synonymous with "good;" but you still have before you subtler explanations of the ethical judgments, referring conscience to the early fear of father and ruler, or to the associations created early in life by punishment for a certain class of actions, or to the still

more complicated genesis suggested by the evolutionists. Again, the endeavor to connect the moral perceptions with knowledge of God may raise further questions in which no agreement can be obtained between the analyses of different thinkers. You may have won the admission that geometrical truth is necessary; but you have yet to win assent to the proposition that space is objective—that necessary truth is more than subjective consistency in the *a priori* elements which the mind brings with it as a condition of experience. And both the objective character of space and the objective validity of synthetic *a priori* judgments are important elements in more than one version of the philosophical basis of Theism.

And here arises the problem which first suggests what I have called the social standpoint at its narrowest angle of departure from the individual standpoint. Hitherto beliefs have been considered in which the decision of all minds is really similar, and in the case of which apparent differences are resolvable into a true and a false analysis of similar convictions. Thus a direct issue was possible from the individualistic standpoint. All men really trust their memories in certain cases, as an ultimate trust, assumed in the very attempt to offer proof that there are prior motives for the trust. All men really hold particular geometrical truths to obtain universally, on the examination of one instance, and not as in induction from many. Here the empiricists had simply failed in their analysis of experiences common to all.

But when we get to the further questions just referred to it is otherwise. Is the use of the causation argument for Theism valid? Does causation really involve more than succession? Does the human mind affirm with right the objective character of space? These questions are found to involve ultimate differences, not of analysis, but of first principles. Individualism comes to a deadlock. Its weapons no longer apply. Either we abandon all hope of agreement and end with the statement on either side that "orthodoxy is my doxy," or we make some attempt to trace the history of differences between mind and mind, hoping to discover their source, and thus to effect a reconciliation, or to join issue on a prior stage in the argument. We leave the study of the individual mind and take up the social standpoint.

The philosopher no longer merely analyzes his own mental experiences, treating this process as a final appeal, stating it that others may apply it to their own minds, and test how far it reveals defects in *their* analysis. He employs a different method. He questions his own most positive and ultimate convictions by comparing them with those of others. He looks on himself from outside, as a unit acted on by social influences; and questions the source

of the first principles he has accepted. He looks along the line of history to see if he can ascertain a reason for ultimate differences between one mind and another, and if that reason can throw any light on the question—which of the opposing first principles is right? He becomes provisionally a doubter, where he had been positive. The thinker who is thus hesitating between the two views (above referred to) concerning causation and space may undoubtedly learn something from tracing the history of the controversy between the empirical and the *a priori* schools. He may come to the conclusion that the early success of the empiricists was due to the fact that a dogmatic age had been too ready to multiply dogmatic first principles, which it was really beyond the power of the human mind lawfully to affirm; that the protest of Bacon, echoed by Locke, against the theorizing of the “*intellectus sibi permissus*” had in it a measure of obvious justice: that the subsequent reaction against empiricism was due to a similar exaggeration on the part of such empiricists as Hume, who, in their zeal to expose the false pretensions of the advocates of “innate ideas,” eventually denied to the mind powers which must really be assumed as valid in the simplest and most obvious reasoning processes—powers which can be justified by no external test, as the human mind has no test at its command which it can apply without using the very powers and processes whose validity is to be tested.

Here, in an instance I have chosen for its great simplicity, a glance at history does not reveal the *root* of divergence in first principles. Neither party was wholly right; yet both held a characteristic truth. The dogmatism of scholastic days and the caution bred by the rise of induction each formed a temper of mind which tended, one to exaggerate, the other to minimize, the power of the human faculties to rise above sensible knowledge. The individual who had been influenced by the maxims of either age had to correct his mind’s spontaneous decision by allowing for the current.

Here it is at least possible that this slight historical survey may come to the aid of the enquirer, in such a deadlock as I have indicated between the views of Mill and of the intuitionists as to causation; or between the views of Kant and of his opponents as to the objective character of space. The thinker may come to the conclusion that the extensive dogmatism of mediæval philosophy, which tended to the exaggeration of the mind’s powers of active perception, had led to a violent reaction, in which the analysis of passive impressions as the exclusive road to truth had become an intellectual fashion; that the sober common-sense of Locke had kept this tendency from extremes; but that Berkeley and Hume, each in his own way, had carried it so far as to question all active elements in men-

tal perception. This extreme had in it (our thinker may conclude) the perverse untruthfulness of an exaggerated reaction. When Hume "waked Kant from his dogmatic slumbers," Kant was, no doubt, considerably affected by the new vividness with which Hume and Berkeley had brought out the extent of the merely phenomenal in our knowledge; and though Kant was too clear-sighted to deny to the perception of geometrical truths the character of synthetic *a priori* judgments, he was, nevertheless, so far a child of his time as to refuse to ascribe an objective character to our perceptions of space—a refusal due to the pressure of an intellectual fashion which tended to paralyze confidence in the *active* perceptions of the mind, and in its power of knowing any *objective* truth.

In a similar way, the student contrasting his own sense of power in causing the movements of his own body with Hume's view that causation is *mere* succession, may find in the story of the origin of empiricism good ground for ascribing Hume's position to a one-sided temper of mind—a fashion of distrust of the mind's active powers—and for returning to the intuitive view. That the empirical temper is one-sided he concludes both from the history of its origin and from the fact that it has led its votaries, in their distrust of all professed intuitions, to positions in regard to memory and to necessary truth which were suicidal. Such untenable results throw grave doubts on the initial method to which they were due, and discredit as morbid the degree of questioning and caution as to the mind's spontaneous decisions to which empiricism leads.

Here, then, the two instances in which it is conceivable that a thinker who had failed to make the controversy yield a satisfactory issue so long as the method of self-introspection had been exclusively applied, may come to a definite result if he supplement the individualist method by the social and historical.

And surely a like method may be usefully applied on a more extended scale.

Passing the eye along the history of philosophy, and comparing his own self-analysis with that of others, often tracing the differences to ascertainable social causes, the thinker modifies and corrects the conclusions which commended themselves to him while he adopted the purely individualist standpoint. The ascertaining of the causes of the varying convictions of philosophers at least gives him an additional means of testing his own accuracy. So far as they have been due to misunderstanding, he learns to avoid such ambiguity as has been found misleading. So far as they have been due to opposite first principles, he learns what has led different minds to take up varying positions in their ultimate decisions, and what tests of truth or falsehood may be found in the causes thus

discovered. Even in the present—and apart from the marked differences of intellectual habit which history presents in different ages—a man with a scholastic education differs widely from one with a scientific education. The one from his deductive habit readily assumes first principles; the other is cautious, ever mindful of the disillusionments of experience. The process of mutual correction by tact between such minds is valuable. Far more valuable, surely, is the correction of individual idiosyncrasy to be attained by the study of the history of thought all along the line—that is, by the social and historical method.

And, it may be added, if there is to be any progress in philosophy, such a method seems to be indispensable. It will leave, indeed, a sufficient number of deadlocks—of inevitable differences—to keep up the distinction of schools of thought. But to register the lessons of experience—the primary differences, the solved problems, the explanations which have passed, the topics which still appear to offer hope of further elucidation—is surely essential to real progress. Otherwise history blindly repeats itself. We each knock our head against the wall, whose hardness in proportion to the human skull has been experienced again and again by our ancestors.

No doubt a man must ultimately apply his researches to his own mind; and the final result is that he gives his own contribution to philosophy based on them or corrected by them. Thus he returns to the individual standpoint. But his provisional position, while studying the variations between different minds, is different from the standpoint from which he analyzed his own mind, and showed, by his own analysis of it, that conclusions common to him and to others necessarily presuppose certain first principles which must therefore be admitted by all. In the latter case he regards the decision of his own mind as without appeal; in the former he is, by a reflex act, questioning the origin and working of his own mental machinery—and this by comparing it with other minds. No doubt it is still his own mind which institutes the investigation and decides as to its result; but the materials it uses are different, and are such as may make him modify his former decisions and enable him to judge of their value from a wider survey.

Of course it may be said that in the very act of writing down your own analysis, and inviting another to give his, you are comparing notes and taking up so far a social and not a purely individual standpoint, though it be limited to a comparison between two minds. And again, by the fact that the most complicated studies from the social standpoint issue in a conclusion which is individual to yourself, it may be shown that they are in the last resort only the materials for an individualistic philosophy. No doubt

the distinction may thus be made to vanish. But considering that the processes are so widely distinct in kind between regarding comparatively and from outside the variations of thought in history and in the world, and regarding from within the immediate analysis of one's own mental operations, and considering that these two ways of looking at the problems in hand are opposite for the time being, and mutually corrective, it seems useful to contrast the standpoints, while allowing that both standpoints are taken up by one individual.

And now we have to consider the fact that the social standpoint, first suggested by the differences between philosophers in first principles, is also called into request by the actual considerations as to the scope of human knowledge which have been urged by the later empiricists, who appeal to evolution. The attempt to identify the intellectual and moral faculties with association of ideas is transferred by them from the history of the individual to that of the race. The development of the faculties in the course of evolution is considered. Conscience is maintained to be an instinct, commanding in its tone, telling what makes for the life of the race. The intellectual faculties are dealt with as the gradual development, in the course of evolution, of the sensible faculties—not different from them in kind.

Then, concurrently, there is the attitude towards religious conviction, which says, in effect, "We will not attack you; we will explain you." We have the ghost theory and other similar theories to account for the origin of belief in the supernatural; and the old demarcation, so convenient for the purposes of abstract philosophical discussion between natural and revealed religion, is blurred by tracing the actual convictions of Christians on natural religion to the influence of Christianity itself, while the Christian evidences are discredited by the myth-theory of modern criticism.

And here we are unable to escape the consideration of the social and historical standpoint. The allegation is that in fact the belief in Theism and Immortality in a large number of men is due to the subtle ethical influences of a Christian society. No doubt we may reply that, allowing this to be so, these beliefs can also be justified by a true philosophy of the human mind, which leaves these special influences out of account. But, as St. Thomas Aquinas says in a famous passage, such a philosophy is not likely to be directly influential with the mass of men. Granted even that it is the justification of religious belief in the few philosophical minds, and that it has indirect influence on the less philosophical through their instrumentality, you must perforce consider the question—How far has the average man ground for believing that in surrendering himself to this influence he is acting wisely and reasonably, and in a

way which gives a presumption that he will not be misled? And here we are again driven to the social standpoint.

But, in point of fact, besides this influence of the philosophical few on the many, there is the influence of the atmosphere—spread by Christianity around each unit in the Christian society—of the contagiousness of the belief of his fellows, of the response which the truths of Natural Religion professed by the community find in his own moral nature.

It would surely be unsatisfactory and untrue to fact to dismiss these influences as simply misleading, to confine the philosopher's efforts to an abstract philosophy of the individual mind, which can only really satisfy the majority in consequence of their trust in those who expound it; and to exclude entirely from the sphere of rational causes both that trust itself, and the other influences which actually sustain the belief of the community.

I am not denying that there is a process, reasonable in its degree, whereby less philosophical minds do rise to the conception of God apart from external teaching; but, in point of fact, man lives in society and cannot be independent of its traditions, which he learns, and which must have their effect on his beliefs. Therefore, in order to assure the average man that his belief is well founded, it is useless to appeal exclusively to a process which cannot practically take place in him—namely, the movement of his mind in response to the visible world apart from any social influences. If social influences for or against belief have been acting on him from earliest childhood, and if inherited predispositions are likewise due to external influences exerted on his ancestors, he cannot appraise the reasonableness of his belief without in some degree estimating the value of these influences, which effectively sway his mind in one way or another.

And in view of the incompetence of the average individual to do this in a trustworthy fashion—to stand outside himself, and appraise dispositions which have become part of himself—we are led to the conception of a Society or Church in which the more spiritual and profound spirits support the weaker and guide the society. In some degree the inequality of minds is compensated by the influence of one upon another. A schoolboy can learn the law of gravitation from a Newton, and be taught to prove it by his own intellect. But he could not have discovered it. Thus the greater minds bring out the rational faculties of the smaller; and an influence in one sense social gives knowledge which is truly rational in the individual.

And this may surely be so likewise in the philosophy of religion.

If a true philosophy of the individual mind leads the philosopher to attach importance to the moral intuitions, to the sentiment of

moral approval and disapproval, to the more complex judgments and sentiments summed up in the word "conscience;" if these acts or phenomena of the mind form an important link in the chain of arguments for Theism; then those in whom the moral nature is more highly developed—the saints and moral heroes—give point and additional force to the argument. Society gives in a more unmistakable form, by the most developed instances, this ethical aspect of human nature which philosophy considers to be significant. We remember Browning's account of the momentary flashes of the spiritual nature from which the most skeptical are not free—

"Just when we are safest there's a sunset touch,  
A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,  
A chorus-ending from Euripides—  
And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears,  
As old and new at once as Nature's self  
To rap and knock and enter in our soul."

It is tolerably clear that such glimpses do not necessarily differentiate themselves unmistakably from mere excursions of the imagination. Place him who experiences them in isolation, and they may carry him no further. They are glimpses of what might be—"the Great Perhaps," as Browning says—but no more. They may seem, perhaps, chiefly suggestions from the æsthetic nature rather than from the deeper moral conscience. Place him, on the other hand, in contact with those whose ethical perceptions are steady and constant, and two results follow. Firstly, his own moral perceptions, such as they are, assert themselves more distinctly; and, secondly, he comes to attach more importance to them by seeing the power of more developed instances. Tennyson expresses this in the "Ancient Sage." The dissolute skeptic says of the glimpses of moral light which come to him:

"Idle gleams may come and go,  
But still the clouds remain."

The Saintly Seer replies:

"Idle gleams to thee are light to me."

And he suggests that their significance would grow in the other by a sustained course of moral action.

Without attempting to decide on the rational value of this element in the basis of Theism, it seems, at least, clear that a working philosophy of religious belief cannot leave out of account what has so much influence as a cause of belief, and what has certainly in it at least some of the rational value attaching to the argument from man's moral nature to a moral author of the universe and of humanity. To reject the study of other minds in such a case, and to confine oneself to the individual mind—whose moral faculties may be abnormally undeveloped—would be to lose sight of the full force of the argument.



But I may add—to avoid misunderstanding—that this function of what I have called the social standpoint is necessarily guided by the moral intuitions of the individual which it strengthens and confirms. It is not to a *merely* external comparison of different manifestations of religion—to an exclusively social method—that I have appealed. It is the recognition that perceptions in ourselves have their counterpart more highly developed in others, which is the guide in this appeal to evidences of Theism derived from minds other than our own. That the moral consciousness is significant we learn from our personal experience—even though that experience be due in part to the action on ourselves of greater characters than our own. The *degree* of its significance may be seen, as far as the individual is capable of seeing it, only by doing his best to use his mind as a reflector of the higher perception of others, and adding to his own direct perceptions the testimony of those who see more, whom he can reasonably trust, but whose direct knowledge he can never fully share.

In the considerations I am here suggesting I am raising questions which it would carry me far to discuss fully. But I trust I have said enough to show that the conception of gaining aid for a working philosophy of religious belief from the religious experiences of others and of the race is not unreal or purely mystical. If we have any faculties which lead us to the conception of God as the ultimate satisfaction of our rational and moral nature, we are more likely to see the full significance of these faculties by having regard to men of moral genius, than by looking solely at ourselves. The greatest truths—scientific and mathematical—are known to the individual through his appreciation of the lead which genius offers to give him. His own faculties are educated and directed by studying the mind of a Newton or a Laplace. And so it may be with religious truth. And if revelation professes to have culminated in One in whom an absolutely Divine nature has been manifested, and whose teaching is calculated to draw forth moral aspirations and perceptions of a higher order than any which mankind had previously known, such a profession would be in harmony with the hierarchy of knowledge and the means of attaining to it which we find in human society. The union of our own perception with trust in the guidance of One who sees fully and clearly what we could only discern imperfectly and by glimpses, the increased confidence in our own glimpses due to His fuller explanation of their sources and import, would be a fresh instance of an order of grace which follows more perfectly the order of nature.

WILFRID WARD.

London.

## THE SULPITIANS AT THE CRADLE OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY.

**R**ELIGIOUS freedom had not existed in the English colonies, which after the American Revolution became the original thirteen States composing the Federal Union. The odious penal laws of England had been embodied to a great extent in the codes of all the respective colonies, except Pennsylvania.

Prior to the close of the American Revolution, in consequence of adverse laws, comparatively few Catholics outside of Pennsylvania had a free status in the colonies.

In Maryland at this epoch there were probably 10,000 Catholics.

The Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who were affiliated with the London Province, had for more than a century ministered to the spiritual needs of the Catholic colonists and of their descendants, of high and of low degree.

The same Fathers had evangelized the Indian races living on the soil.

No better description of the Catholic people of Maryland at the dawn of the American Republic may be found than that written by Dr. Carroll in 1790:

"In founding the colony of Maryland," he wrote, "the Second Lord Baltimore, desirous of encouraging the settlers to maintain the form of worship they desired, took no clergymen officially, but erected chapels for each creed, leaving the people to arrange for a minister as they chose.

"Father Andrew White and another Jesuit Father came out with the first settlers as gentlemen adventurers, under the proposals issued by Lord Baltimore, bringing out mechanics, farmers and laborers. As proprietors they took up lands, and those that followed them did the same.

"Attempts were frequently made to introduce the whole code of penal English laws, and it seemed to depend more on the temper of the courts of justice than on avowed and acknowledged principles that these laws were not generally executed, as they were sometimes partially.

"Under these discouraging circumstances Catholic families of note left their Church and carried an accession of weight and influence into the Protestant cause. The seat of government was removed from St. Mary's, where the Catholics were powerful, to Annapolis, where lay the strength of the opposite party.

"The Catholics, excluded from all lucrative employments, harassed and discouraged, became in general poor and dejected. But in spite of their discouragements their numbers increased with the increase of population.

"They either had clergymen residing in their neighborhoods or were occasionally visited by them; but these congregations were dispersed at such distances, and the clergymen were so few, that many Catholic families could not always hear Mass or receive any instruction so often as once in a month.

"Domestic instructions supplied in some degree this defect. Among the poorer sort many could not read, or if they could, were destitute of books, which, if to be had at all, must come from England; and in England the laws were excessively rigid against printing or vending Catholic books. Under all these difficulties it is surprising that there remained in Maryland even so much as there was of true religion.

"In general Catholics were regular and inoffensive in their conduct—such, I mean, as were natives of the country; but when many began to be imported as servants from Ireland, great licentiousness prevailed amongst them in the towns and neighborhoods where they were stationed, and spread a scandal injurious to true faith.

"Contiguous to the homes where the priests resided on the lands which had been secured for the clergy small chapels were built, but scarcely anywhere else. When divine service was performed at a distance from their residence, private and inconvenient houses were used for churches.

"Catholics contributed nothing for the support of religion or its ministers; the whole charge of their maintenance, of furnishing the altars, of all traveling expenses fell on the priests themselves, and no compensation was ever offered for any service performed by them, nor did they require any so long as the product of their lands was sufficient to answer their demands. But it must have been foreseen that if religion should make considerable progress, this could not always be the case."<sup>1</sup>

When, in 1773, the Society of Jesus was suppressed throughout the Christian world by a Papal edict, Bishop Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of London, under whose control the Jesuit Fathers had been serving in Maryland, notified their Superior, Very Rev. John Lewis, of the fatal decree by a letter dated October 6, 1773. In this letter was a copy of the Latin form of submission to the decree, which was to be signed by each of the Fathers, according to instructions from Rome and returned to him for transmission to the Papal

<sup>1</sup> "Life and Times of Most Rev. John Carroll," etc. By John Gilmary Shea. New York, 1888. Pages 48 et seq.

Court. This would terminate the existence of the Fathers as Jesuits, leaving each, however, with his sacerdotal faculties as a Catholic priest. With these proceedings, the autonomy of the Society of Jesus, which had existed in the Anglo-American colonies for 139 years, came to an end.

All the estates and plantations, as explained by Dr. Carroll, having been held in fee simple as individual property, escaped confiscation and were thus saved for religious purposes.

The ex-Jesuit Fathers, who still recognized Father Lewis as their superior, continued their missionary labors.<sup>1</sup>

Most Rev. John Carroll was born July 8, 1735, in Prince George's county, Maryland. His father, Daniel Carroll, an Irish gentleman, was a successful merchant. His mother, Eleanor Darnall, a lady of old Maryland stock, had received a finished education in France and was admirably endowed with the accomplishments requisite for the formation of the character of her children.

This branch of the Carroll family was related to the senior branch represented by Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. After a course of a year at the Jesuits' school at Herman's Manor, young Carroll, then in his 13th year, was sent to the celebrated Jesuit College of St. Omer, in French Flanders, where he spent six years, and even among his brilliant classmates won a high reputation. In this institution were the young Marylanders, Joseph Hatherton, William Horne, Peter Jenkins, George Knight, Joseph Emmott and Joseph Tyrer, all future Jesuits; Robert Cole and the future Church historian, Joseph Reeve. He then spent two years devoted to meditation and training for spiritual life under Father Henry Corbie. There were sixteen aspirants in the novitiate. He was then sent to the Jesuits' College at Liège for a course of philosophy and theology. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1759. In the meantime his father had died in 1750; but previous to making his final vows Father Carroll had renounced in favor of his brother, Daniel, and his sisters, Ann, Betsey, Ellen and Mary, his claim to the property of his father. Heretofore his career had been marked by assiduous study, while a long continuous retreat had preceded his ordination.

He needed rest, and gladly accepted the offer of Lord Stourton,

<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit Fathers engaged in missionary work, principally in Maryland and Pennsylvania, but also in the adjacent parts of New Jersey and Virginia, included Very Rev. John Lewis, vicar general under the Vicar Apostolic of London, and John Ashton, George Bolton, John Boone, Bernard Diderick, Thomas Digges, Joseph Doyne, Ferdinand Farmer, James Frambach, Lucas Geisler, John Hunter, Arnold Livers, John Lucas, Matthias Manners, Ignatius Matthews, Robert Molyneux, Peter Morris, Joseph Mosley, Benedict Neale, James Pellentz, John B. de Ritter, Louis Roels and James Walton. There were also in Europe the following Jesuit Fathers, who returned to Maryland in 1774, Sylvester Boorman, John Carroll, Augustin Jenkins and Charles Sewall. The latter four were all members of prominent Maryland families. The autonomy of the Society of Jesus in Canada had not been extinguished at the time of its suppression.

an English Catholic peer, to become the traveling companion of his son, and several years were spent in visiting notable places on the Continent. This tour was of great advantage to the future Bishop, in the experience derived by visiting notable cities, by becoming known to many distinguished people in the Church and by the perfection of his linguistical attainments, which were considerable. Upon the return of the travelers to Stourton Castle, Father Carroll received many invitations from Catholic families of note to visit their aristocratic homes. He became the guest of Lord Arundell and performed his first missionary work among the tenants of his noble host.

In the meantime it became apparent to Father Carroll that a crisis was impending in the political relations of England with her American colonies, which were upon the verge of revolt.

He considered that under such circumstances his duty required his return to America. He obtained faculties for priestly work in America from Bishop Challoner, bade adieu to his aristocratic friends, sailed for America and arrived at Richland, Va., late in June, 1774. After a brief visit to his sisters, Mrs. Robert Brent and Mrs. William Brent, he hastened to his mother's home, on Rock Creek, where, after an absence of thirty years, he was lovingly welcomed by the venerable lady and by her two daughters, Betsey and Mary. The American Revolution ensued. When the colonies had won their freedom and a Federal Union had been formed, the ex-Jesuits, who still recognized Very Rev. Father Lewis as their Superior, were by the latter assembled in council.

At this assemblage a petition to the Holy See was signed praying for the appointment of a Prefect Apostolic to govern the faithful in the American Republic and forwarded to Rome.

No candidate was proposed; but the situation in America seems to have been well understood by the Propaganda, which promulgated a decree organizing the Catholic Church in the United States and appointing Father John Carroll Prefect Apostolic. This decree was signed by Cardinal Antonelli, by direction of Pope Pius VI., June 9, 1784.

In 1785 Dr. Carroll made his first episcopal visitations to the Catholic communities in Maryland, Pennsylvania, the adjacent parts of New Jersey and Virginia, administering for the first time in the history of the Church in the United States the Sacrament of Confirmation.

In 1786 he made his permanent residence in Baltimore, and in 1789 he was elevated to the episcopacy as the first Bishop of Baltimore, with jurisdiction over all the territory comprised within the thirteen States and their dependencies—a region probably greater

in extent than was at the time confided to any prelate of the Church. This was the completion by Rome of the foundation of the American hierarchy, upon which Bishop Carroll was destined to rear the grand outlines of the American Church.

The appointment was officially promulgated at Rome by Cardinal Branchi Onesti November 6, 1789. It remained for Bishop Carroll to be consecrated. The ceremony might have been performed in Baltimore by the Bishop of Quebec; but that venerable prelate was not his own master. The Governor General of Canada held him under restraint, which, however exercised with apparent deference, was nevertheless effective. Bishop Carroll knew that Bishop Hubert would not be allowed to come to Baltimore for such a ceremony.

Among the Catholic gentlemen who had entertained Dr. Carroll in England was Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle, representing one of the wealthiest hereditary Catholic families of England.

Mr. Weld wrote the Bishop-elect, inviting him to Lulworth Castle, where a fine chapel recently completed would afford every convenience for the august ceremony of his consecration.

This friendly invitation, coming at a time when the Continent of Europe was in a state of unrest, was gratefully accepted.

Bishop Carroll went to England, and the solemn ceremony of consecration was performed by the venerable Bishop Charles Walmsley, senior Vicar Apostolic of England, on the feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1790, in the so-called private chapel of Mr. Weld, which was in fact the most richly appointed Catholic church in all England, whose princely founder omitted no circumstance to give eclat and dignity to so memorable a function. An ex-Jesuit and life-long friend of the Bishop, Father Charles Plowden, preached the sermon.

Bishop Carroll made the day the patronal feast of his diocese, and in time obtained from the Holy See special indulgence for its commemoration. Although receiving many attentions from his host and invitations from his noble friends to their aristocratic homes, he felt that his episcopal life had but begun, and that his extensive diocese needed his presence. Before leaving England he received with kind wishes from Mr. Weld and from others of his admirers liberal donations of money for his episcopal work in Baltimore, which greatly encouraged him.

Before the wild storm which was to result in carnage and in chaos had burst upon France, while the impending war upon religion had become but too apparent to her venerable hierarchy and to her clergy, the Rev. M. de Saint Felix, Superior of the Theological Seminary of Toulouse, wrote the Abbé Emery, Superior

General of the Order of St. Sulpice at Paris, that it would be advisable to transfer their seminary to some locality outside France, where the freedom of religion would permit the concourse of a faculty for the training of aspirants to the priesthood in accordance with the intention of the saintly founders of their order, until such time as it would be feasible to re-establish their status in France. This suggestion coincided with the views of the sagacious Sulpitian chief. But where was this temporary Seminary of St. Sulpice to be located?

Realizing the gravity of the situation, the Abbé Emery was providentially moved to consult the Papal Nuncio to the French Court, Cardinal Dugnani. This eminent ecclesiastical diplomat had met and had greatly admired Bishop Carroll while the latter was a priest, while he foresaw the future expansion of the Church in the United States under the administration of such an able man as the Bishop. He knew he was *persona grata* with the Propaganda, and he advised the Abbé Emery to correspond with him, while he was in England awaiting consecration, with a view to the establishment of a Sulpitian Seminary at Baltimore.

The Abbé wrote to Bishop Carroll, inviting him to a conference in Paris, but the Bishop did not like the situation in the French capital and declined. Father Nagot, a venerable and holy Sulpitian, was then sent to London to confer with Bishop Carroll.

He offered professors and ample means to establish a Sulpitian Seminary at Baltimore, and his offer, on behalf of the Abbé Emery, was gratefully accepted.

"We arranged all preliminaries," wrote Bishop Carroll, "and I expect at Baltimore in the summer some of the gentlemen of St. Sulpice, Paris, to begin the work, and I have reason to believe they will find the means to carry their plan into effect."<sup>1</sup>

This was the inception of the movement which in time resulted in the advent at Baltimore of the French sacerdotal element, whose great piety and whose eminent learning made these priests a powerful auxiliary in the rearing of the infant hierarchy in the United States.

The Bishop left England early in October and arrived at Baltimore December 7, 1790.

He was warmly welcomed and given an ovation by a multitude of his friends. On the following Sunday he was formally enthroned in his pro-Cathedral, when in fact his status as Bishop of Baltimore and of all the United States was locally established. Under his spiritual control were thirty-five priests. There were churches or chapels in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston and

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<sup>1</sup> Shea: "Life and Times," etc.

Charleston; at St. Inigoes, Newtown, Newport, Port Tobacco, Rock Creek, Annapolis, White Marsh, Bohemia, Tuckahoe, Deer Creek, Frederick, Hagerstown and some minor stations in Maryland; at Lancaster, Connewago, Goshenhoppen, Elizabethtown, York, Reading, Carlisle and Greensburg, in Pennsylvania; Coffee Run, Delaware; at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, in the parts under the actual control of Bishop Carroll; while there were churches and priests at Detroit, River Raisin, Michilimackinac, in parts unlawfully held by England and under the spiritual control of the Bishop of Quebec; a priest and church at Natchez and elsewhere under the Bishop of Havana.

In accordance with the arrangements made in London the Abbé Emery sent the following Sulpitian Fathers, all of whom were ex-directors of Sulpitian Seminaries in France, to organize the faculty of a Theological Seminary in Baltimore: Nagot, Francis C., Superior; Levadoux, Michael; Tessier, John; Garnier, Anthony; Montdesir, Louis, and De Lavau, Louis C. These Fathers were accompanied by four seminarians. This party reached Baltimore July 10, 1791. They were welcomed by Father Sewal on behalf of Bishop Carroll, who was absent, and installed in the home which had been prepared for them.

Announcing to the Catholics of his diocese the coming of the Sulpitians, Bishop Carroll wrote: "This is a great and an auspicious event for our diocese, but it is a melancholy reflection that we owe so great a blessing to the lamentable catastrophe in France."

Father Nagot purchased a tract of four acres, on which were buildings, in the vicinity of Baltimore. A temporary chapel was arranged and suitable quarters provided for the distinguished Sulpitians. This was the origin of St. Mary's Seminary of Baltimore.

The sacerdotal exodus from France to the United States had, however, but commenced.

In 1792 there arrived the following ex-directors of Sulpitian Seminaries: David, John Baptist Mary; Flaget, Benedict Joseph. With these Fathers came Badin, Rev. Stephen Theodore, in minor orders, and Barrel, Louis, seminarian. There subsequently arrived as exiles from France: Chabrat, Guy Ignatius; Cheverus, John Lefevre; Ciquard, Francis; Cattelin, Charles James; Dilhet, John; DuBois, John; DuBourg, William Louis; Fournier, Michael J.; Janin, Louis Charles; Maréchal, Ambrose; Matignon, Francis A.; Moranvillé, John; Olivier, Donatién, and his brother John; Richard, Gabriel; Rivet, John; Romagné, Frederic P.; Salmon, Anthony, and others, all of whom, with the exception of Father Richard, had been directors or professors in Sulpitian Seminaries in France. These venerable and learned ecclesiastics were received



and domiciled by Father Nagot at St. Mary's Seminary, and all of them were cordially welcomed by Bishop Carroll.

In accordance with the expressed wishes of the Holy See, Bishop Carroll convoked the venerable clergy of his diocese in synod November 7, 1791, to adopt statutes appropriate to the position of the Church in the United States which would insure uniformity in its service and rule in the widely separated localities of the diocese,

The majority of the priests assembled were *ci-devant* Jesuits; with them were the eminent Dominican Father Fleming and the Sulpitian Fathers Nagot, Tessier and de Lavau, of St. Mary's Theological Seminary.

The convocation at that early period in the history of the American hierarchy of so many distinguished priests gave assurance to its founder that the results of the Synod would be advantageous to religion. And so they were.

Generally speaking, the statutes enacted are comprised among the rules of practice of the Catholic Church in this country at the present day. The official proceedings of the synod, sent to Rome for ratification, were accompanied by the unanimously signed petition of the Fathers assembled for the appointment of a coadjutor to the Bishop of Baltimore, who would share in his work and be his successor.

The sequel of this movement was the appointment of the Very Rev. Leonard Neale, president of the young college at Georgetown.

The migration of Catholic families from Maryland to Kentucky had been increasing during two decades to such an extent that Catholic settlements had grown up at Pottinger's Creek and at Bardstown. In 1792 Bishop Carroll made his first ordination by conferring deacon's orders on Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin and minor orders on two other students of the seminary. On May 25, 1793, he elevated Rev. Mr. Badin to the priesthood. Thus, one of the Sulpitian seminarians from France had the honor to be the first priest ordained in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

In 1796 "Detroit and its dependencies" were evacuated by the British, who yielded possession of this post and of others which they had illegally held in Ohio, Illinois and on the island of Mackinac. Spiritual control over these centres, which had been exercised by the See of Quebec, was, during the same year, surrendered to Bishop Carroll, thereby considerably augmenting his diocesan territory. In the meantime Father Garnier, one of the first of the Sulpitians who had arrived, was commissioned by the Bishop to organize the second Catholic parish in Baltimore at Fell's Point. St. Mary's Theological Seminary at Baltimore, under Director

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<sup>1</sup> Register of ordinations at Baltimore.

Nagot, was yet in its initial years. The eminent directors, the professors and the priests of the Sulpitian Seminaries in France, who to the number of thirty or more had followed Father Nagot as exiles, the majority of whom were not among the faculty of St. Mary's, brought Bishop Carroll to assign them missionary work wherever in his extensive diocese souls might be saved.

Such volunteers were greatly needed, for age had terminated the careers of many priests, and others had become martyrs while preparing the victims of yellow fever for death, by the contraction of the dreadful scourge. And, again, others had resisted his episcopal authority and were no longer available. The offer of service by these distinguished French priests was considered providential and gratefully accepted.

In 1792 Father Michael Levadoux was sent to Kaskaskia, in Illinois, an old missionary centre, and during the French régime a military post.

It had a population of French, of half-breeds and of Christian and Pagan Indians.

It was a mission more likely to dishearten than to console such a saintly priest and scholar as was Father Levadoux. He was made Vicar General of the Illinois mission and Father Gabriel Richard was assigned as his assistant. The last of the incumbents in the pastorate of Ste. Anne's of Detroit under Quebec was Father Frechette, who was recalled by his ordinary when Bishop Carroll succeeded to the control.

This ancient parish was the centre of a missionary system which extended from the head waters of Lake Erie to the shores of Lake Superior, taking in the islands and littorals of Lakes St. Clair, Huron, Michigan, the Georgian Bay and the River St. Mary. The chief pastorate of Detroit was confided to Father Michael Levadoux, with Fathers Gabriel Richard and John Dilhet as assistants. By this arrangement three of the eminent Sulpitian exiles were associated in spiritual work, which for its territory included all the northwest regions of the United States.

But the work was laborious and more or less unsatisfactory, if not repugnant to such a priest and scholar as was Father Levadoux.

It has occurred to us at times, when investigating the facts relating to the early history of the Church at Detroit, which now traverses a period of two centuries, that Vicar General Levadoux may have been seriously affected by nostalgia. But we would not venture to suggest that he sought his recall to Baltimore as a preliminary to his return to France, for this is a question.

It was not until April 17, 1795, that the Sovereign Pontiff issued Bulls appointing Vicar General Leonard Neale Bishop of Gortyna

and coadjutor of the Bishop of Baltimore; but owing to the disturbed condition of political affairs on the Continent, these Bulls did not reach Baltimore for a year or more.

When Napoleon became supreme ruler of France he restored religion and re-established the hierarchy and priesthood under the Concordat of 1801. The Abbé Emery, still Superior of St. Sulpice at Paris, deemed the time opportune for the reopening of seminaries for the education of candidates for the priesthood by his congregation. He resolved to recall all the Sulpitian Fathers in the United States to France. In 1803 Father Nagot and other Sulpitians received positive instructions from the Abbé Emery to return to Paris.

The venerable Father Superior of the Seminary of St. Mary at Baltimore, which he had founded, preferred to remain; but Father Garnier, who had organized the church at Fell's Point; Father Levadoux, who had returned from Detroit, and Father Cottelin sailed for France in May, followed in July by Father Maréchal.

It seemed probable to Bishop Carroll that a serious misfortune was impending which would deprive him of the facility for the education of priests and deplete his corps of missionaries.

He could not hope to replace the professors of St. Mary's Theological Seminary, while the exodus of his zealous Sulpitian missionaries would disorganize religion in his extensive diocese. The Abbé Emery had been disappointed and discouraged at the sparse results attained by the learned faculty of St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore during ten years, besides the expenditure of much money.

He considered its accomplishments to have been a failure. But this was owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the United States following the American Revolution, of which he had no general knowledge.

It is also probable that the venerable Sulpitian chief was unaware of the great work accomplished under the intelligent direction of Bishop Carroll by the Fathers of his Congregation who had been exiled from France during this memorable decade.

Where their efforts had been directed they had inspired Catholic communities with a greater respect for religion, while they had adorned the sacred ceremonies of the Church and of its altars to an extent hitherto unknown in the United States.

They had, moreover, sown the seed which was destined in the future to yield a rich harvest, when the growth of cities and of States, with the multiplication of Sees, the expansion and the development of the Catholic faith in cosmopolitan communities would, under the wise administration of Bishop Carroll, shape the expansion of the Catholic Church in the United States.

When Pope Pius VII. went to Paris in 1804 to place on the head of Napoleon the imperial crown of France, the Abbé Emery, to decide the question as to the seminary at Baltimore, sought the guidance of the Sovereign Pontiff. He represented to His Holiness the need he felt of members in France to re-establish the former Sulpitian Seminaries, and on the other hand the scanty fruit produced in the diocese of Baltimore, where several who had been capable directors of theological seminaries were now employed in subordinate positions. The Holy Father heard the Superior of St. Sulpice with affectionate interest, but he replied: "My son, let this seminary subsist, let it! It will bear its fruits in time! To recall the directors in order to employ them in France, in other houses, that would be stripping St. Paul to clothe St. Peter." This terse and encouraging reply put an end to all the Abbé Emery's doubts and hesitation, and from that moment the seminary at Baltimore, for which he had made so many sacrifices, acquired even a greater hold on his affections.<sup>1</sup>

And this decision also decided the question of the recall of the Sulpitian Fathers engaged in missionary work in the United States. They remained.

Divine Providence had thus interfered in aiding the work of Bishop Carroll.

But the Catholic faith had gained a foothold in some of the cities of the Republic where Puritanism had long prevailed.

The drastic policy of England in her government of Ireland had caused the exile of many bright men, who became distinguished as merchants and as soldiers in Europe and in America. Some of these exiles who came to New England were gifted with mercantile abilities of a high degree. They found favor with the leading merchants, who winked at their religious belief, the tenacity of which had caused their expatriation, while they profited by their association in commercial affairs. From this element a Catholic community had grown up in Boston, before the creation of the Episcopal See of Baltimore, around which had clustered Catholics of other nationalities. Priests from Canada had made occasional visits during colonial times, while subsequently the chaplains of the French fleets had kindly ministered to the spiritual needs of the faithful in this, the principal city of New England. Two of the

<sup>1</sup> Shea: "Life and Times," etc., p. 608, who quotes from Faillon, "History of the Seminary of St. Sulpice," manuscript; and in addition remarks: "The Rev. James Andrew Emery, superior of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, was born at Gex, August 26, 1732, son of an important functionary in that place. From the Jesuit College at Macon he entered St. Sulpice and was ordained in 1756. Professor at Orleans and Lyons, superior at Angers, he became in 1782 superior general of St. Sulpice. Imprisoned for sixteen months during the Revolution, he was liberated in 1794, and though he administered the Diocese of Paris under Napoleon, he refused the mitre." In 1810 he refused to become the tool of the Emperor, who on this account closed all the Sulpitian seminaries. The Abbé Emery died April 25, 1811.

priests sent by Bishop Carroll had been unedifying in their conduct; they had given scandal and had caused the Bishop much annoyance before he was compelled to withdraw their faculties, when they departed. Father Thayer, scion of an old Boston family, who had been converted and had been ordained at Rome, who was a zealous young priest, was next appointed to the pastorate at Boston; but he did not possess the qualities requisite for pastoral work in such a field. He resigned and sought other fields for ministerial work. Father Matignon, Doctor of the Sorbonne, which title was a brevet of distinction in Catholic France, who was a priest of great piety and learning, joined to which qualities he was gifted with administrative abilities of a high order, was selected by Bishop Carroll to succeed Father Thayer at Boston; to reorganize and to give new life to the limited Catholic community in the centre of New England Puritanism. It was a providential event for the Church. The sincere piety and the intellectual gifts of Dr. Matignon disarmed the inherent prejudice existing, while his tact and bonhomie won the hearts of the people whose spiritual interests had been confided to his care. Father Ciquard, another of the Sulpitians, who had desired an Indian mission, was sent to the Passamaquoddies, in Maine, in response to their reiterated petitions for a *black gown*. Dr. Matignon and Father Ciquard soon discovered the existence of Catholic communities, among whom the faith was still bright, in many other parts of New England. To the great joy of the saintly Doctor of the Sorbonne, the future Cardinal Cheverus was sent to Boston to assist him in his work.

The amiable qualities of Father Cheverus, his bright and cheerful disposition and his sincere piety, seemed a providential light shed upon the isolated *vic intime* of the priest and scholar, Dr. Matignon.

This agreeable association continued until July, 1797, when Father Cheverus was directed to relieve Father Ciquard at Passamaquoddy, in Maine, who wished to retire. On his way to the Indian mission he visited localities where small communities of Catholics needed his services, and after a year spent in missionary work he rejoined Dr. Matignon in 1798. The yellow fever became epidemic in Boston during that year. During its ravages both priests exhibited a picture of heroic courage and devotedness that filled all men with admiration.

It was a new lesson to see Catholic priests fearlessly facing the most dreadful pestilence.

In 1799 action was taken for the erection of a Catholic Church in Boston. A subscription list was opened and \$4,000 subscribed, which included liberal amounts from Protestant gentlemen, including John Adams, President of the United States. A suitable site

was purchased on Franklin Square, on which ground was broken by the Catholics of Boston on St. Patrick's Day, 1800, for the erection of the new church, the plans for which had been donated by James Bulfinch, a Protestant gentleman. It was to be of the Ionic order and handsome.

Three years and a half later the Church of the Holy Cross was ready for dedication. It was a fine edifice, built of brick, 60 by 80 feet and had cost more than \$20,000, which had been provided by the joint labor of Fathers Matignon and Cheverus.

Bishop Carroll came from Baltimore, and on September 29, 1803, with great ceremonial, dedicated the finest Catholic Church in all New England.

After this historical event in the history of the Church in the United States the two distinguished priests continued to visit the Catholics scattered from Connecticut to Maine. In 1804 Father Cheverus succeeded in having sent to the faithful Catholic Indians in Maine his fellow-townsmen, Father Romagne, who for twenty years devoted his life to their spiritual care.<sup>1</sup>

But there were other Catholics in Maine who were as steadfast to their faith as had been the aboriginal occupants of the soil.

Father Cheverus in a letter to Bishop Carroll dated at Newcastle, Me., July 20, 1808, wrote:

"Dr. Matignon, having authorized me in your name to bless the church newly constructed here and the cemetery adjoining it, I performed the ceremony the 17th of this month.

"The church is called St. Patrick's; the name seemed to gratify our friends here; I liked it myself because it proclaims that our church here is the work of Irish piety.

"The church is built of brick, 50 feet in length and 25 in breadth. It is on the whole a very neat and elegant little chapel.

"The cemetery is walled all around and has a neat gate. A large cross is placed in the middle. The expense will be about \$3,000, out of which I am afraid our generous friends Messrs. Kavanagh and Cottrill will be obliged to pay \$2,000. They have also given three acres of land, on part of which are the church and the cemetery. . . .

"How happy we should all have felt had we been blessed with your presence!

"'Oh that our good and venerable Bishop were here!' was the prayer of every heart, and repeated by every tongue. The whole

<sup>1</sup> For an authentic account of the Indian bibliographical works of Father Romagné, see the "Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages," by James Constantine Pilling (Smithsonian). Pages 437-8. Washington, 1891. This author has immortalized the memory of Catholic missionaries among the Indian nations of America. A review of his works by Richard R. Elliott will be found in the current numbers of *THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*, 1894-1895.

assembly, a numerous and respectable one, were hospitably entertained at Mr. Kavanagh's house. . . .

"The zeal and the unlimited generosity of the dear Mr. Kavanagh are above all praise. It is he who encouraged us to begin our church in Boston, and who was the greatest help toward finishing it. He inspires part of his zeal into the heart of his partner, Mr. Cottrill, who co-operates in every good work he originates. A letter from you would, I know, be received with joy and gratitude by these gentlemen. Permit me, therefore, to beg of you to write to them instead of answering me. Their address is 'Messrs. Kavanagh & Cottrill, Merchants, Newcastle, Maine.'

"If a priest is stationed here he will have a home with every comfort in Mr. Kavanagh's family, a horse and \$200 a year. Washing, mending and all will be done for him. You know this amiable family. A priest is perfectly at home; has a large and handsome chamber, and is sure to be waited upon with pleasure and to have at his orders whatever is in the house. For the past ten years, during which I have visited this vicinity, I have been cheered by the kindness and hospitality of this estimable family."

Thus wrote Father Cheverus, the distinguished scholar and future Cardinal. We have space for only a portion of his letter.

In 1808 the Holy See, in accordance with the prayer of Bishop Carroll, decided to divide the Diocese of Baltimore by creating the Sees of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown. Bishop Carroll desired to have Dr. Matignon appointed to the Diocese of Boston, but this learned and pious Sulpitian objected so vigorously to his appointment, asserting that the good accomplished in Boston was almost exclusively the work of Father Cheverus, "who fills the pulpit and is most frequently in the confessional," that Bishop Carroll sent to Rome the name of the Rev. John Lefevre Cheverus, describing him as "in the prime of life, with health to undergo any necessary exertion, universally esteemed for his unwearied zeal and his remarkable facility and eloquence in announcing the word of God, virtuous and with a charm of manner that recalled Catholics to their duties and disarmed Protestants of their prejudices." This was deservedly high testimony.

In consequence of the Napoleonic war in Europe the Bulls of the Holy See creating the Archdiocese of Baltimore and nominating Bishops for Boston, Philadelphia, Bardstown and New York did not reach Bishop Carroll until 1810. On All Saints' Day in that year Bishop Cheverus was consecrated in St. Peter's, Baltimore, with Bishops Neale and Egan assisting. This was a great event for the Catholics of Boston, while the heart of Dr. Matignon was

<sup>1</sup> Good and sincere Catholics of Milesian stock were these merchants, admired and esteemed by Cheverus.

filled with joy. The city of Boston, around whose history is entwined a wreath of historic incidents, important as they occurred in the rise of the American Republic, offers in the chapter which relates to the Catholic Church, from the times of Fathers Matignon and Cheverus to our own day, much that is marvelous in the progress the Church has made in the heart of Puritan New England.

One is inclined to believe that the footsteps of these pious and learned Sulpitians as they enjoyed their daily walk in old Boston Common, prepared the soil around which has since been reared more than forty churches, with all the up-to-date accessories of Catholic charity and of education, while Boston has become the titular city of a metropolitan See. Father Matignon passed to eternity December 19, 1818.

Bishop Cheverus was transferred by the Holy See to Montauban, France; created Archbishop of Bordeaux and subsequently Cardinal, and died in that city July 19, 1836.

The Sulpitian Father Benedict Joseph Flaget had been sent by Bishop Carroll to revive religion at Vincennes. After a journey remarkable in historic incident he arrived at the post December 21, 1792.

Here for three years his work was apostolic. The inhabitants numbered about 700. Their spiritual condition, as also their social and temporal status, would be difficult to describe.

Out of all the people at the post he could induce only twelve to approach the Holy Sacrament on Christmas Day. He was gradually improving the religious and social condition of the people and providing education for their children, when he was recalled by his Superior at Baltimore and transferred to Georgetown College, of which, at the time, the Sulpitian Father William Louis Du Bourg was president.

Father Flaget occupied a professor's chair at Georgetown during three years, serving at times in an administrative capacity. Father Du Bourg had in the meantime been sent by the Sulpitian Superior at Baltimore to open a Sulpitian Seminary at Havana; Father Flaget was recalled from Georgetown and sent to co-operate with Father Du Bourg. His experience, during his three years' residence in Havana, as described by his eminent biographer, Archbishop Spalding, forms in its narration an interesting romance. He was recalled to Baltimore in December, 1801. The Seminary project in Havana had been a failure.<sup>1</sup>

To Father Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, had been assigned the spiritual care of the second generation of Marylanders who had emigrated to Kentucky.

<sup>1</sup>Spalding; "Life and Times of Benedict Joseph Flaget, first Bishop of Bardstown and Louisville." Webb and Levering.



They numbered many souls comprised in scattered communities, accessible only by long journeys on horseback. Father Badin's work became a missionary campaign in the saddle.

When the metropolitan See of Baltimore was created, with suffragan Sees at Bardstown, Boston, New York and Philadelphia, Father Badin was invited to Baltimore for consultation as to the nomination of a Bishop for Bardstown.

Bishop Carroll intended the mitre for the intrepid missionary who had organized religion in Kentucky, which was now to be favored with a Bishop. But Father Badin positively declined the intended honor, while he so warmly advocated the appointment of Father Flaget that Bishop Carroll finally sent to Rome the name of Benedict Joseph Flaget to be Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky, with positive and *pro tempore* jurisdiction over nearly all the Northwest territory of the United States.

To evade this responsibility, the amiable Sulpitian went to France; but while in Paris he was informed that the Holy See expected his submission. He had to submit. He secured volunteers for missionary work with substantial assistance and returned to Baltimore.

He was consecrated by Archbishop Carroll in St. Patrick's, Baltimore, November 4, 1810, Bishops Cheverus, of Boston, and Egan, of Philadelphia, assisting, the former prelate preaching. Events proved that Bishop Flaget's episcopal duties required even more exercise in the saddle than what had been endured by Father Badin. Besides, visitations had to be made to the distant parts of his diocese on flatboats and in open bateaux. His administration influenced the promotion of religion in Kentucky, in Indiana, in Ohio, in Michigan and in the regions west and northwest of the latter territory, to the extent that sees were created at Cincinnati, Detroit, Nashville, St. Louis and Vincennes.

Around Bardstown, the nucleus and centre, he had promoted the establishment of religious orders, both of men and of women, for charitable and educational work. The city of Louisville had in the meantime grown so rapidly in population, in wealth and in commercial prominence that it overshadowed Bardstown. It became advisable to transfer the see from the latter to the former city. With the concurrence of the Holy See, the translation was made in 1841.

During his administration Bishop Flaget had been aided by three coadjutors: Right Rev. John B. M. David, from July 4, 1817, until his resignation in May, 1833; Right Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat, from July 20, 1834, until his retirement to France on account of partial blindness in 1847, and Right Rev. John Martin Spalding, who succeeded Bishop Flaget as Bishop of Louisville, and who became Archbishop of Baltimore in 1864.

In 1835 Bishop Flaget visited Rome, where he was received most cordially by Pope Gregory XVI., and was entrusted with an important mission which required the visitation of all the sees of France and a conference with their respective bishops. This confidential service was a success, but its accomplishment required three years of continuous travel. The venerable prelate passed to eternity February 11, 1850, in the 87th year of his age, the sixty-second year of his sacerdotal life and the fortieth year of his episcopate.<sup>1</sup>

Right Rev. John Du Bois was born in Paris in 1764. He made his collegiate course in the College of Louis le Grand, having for classmates Camille Desmoulins and Robespierre. His theological course was completed in the Seminary of St. Magloire, whence he was ordained September 22, 1787, and assigned as assistant in the parish of St. Sulpice and as chaplain to the Sisters of Charity connected with that parish.

In 1791 the life of a priest became unsafe in Paris. With kind letters from Lafayette and the active assistance of his revolutionary classmates, he was enabled to leave France and arrived an exile at Norfolk, Va., in August, 1791. He was kindly received by Bishop Carroll, who subsequently assigned him to missionary work at Richmond, Alexandria, Frederick and finally at Emmitsburg, where he took an important part in founding St. Mary's College and in aiding Mother Seton in her memorable work.

After thirty-five years devoted to the promotion of religion and theological education, he was consecrated Bishop of New York by Archbishop Maréchal in the Cathedral of Baltimore October 29, 1826. His ring and cross were the gift of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. He was the third Bishop. The territory was large, the Catholic population comprised of small communities outside the city and in the latter aggregated 30,000 souls, with only a score of priests, some of whom were not in good standing.

The "trustee system" was at the time in full vigor, especially in New York and in the larger towns. This local evil made his life

<sup>1</sup> One of the ablest legal documents from the pen of a Catholic Bishop in the United States is the *mandement* by which Bishop Flaget places under interdict the chapel, the *marguilliers*, or trustees, and the parishioners of the *Cote du Nord Est*, a succursal of Ste. Anne's, of Detroit, and about eight miles distant from the mother church on the shore of the strait. This document, written in the French language, is dated at Loretto, Kentucky, February 27, 1817. It is on file in the archives of the Church of Ste. Anne in Detroit. The trustees of this little French *fabrique*, which was attended on Sundays and festivals by Father Richard or his assistant, had rebelled against their venerable pastor and had created much scandal. Both sides had been heard by Bishop Flaget at Bardstown, who had sustained his vicar and had then issued the sentence above mentioned. The document is a masterpiece, defining the code of ecclesiastical rule and the methods for promulgating the *mandement*. But the tender heart of the saintly Bishop grieved for the spiritual woes of the innocent portion of the parishioners sentenced, and in the following spring he made the journey from Bardstown to Detroit on horseback, he reconciled pastor and flock, and amid pathetic scenes he removed the interdict.

unhappy; but he fought bravely and did not spare himself in diocesan work. The Catholic communities increased so rapidly that he was nearly overcome, when relief came by the appointment of Rev. John Hughes, of Philadelphia, as coadjutor in 1837, with the right of succession. Bishop Hughes gradually succeeded to the episcopal work of the diocese, for Bishop Du Bois had become a septuagenarian. It was Bishop Hughes who killed the trustee system in the diocese.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Du Bois passed to eternity December 20, 1842, in his 78th year; his sacerdotal life lasted fifty-five years and his episcopate sixteen years.

One of the most distinguished of the priests exiled by the French Revolution was Rev. William Louis Du Bourg, who arrived at Baltimore in 1794. Two years later he was appointed president of Georgetown College, which office he resigned in 1799 to go to Havana to establish a seminary in that city. The project, as has been stated, failed. He returned to Baltimore in 1803 and entered St. Mary's Seminary. Archbishop Carroll, having found the religious affairs of Louisiana and the Floridas a difficult problem, decided to send Father Du Bourg to New Orleans, in the hope that a man of such great abilities and of such acknowledged piety would soon put an end to the religious scandals existing in that city; that he would restore episcopal authority and wrest the control of the Cathedral from the renegade and profligate ex-monk Sedella. Never in the history of the American Church was so heavy a cross placed upon the shoulders of a devoted priest. August 18, 1812, he was appointed Administrator Apostolic of Louisiana and the Floridas. The devoted ecclesiastic accepted the onerous charge. But he was more of a brilliant scholar than a man of courage and of nerve. The results of his advent in New Orleans greatly disappointed Archbishop Carroll, who little knew what a sink of iniquity, in a religious and in a social point of view, that city had become. Bluffed by Sedella, the Administrator retired to a suburban parish, from which he was recalled by General Jackson, who invited him to

<sup>1</sup> We saw when a child, in St. Patrick's Church, Rochester, N. Y., Bishop Du Bois assisted into the pulpit, whence, amid the lamentations of the large congregation present he pronounced the dread sentence of interdiction on St. Patrick's Church and on her parishioners for trustee scandals, which had involved the death from a broken heart of the young and holy priest, Father Michael McNamara. This was in 1832. During the "fifties" we reached the Astor House, New York, on a Sunday morning in August in time to dress and to enjoy one of those famous table d'hôte breakfasts given at this house in those early days. Then we went around Barclay street to St. Peter's Church to assist at High Mass. When the parochial announcements had been read, Archbishop Hughes ascended the pulpit. Well do we remember his aquiline features and sarcastic words as he announced that he had come to St. Peter's that morning to relieve the trustees of the financial control of the church for cause. It appeared, he remarked, that a large share of the debt was owing to trustees, who were well secured, while the money borrowed from women had not been secured; he would see these unprotected creditors paid first, and in time put the financial affairs of the church on a sound basis.

**chant** the *Te Deum* in the Cathedral, in commemoration of the American victory won over the British invaders January 8, 1815.<sup>1</sup>

This event was a recognition of his episcopal authority, but it did **not** avail. Soon after he went to Rome, where he was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana September 24, 1815.

His see included all the Mississippi States from Louisiana to Missouri. While in Europe he succeeded in the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, France; he induced Father Felix de Andries to establish the Lazarists and to open a theological seminary at New Orleans; he gathered a band of twenty-two young priests for his see, and he was the recipient of a liberal supply of funds and requisites for his diocesan work. After he had largely recruited the Ursulines at New Orleans he turned his face homeward. Among his benefactors was the King of France, who gave liberally and who placed at his disposition the frigate "*Caravane*" to carry him to America. He arrived at Annapolis September 4, 1817.

After he had remodeled the whole ecclesiastical system of Louisiana and its dependencies and provided the respective parishes with young, pious and zealous priests; after he had reformed the anomalous religious status of New Orleans, and had completely changed the religious aspect of his extensive diocese, he found the burden too heavy. He resigned in 1826, returned to France and died Archbishop of Besançon in 1833.

Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, third Archbishop of Baltimore, was born at Ingres, near Orleans, France, 1769. His family were prominent and had him educated for the legal profession; but he developed a vocation for the priesthood, and entered the Sulpitian Seminary at Orleans, joined the society, and was ordained in 1792. The Abbé Emery, to save him from revolutionary violence, hurried his departure for Baltimore before he could say his first Mass. He, with Father Gabriel Richard and others, arrived in June, 1792. Bishop Carroll sent him to assist Father Beeston at Bohemia, from whence he was sent as professor of philosophy to Georgetown College. He was recalled to France in 1803 by the Abbé Emery, and appointed professor in the Sulpitian Seminary in Orleans, where he attained a high reputation.

The controversy between Napoleon and the Abbé Emery had for its sequel the closing of the Sulpitian Seminaries in France in 1812. In accordance with the wishes of his superior, Professor Maréchal returned to Baltimore and entered the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary.

On the nomination of Bishop Carroll, Bulls were issued at Rome

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<sup>1</sup> Gayarre: "*History of Louisiana.*" New York, 1866. P. 508 et seq.

January 16, 1816, naming Dr. Maréchal for the See of Philadelphia, at the time vacant. But the learned doctor preferred to remain in the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary. By the advice of Bishop Cheverus, Archbishop Neale proposed his name to the Holy See as his coadjutor, with the right of succession. Bulls were issued accordingly July 4, 1817; but in the meantime the venerable Archbishop Neale had passed to eternity. His successor, Dr. Maréchal, was consecrated Archbishop of Baltimore in the Cathedral of St. Peter December 4, 1817, by Bishop Cheverus, of Boston.

The following year the Archbishop undertook the completion of the Cathedral of Baltimore, on which work had been suspended for some years. No greater proof can be adduced of the esteem in which he was held than the substantial assistance he received from the wealthy citizens of Baltimore, both Catholic and Protestant, by which the large amount of money requisite was placed at his disposal. This monumental edifice, in which we had the honor to assist at the great Catholic Congress of 1889, was not only completed, but its interior was enriched by rare works of Christian art contributed by Cardinal Fesch and other admirers of the Archbishop in France, and was solemnly dedicated May 31, 1821.

In 1821 Archbishop Maréchal visited Rome and laid before the Holy See the condition of religion in his diocese and province. He was the first Metropolitan of Baltimore who had laid his homage before the Sovereign Pontiff. There were some important questions pending with the Propaganda, not the least of which was the influence exercised by the Archbishop of Dublin, who assumed to dictate episcopal appointments in the United States.

The results had not been advantageous to the progress of religion. The preponderance of this influence at Rome can only be accounted for by the fact that the Roman Court, which, after the battle of Waterloo and the final eclipse of Napoleon, had been restored at Rome, looked upon England as the savior of the Pontificate. Dr. Troy was probably the greatest Tory in the Irish Hierarchy, and his advice had great weight with the Propaganda.<sup>1</sup>

Bishops were consecrated by him for sees in the United States, who swore allegiance to the British Crown and who crossed the Atlantic to assume spiritual control over American communities. The situation was made clear by Archbishop Maréchal, and this adverse Irish interference soon came to an end. During his visit

<sup>1</sup> Some of the readers of this review of Celtic paternity, who are not familiar with the history of the "Veto," a measure designed to give England the right to veto the appointment of any Irish bishop who was persona non grata to British rule, may be enlightened by reading the foot-note to pages 57-58 of vol. v. of the "Life and Times of Henry Grattan," by his son, London, 1849, which gives the genesis of the history of the "Veto." The history of this Irish religious scandal, in which Dr. Troy was mixed, may be found in the text of the volume quoted.

the Archbishop was made a Domestic Prelate to His Holiness and received from him a fine gold chalice, which is preserved in the Cathedral at Baltimore. He arranged with the Propaganda a permanent rule for the tenure of Church temporalities in the United States and for the method of nominating bishops to future vacancies in the American episcopate. Both these concessions were of far-reaching importance to the Church in this country. He returned to Baltimore in 1822, and after six years of able administrative work passed to eternity January 29, 1828. His obsequies were conducted in accordance with his ecclesiastical eminence, while the chief mourner, following the hierarchy and clergy, was the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. His ashes repose in the Cathedral vault, by the side of Archbishop Carroll, of whom he was an able successor.<sup>1</sup>

Right Rev. Simon William Gabriel Bruté de Rémur was born at Rennes, France, in 1779. His once wealthy family suffered financially by the Revolution; but his pious mother had him educated in the Sulpitian College of his native city, where his vocation for the priesthood culminated in his ordination June 10, 1808.

While filling a professor's chair in the Sulpitian Seminary at Rennes he was recruited by Bishop Flaget for his missions in Kentucky; but his eminent learning earned for him a professorship in Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. This was the commencement of his sacerdotal career in the United States. Subsequently he became president of St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore. In 1834 the heavy cross of the newly-created episcopate of Vincennes was laid upon his shoulders. He was consecrated at St. Louis October 28, 1834, by Bishop Flaget, Bishops Rosati and Purcell assisting. The See of Vincennes had been assigned territory which could not be well looked after by the ordinary of Bardstown. It included all of Indiana and part of Illinois. Bishops Flaget and Purcell kindly accompanied Bishop Bruté to assist at his installation in the titular city of his diocese. What the three Bishops found at Vincennes was discouraging in all respects. The future Cathedral, a brick structure 115 by 60 feet, was enclosed and roofed, but unplastered, and not even whitewashed. There were no closets for vestments and sacred vessels, while there was a simple altar of wood.

Father Lalumiere was in charge, and he informed Bishop Flaget that the total income of the *fabrique* would not exceed \$300 a year. He began preparations for Christmas. His first consolation was the number of communicants at the midnight Mass and at the two Masses succeeding. Then he made the toilsome tour of his diocese. He found Catholics everywhere; but he had no priests at

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<sup>1</sup> Shea: "History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1808-1843." P. 98.

his disposal, and priests as well as money would have to be provided. To obtain these requisites he went to Europe in 1835.

Almighty God blessed his mission. He was cheered at Rome by the reception accorded by the Holy Father. The Emperor of Austria and his court honored him and contributed liberally in money and in requisites for the altar and sanctuary. He was equally successful at Paris and at other cities in France.

He returned to his poor diocese in August, 1836, with nineteen priests, mostly Bretons, and with a good supply of money, but fortified with hope and courage. A campaign unparalleled in the history of the American Church for its hardships, but, above all, for its great results, ensued. It continued during three years, until the frail physique of Bishop Bruté succumbed. He died the death of a saint June 29, 1839.

Right Rev. John Baptist Mary David was one of the companions of Benedict Joseph Flaget, who with other Sulpitian directors and professors arrived at Baltimore from France March 26, 1792. Of the many distinguished exiles who had been forced to abandon their chairs in the Sulpitian Seminaries of France and to seek a refuge in America, Father David was probably one of the most profound scholars and able theologians. He was selected by Bishop Flaget in 1811 to organize the theological seminary for the new see of Bardstown, under the patronage of St. Thomas.

In 1817, on the nomination of Bishop Flaget, the Holy See appointed Father David Bishop of Mauricastro and coadjutor of Bardstown, which see he temporarily filled in 1832-3.

After thirty years of unremitting labor in perfecting the religious status of Kentucky, Bishop David passed to eternity July 12, 1841, in the 81st year of his age. Had the venerable prelate lived another year the golden jubilee of his arrival on American soil would have been commemorated.

Right Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat was a sub-deacon in the Sulpitian Seminary at Paris at the time Father Flaget went to that city in the hope of escaping the mitre of Bardstown. When he found this was impossible he looked around for recruits to assist in his episcopal work. Among the volunteers was young Mr. Chabrat, who accompanied Bishop Flaget when he returned to Bardstown. He was ordained to the priesthood on Christmas, 1811. Father Chabrat had the honor to be the first priest ordained in the United States west of the Alleghenies. His missionary career was as toilsome and it was, in fact, identical with that of his saintly Bishop—for he was the companion of the latter in many long and exhausting journeys in the saddle and in the more disagreeable trips on flatboats and in open bateaux. His ordinary sent his name to

Rome for appointment as coadjutor. The Holy See appointed Father Chabrat Bishop of Bolina and coadjutor of Bardstown. He was consecrated in the Cathedral by Bishop Flaget July 20, 1834.

A cataract in his eyes soon after nullified his usefulness and he retired to France. Total blindness ensued before his death.

Let us return to the Sulpitian apostle Father Nagot, founder of St. Mary's Sulpitian Seminary at Baltimore. We have seen how he had refused to respond to the order of the Abbé Emery to return to France. After twenty years devoted to the success of his heart's dearest interest on earth, he retired from active work in 1810, surrendering control to Father Tessier, and sought in retirement and prayer that tranquillity of mind he deemed essential for the close of his life. He passed to eternity April 9, 1816.

Among the early victims of climatic disease was Very Rev. John Francis Rivet, Indian missionary at Vincennes, who died in that miserable locality in 1804. The brothers Donatien and John Olivier succeeded for a time. The former remained at Vincennes, after he had accomplished much at Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher, while the younger brother, John, was selected by Bishop Du Bourg for work in Louisiana. He became Vicar General of New Orleans, and was chaplain of the convent of the Ursuline nuns in that city from 1803 to 1807. He retired, worn out by the effects of the climate.

The memory of Rev. Joseph Picot de L. Clorivière connects with the establishment of the Convent of the Visitation Nuns at Georgetown and the aid he extended during its initial years to Mother Teresa Lawler, its foundress, a little more than a century ago.

Father Clorivière was a Breton, and in youth a Chouan major general under the Royalist leader Georges Cadoudal. He renounced the sword for the cross; became a Sulpitian, came to St. Mary's, Baltimore, and was ordained in 1812. He expired suddenly, after celebrating Mass, September 29, 1826, in his 58th year.

The order of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, for the education of colored girls, was founded at Baltimore by Rev. James Hector Joubert, a Sulpitian, in 1825.

The Rev. John F. Moranillé was identified during a quarter of a century with Baltimore city as pastor of St. Patrick's Church, at Fell's Point. Worn out, he sought relief by a voyage to France, but without avail. He died in 1824.

The Very Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, who had the honor to be the first priest ordained in the United States, as stated, was the son of wealthy parents of Orleans, France, who fostered his vocation, as also that of his younger brother, Francis Vincent Badin, who came to America and was ordained at Cincinnati by Bishop



Flaget in 1821. After the latter had reared his churches and institutions in Kentucky, on soil prepared by Father Stephen Theodore, this intrepid missionary continued his labors among the sparsely settled Catholic families in Indiana and Ohio until prelates were appointed for each of these States.

The Pottawatomi Indians, on the St. Joseph river, who for nearly a century had kept the faith, but who had had no resident "black gown," were rewarded for their fidelity by the advent of Father Badin, who became the guest of Po-ka-gon, head chief of this nation. There were tribes of the Pottawatomi nation who were still pagan, some of whom had their cantons on the littoral of Lake Michigan. Father Badin brought these pagan communities under the rule of Christian life.

But a great evil was impending which culminated in the destruction of the Christian fabric completed by this heroic missionary. The clamor of the whites for the land of the Pottawatomi reservation, which was supported by political influence, became too strong to be resisted by the United States Government, whose commissioners managed by fair means and by foul machinations to obtain the totems of a majority of the chiefs to a treaty, by which they exchanged their valuable reservations for lands west of the Mississippi, and agreed to move thereon. But the majority of the Pottawatomi people were opposed to this treaty, and they refused to leave their sylvan homes.

A regiment of United States troops was sent to the reservation, and the forced expatriation of this Catholic people, who had been cheated out of their homes, ensued, amid scenes of pathetic desolation and of cruelty, the record of which darkens the history of civilization in the United States. Po-ka-gon and some other chiefs had, however, secured patents for their holdings from the government which could not be vitiated by the commissioners, and they retained their homes.

Father Badin's heart was broken by these events. He remained for some time with the Pottawatomi chief, and lived to see the wonderful expansion of the Church in the Western States and to assist, in his 90th year, in a very interesting ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The brothers Stephen Theodore and Francis Vincent Badin were holy priests. There was a marked difference, however, in their personal appearance. The famous missionary had, from open-air exercise, become robust, while, like the distinguished Marshal Soult, his lower limbs had become curved from continuous use of the saddle. But he did not, like the Marshal, conceal this defect by wearing very loose trousers. His younger brother, Francis Vincent, was of that ascetic type represented by Father Nagot, Father Gabriel Richard and accentuated in Bishop Bruté. Very Rev. Father Francis Vincent administered the Diocese of Detroit during the absence of Bishop Résé, 1837-1841. In the latter year the missionary visited his brother in Detroit. He ascended the pulpit of the Irish Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity one Sunday, but instead of delivering a fine sermon, he put the congregation through a course of missionary exercises. In the episcopal residence the brothers occupied

Father John Dilhet, the assistant of Very Rev. Gabriel Richard at Detroit, 1798-1805, returned to Baltimore after the fire which destroyed the old colonial city and filled a professor's chair in St. Mary's Seminary for some years. He was a profound scholar, and, like most of his colleagues, an accomplished gentleman. He retired to France; but in the enjoyment of the surroundings of the wealth of his paternal home he wrote and published a historical work of great value relating to the Church in the United States under Bishop Carroll, "*Etat de l' Eglise Catholique, ou du Diocese des Etats Unis.*" He died in France.

The Very Rev. Gabriel Richard was born in Saintes, France, in 1764, and came of illustrious Catholic stock. He succeeded Very Rev. Michael Levadoux at Detroit in 1798, having jurisdiction from the head waters of Lake Erie to the Sault de Ste. Marié at the foot of Lake Superior, and over the littorals and islands of the intermediate lakes. His history connects with American rule over the vast territory confided to his spiritual care by Bishop Carroll, and he proved his ability to an eminent degree, for he became the apostle of religion and of civilization in the West.

He set up the first printing press in the Western regions in 1809, on which he had the honor to publish the first Scriptural and literary works in English and French in the West. His æsthetic taste is in evidence by his importation from France of the first organ whose tones added to the solemnity of the Holy Sacrifice. He was the promoter of higher and of rudimentary education in Detroit, and his academies and schools were first class. His sacred character and attributes did not prevent his being incarcerated by the British during the war of 1812. But on the return of peace he found the people in a starving condition. With his personal means and credit he purchased food, which he gave to the needy without regard to race or creed, and seed-grain, which he distributed to the farmers to enable them to plant their fields.

His fellow-citizens elected him as their representative to Congress in 1823 from the Territory of Michigan. He was the first Catholic priest who sat in the United States House of Representatives. His life-sized statue in stone was the first of any priest to be placed upon a public building in this country. He organized the Indian missions on Lakes Huron and Michigan conducted by Father Francis Vincent Badin, Fathers Bellamy, De Jean and the future Bishop Frederic Résé, the efficacy of which was attested by Bishop Fenwick in 1827.

adjoining rooms. One Friday afternoon in passing the door of the missionary's room we heard terrible groans and cries. Much alarmed, we ran to his brother's room and reported the groans. "Do not be alarmed, my son! Every Friday afternoon," said he, "my brother commemorates our Saviour's agony on the cross by self-flagellation. It is the hour of his agony."

The American hierarchy sent his name to Rome as a candidate for the first mitre of Detroit; but before this honor reached him he had fallen a victim to the Asiatic cholera in September, 1832, while caring for the sick and dying of his flock. He left as his monument the fifth Church of Ste. Anne, dedicated in 1828—his life work. His name is honored in the history of Detroit.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

### LIFE IN MODERN BIOLOGY.

"Scientia nihil aliud est quam veritatis imago."—Bacon.

MANY a time since the lord of Verulam penned his declaration that "science was naught else than a reflection of truth" has the saying seemed to be contradicted. The word "science" has come to have a very different meaning for us from that which attached to it and its Latin original in Lord Bacon's time. Something of the seeming contradiction of his axiomatic definition has been due to this change of meaning of the terms, but even under the altered conditions the contradiction has proved eventually to be always only apparent. The inductive sciences, which, according to his more enthusiastic admirers at least, Bacon was so instrumental in calling into existence, have seemed to threaten at various times during their development to prove anything but an image of the truth or to be at most a very distorted one.

It has all come out right in the end, however, and it always will. "Non aliud natura aliud sapientia dicit" ("wisdom does not say one thing and nature another"). The natural sciences will never be found definitely in apposition to revealed truth. Transition periods occur, during which inchoate scientific principles clash with a too comprehensive dogmatism, and apparently with dogma itself. Il-liberal thinkers on both sides feel a sense of opposition that does not really exist. After a time a certain *ardor controversiæ*, shared more or less by both parties, cools down and truth is found more resplendent than ever, with new laurels of victory, new claims to our admiration and acceptance. The clash of opinions has not been without its effect in any of these conflicts, for a broadening influence has been exercised upon both sides. Minds that had looked too exclusively at one side of great questions, forgetting too often, though more often indeliberately than their opponents would give

them credit for, have perceived at length that there was another side of the shield, plainly to be seen by any one who would change his point of vision sufficiently to see that other side.

In no department of science more than in that of biology has it seemed over and over again that a definite schism between scientific principles and revealed truth was inevitable; yet at the present moment biology, by her frank acknowledgment of the utter impenetrableness to her of the mystery of life, is doing more than any other of the natural sciences to draw men's minds to the contemplation of the necessity for a creator, with all that this conclusion implies. There are certain minds to whom, it is said, the principle of causation does not present itself as a necessary truth, but they are surely not the minds that have been trained in the school of the physical sciences. The biological axiom, "*omne vivum ex vivo*" ("life only from preceding life") and its corollary, declaring that even the minutest portions of living substances come only from living portions like themselves, "*omnis cellula e cellula*" ("every cell from a cell") are but unhesitating declarations of the ultimate necessity for creation.

About the middle of the present century the tenor of biologic thought was very different. When chemistry began to develop it was very soon noticed that there was a striking difference between substances that were to be found in non-living things and those produced by vital activity. This led to a division of the new science into two departments. It had been noted that life always was associated with organization; that is, only where matter was differentiated into definite portions, capable of performing certain functions, did life exist. It was further noted that the products elaborated by the congeries of living substance called an organism were very different in their composition from any other compounds that were found in nature. They were complex carbon compounds, as a rule, and could not be obtained, so far at least as the cruder chemistry of those days went, except from material that had been formed by living substances. The two great departments of chemistry were very naturally called, then, organic and inorganic.

Since the so-called organic compounds had not been found apart from life, it was concluded they would not be so found. This division of chemistry was thought surely a permanent one, and while it was considered that the analysis of the complex carbon compounds to be obtained from living things would form an interesting and extensive branch of chemical science, the synthesis of such substances, i. e., the formation of any of the compounds due to vital activity by the chemical combination of their constituents, was thought to be out of the question. The building up of natural

substances out of simple elementary materials, so as to obtain compounds ordinarily obtained from living beings or their decomposition, was looked upon as impossible. This was the distinction between living and non-living matter; the one was of simple chemical composition, the other a union of materials, not because of crude physical laws or chemical affinity, but because of vital forces beyond the domain of ordinary natural laws. The conclusion thus formulated was wider than the premises; but then conclusions not seldom are. Because organic products had not been, so to speak, manufactured was no reason why they might not.

As a matter of fact, the first quarter of the present century was scarcely over when Wöhler (in 1828) announced the synthetic production of urea. This substance at that time was known only as an excretory product of the higher animals. It was doubtless one of the last compounds in the organic series that might have been expected to yield to synthetic chemistry. Immediately after this discovery the idea gained ground, among chemists especially, that all organic material might be produced in the same way, and that even vital activity itself was only a manifestation of coördinate chemical affinities and repulsions. Life, it was hoped, would be resolved into a progressive series of chemical analyses and syntheses. This conclusion was as much wider than the premises from which it was derived as the former conclusion with regard to the impossibility of forming organic substances synthetically had been; but it took years to demonstrate the fact. Hundreds of complex carbon compounds, originally considered as impossible of existence except through vital action, have been formed by synthesis since the discovery of the formation of urea. Some of the most important compounds in industrial chemistry, in the manufacture of dyes and drugs, have been obtained in that way, but life and its essential processes remain as much beyond the chemist's scope and comprehension as ever.

It was into a scientific atmosphere, charged with this idea of the identity of living forces with certain chemical and physical principles, that the modern science of biology was born. Living things had long been ranged under a single category. Plants and animals, by virtue of the fact that they lived and grew by an internal principle and reproduced their kind, had come under a rubric that separated them completely from all non-living matter; but still the realization of how closely related they were in the ultimate elements of the physical basis provided for life in them did not come until after the discovery that ordinary plants and animals were composed alike of a large number of very similar units called cells, through a mistaken notion of the importance of their outer envelope and

the idea of constantly changing contents when they were first seen. This discovery that all tissues were composed of cells came only in the late thirties of the present century. Cells had been seen in plants, at least, long before this; but their significance had not been appreciated, nor the fact that they entered into the composition of all vegetable tissues indifferently, until it was pointed out by Schleiden at Jena.

Theodore Schwann had worked under Schleiden, and afterwards continued his investigations into the composition of tissues while teaching at the University of Louvain, in Belgium. It was there that he made his discovery, or rather furnished a sure and definite scientific basis for the observation that had been made frequently before, but in a desultory and irrelevant way, that animal tissues, like the tissues of plants, were made up of cells.

The work in which he announced his discovery, "Microscopical Researches Into the Accordance in Structure and Growth of Plants and Animals,"<sup>1</sup> remains still a classic in biology. The new facts which it recites show how acute an observer its author was, and how absolutely he went to nature for his materials, though it was so common in his day to theorize plentifully on the scantiest basis of facts. Schwann realized that his new discovery would surely be utilized as the basis for certain materialistic conclusions. He even doubted, it is said, whether it might not in all seriousness be considered to controvert certain religious principles as to the essential distinction between man and animals, and the essential unity of man himself. To be assured that the book was not heretical in its tendencies, he submitted it to the approval of the Archbishop of Malines, and only proceeded with its publication after receiving his *Imprimatur*. Ushered into the world under auspices so thoroughly religious as these, it was scarcely to be expected that Schwann's discovery would come to be considered as heretical in its tendencies, or that the cell doctrine which he established should become a subject for suspicion on the part of the orthodox; but such proved to be the case. Even the good Schwann himself is said to have regretted before his death that he should have been, though unwittingly and unwillingly, the agent by which much that was materialistic and irreligious in modern scientific thought was given a quasi reason for being. The kindly old man lived on, teaching the science he had done so much for until the early eighties. He died just as the great reaction against materialism in biology was setting in. As a result of the inspiration of his discovery the University of Louvain publishes one of the best known of the biological journals, *La Cellule*, and its pages give ample assurance that

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by H. Smith, Sydenham, Soc. Publications, 1847.

his spirit still lives in the institution that was the cradle of biology. It is all the more surprising, then, that he should at all have regretted his great discovery.

Nothing is more calculated to claim our sympathy than a great thinker or investigator indulging in regret at his own work because he fears its possible evil influence, the more so if it comes at a time when his work has gone forth and he can no longer recall it. If, in addition, the work done has led to truth, however imperfect and liable to abuse that truth may be, and if the discovery constitutes perhaps a new and great step forward in human knowledge, then the lament calls, indeed, for sympathy. In at least one other case in the history of biological science is there the story of this useless regret. Schwammerdam, having discovered, with the aid of the microscope, the existence of minute organic life which had been scarcely more than suspected before, hesitated to go on with his investigations. Here was a field of vision that had so far been entirely hidden from man. This could only be so, Schwammerdam argued, because such had been the will of the Creator. It seemed to him a sacrilege, then, for a mortal at this stage of the world's history to attempt to penetrate into mysteries evidently, to his mind, hidden with a great purpose, and so he abandoned his microscopic work. There are many like poor Schwammerdam, who are continually on the lookout for the limits of investigation beyond which man must not go. Fortunately, however, this frame of mind as to the continuation of investigation is not shared by the scientific world very generally, and so discoveries continue.

Schwann, though he learned to regret a little his discovery, did not abandon his work, and his pupils have helped in the revolution of thought which has come over biology of late years, and which would render Schwann's regret more futile than it was, and perhaps change it to a feeling of sincere and deserving self congratulation, had he lived on for a few years longer.

Some of the chapters in this story of the spiritual conversion of biology I shall try to tell briefly. Schwann's discovery of cells in animal tissues seemed to possess great significance in the eyes of the biologists, who, however, were called natural scientists in his day. It had just been proven by Wöhler's synthesis of urea that so-called organic products might be produced by other means than life. Now came the further discovery that apparently seemed to reduce living tissues to the level of other physical structures. For cells had often been seen before Schwann's time, and it was thought that they originated in solutions, somewhat as crystals do. It was then that the comparison of the growth of crystals with that of

plants had a very special force as an argument, since it was thought proven that the ultimate elements of each had a like origin, from a saturated solution, as it were. Even Schwann thought it not impossible that cells might originate in solutions, and when he saw the cells of ferments in fermenting liquids, as he was one of the first to do, he even spoke of them as occurring there as crystals do, and this in spite of the fact that he seems to have anticipated Pasteur in considering fermentation as dependent on the presence of these little bodies.

The physical basis of life, the tissues, were thus seemingly demonstrated to originate according to physical laws, or at least in a manner more than analogous to physical structures of other kinds. The substances that living tissues produced by their activity had not long before been proven not to be absolutely limited for their origin to vital metabolism, but to follow ordinary chemical laws, so that the mystery of life seemed on the point of being solved. It was hoped that it would prove nothing more than a special manifestation of the ordinary scientific laws that affect matter. There was much to confirm this view. For it was well known that chemical and physical laws did have a place, and an important one, in the processes of nutrition. Moreover, it was thought, and thought authoritatively at that time and for long years afterwards, that many important nutritive processes were merely phenomena of simple chemical and physical laws. Respiration, for instance, was an expression of the law of the diffusion of gases. There existed on one side of a porous membrane in the lungs a fluid much poorer in oxygen than the air we breathe, and much richer in carbon dioxide. An interchange of gases was inevitable, according to the laws of gaseous diffusion. To secure an equilibrium of gaseous pressure there was consequently an effusion of carbon dioxide from the blood, and an infusion into it of a certain amount of oxygen from the respired air. Absorption from the digestive tract was considered to be an example of the law of osmosis. When two liquids, one containing more of some crystallizable substance in solution than the other, are placed on opposite sides of an animal membrane (a piece of sheep's bladder, for instance) a current of interchange of the substances in solution is set up through the membrane, until an equilibrium is established, when both liquids have the same amount of each material in solution. As late as the middle of the sixties Huxley was teaching in his physiology this simple explanation of digestive absorption. Other vital processes were looked at in the same materialistic way. Excretion was set down as a process of filtration; secretion was considered partly as exosmosis, and partly as the result of certain special chemical reactions.



The nascent science of biology was plunged into a vortex of materialism, from which it seemed almost hopeless to look for its rescue. As time went on the situation grew worse rather than better for a good while. Embryology showed that all living things came from a single cell. Even the most complicated beings of the highest types, up to and including man himself, developed from a single cell. While, of course, for the higher beings it was clear that the wonderfully complicated single cell that contained them *in potentia*, and in some wonderful way developed into the complex being of mature type, could not arise spontaneously, but must always come from some being already existent that resembled the organism to be, this was not so certain for organisms lower in the scale of being. Spontaneous generation had not yet been demonstrated by Pasteur to be a figment, and the idea of it due only to erroneous scientific observation.

In the midst of all this came Darwin's startling theory of evolution, that all beings were derived from some simple primordial germ, and had developed one from another along various lines to their present conditions. With the origin of cells in doubt, i. e., practically with the admission that they might originate by a sort of *nisus generativus* in an almost indifferent fluid, and with the forces of evolution to complete its development to higher things, life certainly seemed to count for very little as a force beyond the domain of matter. It was no wonder that for many years the good Schwann should regret his discovery and the impetus to biological development that it gave.

But before things had quite reached the pass that I have described the tide began to turn. First came Virchow's great work in cellular pathology. It is a most curious fact that where physiology, the science of function, has failed to bring us to a proper knowledge of various vital functions, pathology, the science of disease, has more than once come to the rescue and accomplished the purpose for us. Disease is, after all, not the independent entity it was so long considered, and is still considered in the popular mind to be, but is some perversion or inhibition of normal natural function. The presence of disease and consequent interference with function often simplifies a complex physiological problem by suppressing some of the factors that enter into it, and thus making it possible to study the remainder under better conditions; or the disappearance of some function is found to be connected after the death of the organism with some special organ or portion of an organ whose physiological role may have been unsuspected before.

Virchow's ground-breaking work in pathology soon showed that every disease of the organism was connected with some change in

the cells that composed the tissues and organs of the body. The cellular pathology proved the groundwork of pathology as we know it, and revolutionized the science. Before Virchow's time pathology was humoral; in other words, all changes in the organism were thought to be due to changes in the humors of the body, that is, in some one of its fluids—the blood, the lymph, the cerebra spinal fluid, the bile, etc. It was the antique pathology of Galen and his master, Hippocrates; but it persisted, and even the great Rokitansky at Vienna, who did so much for pathology in so many ways and whose unsurpassed record of nearly 100,000 autopsies was not made without many important discoveries, clung to it in his explanation of disease. Virchow's work did more, however, than re-found pathology; it absolutely confirmed the cell theory and substantiated Schwann's great discovery by making it clear that on cells functional activity depends, because when cells become altered function is modified, and when they degenerate or become notably affected by a pathological process, function ceases.

One step farther Virchow went, and that was an important one for biology. It was the first step backward from utter materialism. He showed that no cell ever originated except from a preceding cell. His characteristic expression, adopted, I believe, from his great teacher, Johannes Müller, the man who influenced so many of the celebrated medical investigators of the generation immediately succeeding him, was "*omnis cellula e cellula*"—every cell derives its existence from a preceding cell. Certain pathological processes, it had been thought, fully demonstrated the fact that cells might originate *de novo* as it were, in the midst of a pathological exudate; that they might be formed, in a word, somewhat as crystals are. Just as the solution in the case of crystals was spoken of figuratively as a mother liquor, so in the case of the cells, but in a higher and more formal sense, the pathological fluid from which they were supposed to take their origin was called a mother liquor.

In certain pathological processes, after an injury, for instance, or at the beginning of an inflammation due to any cause, the first thing that happens is a swelling of the part affected, and then the development of some redness, some increased heat and some pain, evidently due to tension because of increased pressure upon the sensitive nerves in the part. These are Galen's four classical symptoms of inflammation: *tumor, calor, rubor et dolor*—swelling, heat, redness and pain. Careful examination showed that at first there was an increase in the fluids of the injured part. This was due first to the fact that because of the injury more blood was sent to the part; secondly, less blood was allowed to go away from it, because

the venous circulation was disturbed; thirdly, the lymph passages were closed by the injury and their mechanism for carrying their contents away from the site of the inflammation was interfered with; and fourthly, there was an escape of the serous elements of the blood through the injured blood vessel walls, which further added to the increase of fluids in the part.

This was the picture at the beginning of the inflammation. As the injury healed or the inflammatory process resolved itself, the picture was very considerably changed. Microscopic examination showed the presence of a number of cells that were not in the part before. Very naturally these cells were supposed to have originated in the increased fluids more or less stagnant in the part because of the pathological process at work. Virchow showed, however, that the cells all came from other cells. Certain white cells that exist normally in the blood are allowed by a provision of nature to escape through the blood vessel walls at the site of the inflammation in order to help in the process of repair, if possible; if not, to be thrown off as pus cells. Another and more important source indicated by Virchow of the new cells found in a part suffering from inflammation was the division of certain low grade cells in the neighborhood of the pathological process. These cells, the so-called connective tissue cells, were of the lowest type in the organism, but like all living matter not highly differentiated, they were for that reason the more capable of resisting destruction and of helping in the repair of tissues. Virchow demonstrated the fact beyond doubt that the cells in areas of inflammation never originated except from other cells already in existence there. No liquid, physiological or pathological, however powerful its *visus generativus* might be presumed to be, could give rise to a single living cell. The so-called mother liquor of cells proved to be itself a cell, or a collection of cells, with indistinct outlines.

Living matter, in the higher organisms at least, had been completely vindicated. Any presumed similarity between the origin of cells and that of crystals was thus proven to be an illusion. There remained the further step for biology to take—to prove—namely, that life even in its lowest form, as it existed in the unicellular organisms, could never originate except from preceding life. The maxim, *omne vivum ex vivo*, "every living thing arises from some other living thing," had had a most varied career during the century or two before. Now it was accepted, again rejected, because some new observations seemed to show the possibility of life originating of itself.

A few years after Virchow's work saw the light came Pasteur's never-to-be-forgotten demonstrations that life never originates

where life was not preëxistent; that spontaneous generation was a scientific dream and utterly without foundation in fact. The controversy had some interesting points which it seems worth while to recall. Pasteur had challenged the upholders of spontaneous generation to a public trial before the French Academy of Sciences at Paris. He summoned them to perform in public the experiments they claimed to have made in private, and to demonstrate the results upon which they based their right to uphold the theory that abiogenesis, i. e., spontaneous generation, was not impossible. The challenged parties asked for delay, which was granted, and then for still further delay. Finally they were accounted as having lost their cause by default, and the French Academy so ruled. They seemed to have been overawed by the widely extended reputation of Pasteur as a master of exact experimentation; for, as a matter of fact, the experiments they described actually gave the results they claimed. Had they plucked up the confidence necessary to put in an appearance and go on with their work, the decision must in the existent state of the knowledge of microbiology have inevitably gone in their favor. For the preliminary condition in the proposed contest was that any infusion in which life was to appear later must be thoroughly deprived of all life by being raised to the boiling point; must be sterilized, as we say now. But it is well known at the present time that there are solutions in which all micro-organisms are not killed by simple boiling, and the infusion which Pasteur's opponents were to have used is just one of these solutions in which the temperature of boiling water is apt not to kill all the germs of life that may be present. Some of them exist in the spore stage, which is a sort of seed form that certain species of microbes assume when made to live under unfavorable conditions and which is extremely resistant to heat and cold.

Of course, had the experiments been made and Pasteur been discomfited on this occasion, it would have been but for a time, for his indefatigable industry, his wonderful intuition for the discovery of the weak point of a seemingly insoluble problem and his marvelous ingenuity in the invention of experimental methods would infallibly have led him to a demonstration of the fallacy of his opponents' position. The incident is, however, a striking exemplification of the fact that an admitted fact in the inductive sciences, accepted enthusiastically perhaps as such at a given moment, is, after all, often a very relative affair. Future discoveries may utterly rob it of the significance attached to it, even though it may not contradict the scientific conclusions it is connected with. The story is a warning, too, that the inductive sciences do not adapt themselves to polemical methods, and that demonstration and counter demon-

stration, especially in public, are apt to flatter the vanity of investigators perhaps, but not to serve the cause of truth.

Later on Tyndall, who had taken up the matter of spontaneous generation originally with the idea of obtaining substantiation for materialistic views, showed conclusively by a beautifully ingenious set of experiments that when all life had been definitely destroyed in a liquid, then life did not develop again unless introduced from without. In order to prove this he had recourse to discontinuous sterilization, as it is called; that is, he heated his liquids on several, usually three or four successive days, to the boiling point. By this means even the spores are killed. For during the intervals between the successive boilings of the liquid the spores are tempted to develop and become mature organisms, and these are easily killed by the next boiling. By this means all life is definitely removed, and after this the most highly putrescible liquids may be kept for indefinite periods of time and no change will be found in them. This absolutely settled the question of spontaneous generation, for the time at least. All honor to Tyndall, who, having taken up the subject with vastly different expectations, reached conclusions that must have been very little to his liking; yet, true man of science that he was, he hastened to make his conclusions known and settled the latest stage of a great controversy.

It might seem that there would be after these demonstrations of Pasteur and Tyndall an end forever of the possibility of holding to spontaneous generation, or, as it is being called very commonly now, abiogenesis, i. e., birth without preceding life. But it is not at all improbable that the controversy under a new aspect will be renewed early in the century to come. The spectre of spontaneous generation has been laid, and it was thought effectually, at least twice before. Redi more than two centuries ago demonstrated that maggots and worms and parasites generally, instead of arising somehow from their hosts, as had been the popular belief, a belief that was shared by most of the intelligent, too, were always the product of eggs that had either been deposited by passing insects, or had somehow gained an entrance into their host from without. A century later Spallanzani fought out again the question of spontaneous generation, minuter organisms than worms being the main subject matter of the dispute. Curiously enough, his great opponent in the controversy, who upheld the possibility of spontaneous generation, was an Irish priest by name Needham. Neither the clergyman nor his friends or superiors seem to have thought that his position, if sustained, would be a standpoint for materialism.

In very recent years microbiologists have been getting beyond the range of the microscope in their researches. There is at least

one disease whose microbic cause, though isolated and its characteristics studied, has never been seen by the human eye, even with the aid of the most powerful lenses. The individual microbes are so small that they pass through a Chamberland-Pasteur filter with ease and filtered cultures produce the disease. This is the microbe of foot and mouth disease, an affection of animals which, however, sometimes attacks man. At least two other diseases are being investigated successfully by bacteriologists, the bacterial cause of which is practically as minute as that of foot and mouth disease. In one case, with the most powerful microscopic lenses, small points of light, showing that there are highly refractive bodies in the field of vision, are all that can be seen. A slight cloudiness that comes over liquid culture media when the microbe is grown in it for several days shows that something is being produced in the liquid to disturb its transparency.

Besides these extremely minute organisms there is a class of substances coming into great prominence just now that may precipitate once more the spontaneous generation controversy. These are the so-called diastases or diastasic ferments. There exists in the stomach of all animals a substance known as pepsin, that somehow by its presence, when hydrochloric acid is also present, causes changes entirely incommensurate with its chemical or physical properties or the amount of it at work. It requires but very little pepsin, compared to the amount of food ingested, to bring about the changes that constitute digestion. The pepsin, as well as the other digestive ferments, ptyalin from the saliva, amylase and trypsin from the pancreatic fluid, produce effects that are not unlike those of living substances. It would almost seem as if there was a multiplication of the original small quantity of these materials during the course of digestion. These diastasic ferments resemble living things, too, inasmuch as they are destroyed by anything like high temperatures and do not regain their diastasic power afterwards. Their activity is inhibited by cold, though it may be regained later when the temperature is raised again, in this resembling minute organic life very closely.

Now recent investigations have shown that diastases play a much more important role in nature than was thought. When the seed sprouts and begins to grow, for instance, it draws its nourishment at first from certain substances that have been stored up with it. Now these substances are mainly amylaceous or starchy in character and they are prepared for the seed's nutrition by diastases that are stored up in the seed with them. Most of the bacteria produce their effects in the body by the production of diastase-like substances which they elaborate and which are absorbed into the system.

It has been shown recently that fermentation, the process which aroused the first controversy over spontaneous generation, may be produced without the actual presence of the cells of the ferments themselves. If the cells of a ferment (one of the yeasts) be submitted to pressure at ordinary temperatures the liquid that exudes has the property of producing fermentation, though it does not contain ferment cells. Careful filtration has been practised in order to assure the absence of any ferment cells; yet fermentation is set up and proceeds quite as if the whole ferment was present. This fermentation without cells has attracted a great deal of attention. The liquid expressed from the ferment cells is of the nature of a diastase, and it is for this reason that it produces the effects noted.

Now, here in this realm of vital manifestations in particles far beyond the range of the microscope, it seems not improbable that there will come perhaps another battle royal over abiogenesis. The temper of scientists at the present time seems to indicate an anticipation of this, for practically all insist on making it clear that while, so far as we know at present, there is no such thing as spontaneous generation, we know nothing definite enough in the matter to enable us to assert that spontaneous generation is impossible or may not at some future time be proven to have occurred.

Should any such question arise, however, it will be treated very much more reverentially than it was before. For life has become for the great body of modern scientific men, especially for modern biologists, a thing apart. It is acknowledged now as the great mystery wherever it has to be studied in the natural sciences, and its mysteriousness instead of lessening with time and study has deepened still more. Whatever scientific discoveries of the future may seem to point out in the matter of the origin of life, it would seem that the assurance of life itself and its processes as things above and beyond the natural sciences has now become in a way so axiomatic for scientists that no basis for materialism on this score will ever again be considered.

For vitalism, the acknowledgment of the existence of a vital principle and of vital activities apart from matter, has become quite the order of the day in scientific circles. Physiology, one of the most important branches of biology, has been especially forward of late years to express her obligations to vital force and to acknowledge that the physico-chemical explanations so long accepted for many of the phenomena of organic function, do not in reality explain, but are either incomplete or only substitute other words equally unmeaning for what is incomprehensible in the vital processes. Respiration, for instance, that looked so simple when the explana-

tion of it on the principle of the diffusion of gases seemed applicable to it, proves on more careful study to be anything but an example of that law. It has been pointed out, for instance, that deep sea fishes accomplish respiration in the depths of the sea, though the oxygen absorbed from the sea at the gill slits must be driven onward into the cavity of the swimming bladder against the enormous pressure of more than 1,500 pounds to the square inch. As Haldane, the lecturer on physiology at the University of Oxford, England, said recently (Article *Vitalism, Nineteenth Century* for September, 1898): "To put the matter in concise though perhaps figurative language, the oxygen does not primarily lay hold of, but is itself laid hold of, to be disposed of according to the needs of the organism." Respiration, external as well as internal, i. e., the interchange of gases between the blood and the outside atmosphere in the lungs and between the blood and the tissues throughout the body, is not an example of mere gaseous diffusion, but is the result of cellular activity.

As to digestion, I have already more than hinted at the great biological problem that is connected with the preparation of the food for absorption. The diastasic ferments from the salivary glands, from the stomach itself and from the intestines, as well as those from the liver and pancreas, perform functions that are very distinct from physical or chemical phenomena. The question as to whether their active principle is not actually living matter in a state of rapid multiplication remains to many minds, it would seem, an open one. Cellular energy is, of course, its admitted basis.

Absorption is not endosmosis, nor is excretion or secretion exosmosis or filtration. The highest activity of cellular life is manifested in these processes, and they can only be accomplished by this force. Long ago that grand old man of science of the middle of the century, Johannes Müller, whose work was then and has been since a source of constant inspiration to biologists, pointed out that secretion was really a process not unlike growth, the substances that were elaborated not being stored up in the gland itself, as in the ordinary processes of growth, but being exuded for the benefit of the organism as a whole. There came a time not long after his death when the process was thought much simpler and entirely amenable to chemical and physical laws. Huxley and his school represented this chemico-physical tendency in physiology, but it is a thing of the past.

How much a thing of the past it is and how different is the present feeling with regard to bodily functions and their absolute dependence upon vital activity may be gathered from the following



extracts from the works of the most prominent physiologists and teachers of the day.<sup>1</sup>

They by no means constitute all that might have been obtained if desired, and they represent very fairly, I think, the present trend of thought in physiology the world over.

Dr. G. N. Stewart's *Manual of Physiology* is one of the best known of the recent text-books. It has for its motto the well-remembered words of the illustrious John Hunter: "Life is a power superadded to matter; organization arises from and depends on life and is the condition of vital action; but life can never arise out of or depend on organization." Dr. Stewart himself begins the book with these words: "Living matter, whether it is studied in plants or in animals, has certain peculiarities of action or function which mark it off from the unorganized material of the dead world around it."

Other writers and teachers have been just as explicit in their declarations on this subject, as the following quotations will show:

"The chemical operations performed by the living cell cannot be imitated in the laboratory or explained by any known chemical laws."—Haliburton, *Handbook of Chemical Physiology and Pathology*.

"If, on the one hand, protoplasm is the basis of life, on the other, life is the basis of protoplasm."—Professor Burdon Sanderson, Professor of Physiology at the University of Oxford, recently knighted by Queen Victoria.

"In his doctorate thesis Johannes Miller took for his subject '*Psychologus nemo nisi physiologus*.' The time will come when the reverse, *Physiologus nemo nisi psychologus*, will need no defender. . . . The deeper, wider, more profoundly we seek to penetrate into life processes, by just so much do we perceive that what we once thought to understand by physical and chemical laws is of a much more recondite nature, and especially that it mocks every

<sup>1</sup> Most of these extracts I owe to my friend, Dr. George M. Gould, the able editor of *The Philadelphia Medical Journal*. He was kind enough to furnish them to me in manuscript before their appearance in the Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine. They are taken from an article, entitled *The Passing of Materialism*, read by Dr. Gould before the meeting of the American Academy of Medicine at its last session at Columbus in June of this year. It has been the custom at least to hint that medical men have open or at best ill concealed tendencies to materialism. Dr. Gould may be taken as thoroughly representative of what is best among the thinkers of the profession in this country, so that, especially as they are very kindred to the subject in hand, I allow myself two quotations from his article. They will serve to show that at the present moment at least materialistic tendencies are not the badge of the advanced medical man:

"Even the blindest prejudice is learning that there is an unbridged chasm between the nature of intimate biologic processes and any mechanic or chemic processes, and although the dogmatic belief may not be given up, that the former will finally be explained by the latter, it is recognized that even the belief itself is (for the present at least) disloyalty to true science which dares have no prejudices."

"Materialism is therefore officially declared unscientific. If young men imagine they are scientific when they indulge themselves in the dogmatisms of materialism, they have to learn the true fundamentals both of object and method of scientific research."

mechanical explanation.”—Bunge, *Lehrbuch der Physiologischen und Pathologischen Chemie*.<sup>1</sup>

“The fundamental conceptions of biology are, and from the nature of the phenomena dealt with must be, entirely different from those of physics and chemistry. To any physiologist who candidly reviews the progress of the last fifty years it must be perfectly evident that so far from having advanced towards a physico-chemical explanation of life, we are in appearance very much farther away from one than we were fifty years ago. Attempts to analyze life into a mere series of physical and chemical processes are based on a mistaken theory.”—John Haldane, Lecturer on Physiology at the University of Oxford.

“The influence of animal or vegetable life on matter is infinitely beyond the range of any scientific inquiry hitherto entered upon. Its power of directing the motions of moving particles is infinitely different from any possible result of the fortuitous concourse of atoms.”—Lord Kelvin, the greatest of living Physicists.

“There is more in life than the processes it controls.”—Sir William Gowers, M. D., Lecturer on Nervous Diseases, London, and the best known of English specialists on the subject.

“The living cell and not the amount of oxygen in the blood regulates the consumption of oxygen.”—Pflüger, Professor of Physiology at the University of Bonn, Germany, very widely known for his original work in physiology and kindred sciences and for his magazine, *Archives of Physiology*, which has been known for many years as Pflüger’s archives.

“We are now nearly everywhere compelled to assume a specific yet absolutely unknown activity of the living cell. We know very little about the secretion, absorption and motility of the stomach. The study of the organ has been undertaken with too many physical propositions, whereas here, as in the remainder of the digestive tract, biological laws are much more important.”—Professor Ewald, *Diseases of the Stomach*.<sup>1</sup>

Many years ago Professor Michael Foster, the widely-known professor of physiology at the University of Cambridge, whose textbook of physiology has been the standard work on the subject in all English-speaking countries for years, and who was knighted by Queen Victoria on her last birthday, said in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: “Mechanical arrangements play but little part in the work of organs; the results of their activity can in no way be explained on simple mechanical principles.”

Professor Kassowitz, of Vienna, in his *Allgemeine Biologie*, pub-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bunge, from whose well-known “Text Book of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry” the above quotations are made, is one of the most distinguished professors of his subject in Germany.

lished within the year, says: "We are learning to realize more and more the truth of DuBois Reymond's famous generalization; muscular contraction, glandular secretion, animal electric shocks, insect and animal lighting powers, ciliary movement and the growth and chemism of plant cells, all these are hopelessly obscure and mysterious processes."

The greatest of living English biologists, Alfred Russel Wallace, the discoverer simultaneously with Darwin of the theory of evolution, has always insisted, in opposition to the school of Huxley and Spencer, that the origin of life postulates a spiritual influx, and he has taken occasion of late years to express more and more forcibly his opinion in this matter.

In a word, all that is best in biological science has come to range itself against materialism as far as regards the significance of life. The present position is all the more secure, because it has been reached only after the vicissitudes of repeated discussion in which the great questions of the ultimate meaning of life, its mysterious force, its primal origin and its incomprehensible activities, have apparently been threatened with submersion beneath the waves of a too forward and dogmatic scientific advance.

The discussions have also not been without their practical as well as their theoretic value, though they have not been without certain unpleasant features, and so we may think of them as *felices culpa*. For, while it might be thought that scientific controversies over a subject seemingly so abstract and distant from practical things as the origin and significance of life, would not prove of any great service to mankind, they have proved the source of great benefits. The controversies called attention especially to minute life, to its morphology and special biology, to methods of limiting it, to its effects when unlimited. All this has been of the very greatest practical value to medicine. Pasteur's work on spontaneous generation and the subjects that very naturally followed it inspired Lister with the ideas that have revolutionized modern surgery. From the same source Koch received much of the inspiration that made him the great pioneer in modern bacteriological methods. The whole future of therapeutics is filled with ideas that owe their origin to studies in microbiology, while the subjects of the preservation of foods and of the prevention of disease have taken on, as a result of the same influence, a new and thoroughly scientific aspect in place of the unsatisfactory empiricism that characterized them heretofore.

What's the use of it? is asked a little impatiently of the scientist when science devotes her energies to the investigation of some problem of only scientific interest that would seem to have no practical

object in view. When the solution of the problem at issue seems unlikely the question appears all the more rational. As a matter of fact, however, devotion to science always brings its own mead even of practical benefit. It might seem to the casual observer that these biological controversies on the origin of life have been so much lost time, since biologists have gotten back to just the old orthodox view with regard to life that has been held for centuries by practically every one. Life is a mystery; its beginning, primary as well as secondary, is a mystery. It is beyond physical laws in its operations; it is supranatural in its origin.

But all along the line of investigation that has finally terminated in this old conclusion new discoveries have been made and important practical points worked out. Providence, surely one must say, has known how to bring good out of what looked evil in its tendencies. To the timorous Christians who fear the encroachments of science upon the spiritual order it must prove a source of heartfelt consolation; but why there should be Christians timorous in this matter seems a question almost unanswerable. Surely, *Nun quam aliud natura aliud sapientia dicit: nec dicit.*

As to the future of biology and its relations to these fundamental life questions, it seems worth the while to quote the conclusion of Mr. Haldane's article in the *Nineteenth Century* already referred to: "It is perhaps rash to speculate as to the future of any branch of science; but according to all present appearances the time is not very far off when it will be generally acknowledged that the biological are separated from the physical sciences, not through the existence of any spatial line of demarcation between what is living and what is not living, but by the fact that the fundamental conceptions of biology are, and from the nature of the phenomena dealt with must be, entirely different from those of physics and chemistry."

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## THE LAST TEN YEARS OF THE TEMPORAL POWER. FROM MENTANA TO THE PORTA PIA.

1. Joseph Powell. *Two Years in the Pontifical Zouaves*. London, 1871.
2. *Der Italienische Raubzug wider Rom im September, 1870. Von einem Augenzeugen*. Münster, 1871.
3. Le Comte de Beaufort. *Histoire de l'Invasion des États Pontificaux et du Siège de Rome par l'Armée Italienne en Septembre, 1870*. Paris, 1874.
4. Henri d'Ideville. *Les Piémontais à Rome*. Paris, 1874.
5. G. Busetto. *Notizie del Generale Nino Bixio*. Fano, 1876.
6. Prince Joseph Charles Paul Napoléon. *Les Alliances de l'Empire en 1869 et 1870*. Paris, 1878.
7. E. Tavallini. *La Vita e i Tempi di Giovanni Lanza*. Torino, 1887.
8. R. Cadorna. *La Liberazione di Roma dell'anno 1870, ed il Plebiscito*. Torino, 1889.
9. *Politica Segreta Italiana (1861-1870)*. Torino, 1891.

THE invasion of the Papal territory and the campaign of October, 1867, which were ended by the defeat of Garibaldi and his volunteers at Mentana, were followed by a short period of tranquillity, during which the enemies of the Holy See, though checked for the time and held at a distance by the presence of the French troops, still continued to intrigue and conspire to bring about the downfall of the Temporal Power. Among the most active of these was Giuseppe Mazzini. The indefatigable conspirator who, since 1833, had organized so many piratical expeditions against the States of the various sovereigns of Italy, had taken no part in that which had just been repulsed; but, shortly before the beginning of the incursion, he had come to Lugano on the Swiss frontier to be ready, in case Garibaldi succeeded in entering Rome, to follow him thither and proclaim a Republic. Disappointed in his hopes, and more irritated than ever against Victor Emmanuel, who had withdrawn his troops on the arrival of the French, he issued a violent address to the Italians, calling on them to rise and overthrow the monarchy which had betrayed them, and then to march to Rome and plant their standard on the Capitol. But his manifesto produced no effect; the advanced party was thoroughly disheartened by its many defeats in the recent campaign, and Garibaldi, the only leader who had still influence enough to induce the people to take up arms again, had been arrested and imprisoned by the Italian Government after his flight from Mentana.

As help had, therefore, to be sought elsewhere for the realization of that unity of Italy for which he had so long worked and plotted, Mazzini, who had already discussed the matter with a Prussian officer at Florence, wrote to Count Bismarck on November 17,

1867, to suggest the formation of an alliance between the Prussian Government and the Italian Republican party. By means of his secret agents, who were often better informed with regard to coming events than the members of the diplomatic body, he had learned that Napoleon III. had even then resolved to declare war against Prussia; that about March 19, 1867, he had asked Italy to form an alliance for that purpose, and that Victor Emmanuel had consented and would furnish a contingent of 60,000 men. Mazzini therefore asked the Prussian Government to give the party of action a million of francs and 2,000 needle-guns, and he promised, in return, to destroy every possibility of that alliance by bringing on a war between France and Italy, or even, if necessary, by overturning the Italian Government and replacing it by one which would be friendly to Germany. Count Bismarck, who did not care to enter into correspondence with the head of the revolutionary party in Europe, gave no direct reply to these overtures; but, by means of Count Usedom, the Prussian Minister at Florence, he returned a vague and cautiously worded answer, asking for proofs of the existence of the alliance, which he already suspected.<sup>1</sup> Mazzini, however, could produce no proofs, though from the reports of his agents he knew that the idea of a war with Prussia had been spread throughout all the barracks in France, and that Victor Emmanuel had promised to make Italy take part in it. The matter was, therefore, soon allowed to drop, and Mazzini continued to work independently for the furtherance of his projects, making use of the Masonic lodges already established in Italy to diffuse as widely as possible his anti-Papal and anti-monarchical doctrines, and extending even among the ranks of the army and of the police the ramifications of a secret society entitled *l'Alleanza Universale Repubblicana*.<sup>2</sup>

Napoleon III. had hitherto been master of the situation in Italy; as long as his troops occupied the Papal territory, or were ready to return there whenever the independence of the Holy See was threatened, neither the secret intrigues of Mazzini nor the open aggression of Garibaldi, even though countenanced by the government of Victor Emmanuel, could destroy the Temporal Power of the Pope. But the complex and vacillating character of Napoleon III. made it impossible to reckon with confidence on his protection. In his youth he had been a member of the secret society known as the *Carbonari*, and had taken part in the insurrection of 1832 against Gregory XVI. Without his powerful aid when Emperor the Kingdom of Italy could never have been founded; but, though hostile to the temporal power, he considered himself bound to protect Pius IX., and not to allow him to be deprived of the last remnant of his

<sup>1</sup> *Politica Segreta Italiana*, p. 350. <sup>2</sup> *id.* pp. 382-397.

sovereign authority. He hoped, apparently, that some compromise might be effected which, while satisfying the aspirations of Italian statesmen towards the unity of Italy, might still leave to the Pope a territory which, though small, would suffice to guarantee his independence; or that matters might remain as they were while Pius IX. lived, and that his successor might perhaps prove more yielding.<sup>1</sup> The influence of his Ministers, the Marquis de la Valette and M. Bénédicti, and of his cousin, Prince Napoleon, all three enemies of the temporal power, contributed also to impress on his policy a tendency favorable to the unity of Italy; while, on the other hand, the influence of the Empress and of the French clergy, and the dread of alienating the Catholics of France, prevented him from taking too actively the part of those who sought to despoil and enslave the Church, and the alternate preponderance in his council of these opposed tendencies may perhaps account for the variations in his policy with regard to the Holy See.

It was more especially towards the end of the Emperor's reign that the predominance of the Catholic element among his advisers made itself felt during the negotiations which took place concerning a Franco-Italian alliance, the first suggestion of which, according to Prince Napoleon,<sup>2</sup> was made by Victor Emmanuel in the course of 1868, with the object of finding a solution of the Roman question, though Mazzini stated in his letter to Bismarck that he knew that the Emperor had sought the alliance as far back as March, 1867. The matter was first vaguely discussed in a correspondence between the two sovereigns, and then in a more formal and official manner by their Ministers. At this stage of the proceedings the Austrian Government intervened and a treaty for an offensive and defensive alliance between France, Italy and Austria was drawn up, in which Italy exacted as an essential condition in return for her assistance the authorization for her troops to enter Rome after its evacuation by the French; and Austria, which was then ruled by a Liberal and anti-clerical parliamentary majority under the administration of Count von Beust, a Protestant from Saxony, approved and supported the demands of Italy.<sup>3</sup> But Napoleon III., who, as has been stated, did not wish to abandon Pius IX., and who continued to entertain the hope that the election of another Pope more willing to come to terms with Italy, would extricate him from his embarrassing situation, refused to consent. The negotiations were suspended in June, 1869, until some more favorable opportunity, and General Menabrea, who had come to treat with the Emperor at Vichy, returned to Florence, saying as he took leave:

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<sup>1</sup> Prince Napoleon, *Les Alliances de l'Empire*, p. 8. <sup>2</sup> *id.* p. 11. <sup>3</sup> *id.* p. 15.

"May your Majesty never have reason to regret the 300,000 bayonets which I brought you."<sup>1</sup>

The negotiations were resumed in the second week of July, 1870, on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war, by the Emperor, who sent to Florence and Vienna the draft of a treaty consisting of only three articles, by which, in return for the coöperation of an Italian army, he consented to withdraw the French troops from Rome and to trust to the honor and good faith of the Italian Government.<sup>2</sup> But to these three articles Italy, with the assent of Austria, added a fourth, by which France should agree to oblige Pius IX. to be reconciled with Italy and to yield up the Papal territory with the exception of Rome and its immediate environs. The Emperor, to his credit be it said, refused to accept this proposal, and on July 30 the Duc de Grammont replied: "If what is asked for is the entry of the Italians into Rome after the departure of our troops, it is impossible."<sup>3</sup>

The Emperor was already at Metz on his way to the army when, on August 3, Count Vimercati, the Italian envoy, brought him the draft of a new treaty, prepared by Count von Beust and Visconti-Venosta, by which Italy and Austria agreed to observe an armed neutrality, guaranteeing each other's territory and forming a triple alliance with France, as was proposed in 1869, in case the war were to acquire a greater development. France was again requested to conciliate the national rights of Italy with those of the Holy See, which meant practically that Pius IX. was to be abandoned and deprived of his States. But the Emperor still hesitated and sought various pretexts for not putting his name to the document; he objected to the form in which the treaty was drawn up; he asked to have its conditions modified, and though Prince Napoleon strongly urged him to sign it, he at last refused to do so, stating in a letter of that date to a friend that, in spite of all efforts of his cousin, he would not yield with regard to Rome.<sup>4</sup> Count Vimercati left that evening with the unsigned treaty, and in a few days the Prussian victories of Wörth and Wissembourg put an end to all hope of aid from Italy or Austria.

The Emperor had, however, decided to recall the troops which occupied the Papal territory, and the Holy Father had been informed of his intention on July 27, the reason assigned for the withdrawal by the Duc de Grammont being that it was necessary, not from a strategical, but from a political point of view, for the purpose of conciliating Italy and assuring her neutrality. For, as the Duke remarked, the importance of the small detachment which

<sup>1</sup> G. Rothan, *Souvenirs diplomatiques*, *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15th November, 1884, p. 316. <sup>2</sup> *id.*, p. 507. <sup>3</sup> *id.*, p. 510. <sup>4</sup> Prince Napoleon, *Les Alliances de l'Empire*, p. 36.



then occupied the Papal territory was that it might be looked upon as the advanced guard of a French army which would hasten to support it in case it were attacked, a reinforcement which the war just beginning would render impossible, and it was advisable not to afford the Italian Government a pretext for setting aside the stipulations of the convention of September 15, 1864, by which it was bound to respect the Papal frontiers. In a subsequent dispatch addressed to the French envoy in Florence, he expressed the confidence which he felt that Italy would execute these stipulations with vigilance and firmness, and in reply Visconti-Venosta, the Foreign Minister, assured him that the King's government would conform strictly to the obligations imposed by the convention of 1864.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this declaration, the Italian Government was already preparing to invade the Papal States. On July 31 General Govone, the Minister of War, asked Parliament for a grant of sixteen millions of francs for the purpose of calling out and arming two levies of recruits, and on August 10, when the first French defeats had shown that there was not much danger of another intervention, the general asked for two more levies and a further grant of forty millions of francs. The French flag was lowered on the forts of Cività Vecchia as the last French soldiers quitted the Papal territory on August 12, and on the 14th General Cadorna took the command of the troops which were being gradually assembled at different points along the Papal frontier.<sup>2</sup> After the loss of the battle of Gravelotte on August 18, Napoleon III. made a last effort to obtain succor from Italy, for he knew that Victor Emmanuel was favorable to the idea in spite of the opposition of his Ministers, and on August 20 Prince Napoleon arrived in Florence as his envoy to request the armed intervention of Italy and Austria, with leave for Italy to act as she pleased with regard to Rome. The Prince, indeed, declares in his pamphlet that he would not have accepted the mission if he had not been allowed to give this authorization.<sup>3</sup> But it was then too late, and the abandonment of the Papal territory, around which the invading army was taking up its positions, was a useless concession. Victor Emmanuel, it is true, was willing to do all in his power to aid France, but his Ministers and his generals remained inflexible;<sup>4</sup> though, to gain time and to avoid offending an old ally by giving a positive refusal, an envoy was sent to Vienna to consult the Austrian Government. Before he could return the capitulation of Sedan and the fall of the Empire put an end to all further negotiations, and the Italian Government saw that the way to Rome lay open before it; for, though Jules Favre, the Foreign Minister of the

<sup>1</sup> De Beauffort, *Histoire de l'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, p. 416. <sup>2</sup> Tavallini id., vol. II. p. 14. <sup>3</sup> Prince Napoleon, id., p. 29. <sup>4</sup> Tavallini, *Vita di Lanza*, vol. I., p. 510.

newly inaugurated French Republic, twice refused to accede to the request of Cavaliere Nigra, the Italian Ambassador, and to consent to the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops, saying that he did not wish to cause any pain to the Sovereign Pontiff or to his own countrymen, at a third interview he yielded so far as to decline to interfere in the Roman question, and said that he would be pleased to see the government of Victor Emmanuel go to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Giovanni Lanza, the Prime Minister of Italy, had already taken the necessary precautions to hinder a premature invasion of the Papal territory under the leadership of Garibaldi, which would have probably resulted in the proclamation of that Republic for which Mazzini had been organizing so actively over all Italy his "*Allianza Repubblicana*," which reckoned among its adherents many sergeants and corporals of the royal army. Some republican manifestations had already taken place in Northern Italy, the most serious having been that of March 23 at Pavia, where the barracks were attacked, with the result that there were several killed and wounded, and a corporal who was found among the rebels was condemned to death and shot. Lanza therefore gave orders to have Garibaldi carefully watched in his island of Caprera, and to arrest Mazzini, who was known to be hiding in Genoa. The tools of the House of Savoy, which had helped to lay the foundations of the Kingdom of Italy, were now no longer needed; their assistance had even become dangerous, and the difficult operation of the completion of the edifice could not be entrusted to the dreamer of impossible Utopias or to the leader of undisciplined revolutionary bands. But Mazzini, in spite of the peremptory commands of Lanza to his subordinates, succeeded in leaving Genoa in disguise and with a false passport. The police failed to recognize him when the steamer on which he traveled touched at Naples, and he was only arrested on August 13 at Palermo, whence he was brought on a man-of-war to the fortress of Gaeta.<sup>2</sup>

Being thus freed from the dread of a republican movement, the Italian Ministry sought to obtain the approval of the rest of Europe for their sacrilegious aggression on the remaining possessions of the Holy See, and on August 29 Visconti-Venosta addressed a circular for that purpose to the representatives of the Italian Government at the different courts. In this document he accused the Holy See of adopting the attitude of a hostile government established in the centre of the peninsula and enlisting foreign soldiers, not to maintain order, but to carry out a crusade for the restoration of the ancient order of things in Italy. A lengthy memorandum joined to this circular gave an account of the negotiations which had taken

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<sup>1</sup> Rothan, id., p. 529. <sup>2</sup> Tavallini, Vita di G. Lanza, vol. II., p. 9.

place since 1860 between France and Italy with regard to the Roman question, in which the obstinacy of the Papal Government was held responsible for the failure of the well-meant efforts of Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel to bring about a reconciliation between it and the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>1</sup> Another circular followed on September 7. The imperial government had fallen, and therefore Visconti-Venosta was still more outspoken in his calumnious denunciations. He declared that the unfertile and thinly inhabited tract of Italy which had been left to the Holy Father in 1860 was a serious danger for the rest of the country, as the territory of the theocratic government of the Sovereign Pontiff served as a basis of operations for all the elements of disorder, and the King was, therefore, under the necessity of taking steps to maintain peace and tranquility in the peninsula and to defend the Holy See. His Majesty did not even intend to wait till the actual outbreak of a struggle between the Romans and the foreign troops which might expose the Holy Father and the goods and the lives of his subjects to the dangers of a conflict much to be regretted, but when he judged fit he would occupy the positions requisite for the preservation of order.<sup>2</sup>

It is needless to observe that not the slightest disturbance had occurred or was likely to occur in Rome. The Œcumenical Council which had met on December 8, 1869, in St. Peter's, when the prelates assembled from all parts of the world to the number of over 700 presented the most magnificent and memorable spectacle ever witnessed in the Basilica, had proclaimed the dogma of the Papal infallibility on July 18, the day before France declared war against Prussia. Its sittings had then been suspended till the 11th of November, and the majority of its members had returned to their dioceses. The foreign visitors of all nations, who that year had been more numerous than usual, had also taken their departure, and the Eternal City was in that state of absolute tranquillity which recurred regularly every year during the intense heat of the summer months. Attempts had, indeed, been made to create disorder; the *Democrazia* of Florence stated in its number of August 31 that all the Roman emigrants, even those in the army, had been asked if they were willing to go to Rome to make demonstrations, and that those who consented had received money for the journey.<sup>3</sup> During the course of the month some sentinels stationed in lonely parts of Rome had been fired upon, and the Italian flag had been hoisted during the night in some villages near the frontier, only to be speedily pulled down by the *gendarmes*, but these manifestations

<sup>1</sup> De Beaufort, *id.*, p. 434. <sup>2</sup> *id.*, p. 452. <sup>3</sup> De Beaufort, *Histoire de l'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, p. 57.

had met with no sympathy from the subjects of the Pope, and excited no revolutionary movement. Even when, at the end of the month, Menotti Garibaldi and some of his partisans came secretly to Rome they were soon discovered by the police and expelled without causing any disturbance. It was, indeed, said that the Italian Government had denounced them to the Papal authorities, for Menotti was more likely to conspire in favor of Mazzini's plans than of their own, and some time previously he had spoken of Lanza and his fellow-ministers as "that pack of rascals and thieves which calls itself the Italian Government."<sup>1</sup>

It was on the 7th of September that these statesmen, finding that there was no prospect of an insurrection against the rule of Pius IX. and probably fearing that if France made peace with Prussia she might again be willing to defend the Holy Father, decided, as Visconti-Venosta stated in his circular of that date to the other European powers, not to wait till "the agitation reported to exist in the Papal territory, the natural consequence of the events taking place abroad, ended by causing bloodshed between the Romans and the foreign troops," and the invasion of the Papal States was decreed.

The anxiety which the Italian Ministry felt on the eve of this unprovoked aggression lest their victim should be snatched from their grasp, whether by an outburst of Catholic indignation or by a republican movement against the throne of Victor Emmanuel, is shown by the circular of September 5 addressed by Lanza to the provincial prefects, warning them to maintain order energetically and to repress any illegal manifestation or any attempt to imitate the republic just established in France.<sup>2</sup> The prefects of Caserta and Sassari were also specially requested to guard Mazzini and Garibaldi with the utmost vigilance, as their escape at that moment would be most embarrassing for the government. Another circular was sent by Raelli, the Minister of Justice, to the Bishops of Italy, assuring them that the government would guarantee to the Pope the greatest liberty for the exercise of his spiritual authority, and would not allow the slightest insult to be offered to the Church, but would not permit the clergy to censure the laws and the institutions of the State or to excite discontent. Any disobedience to these orders would be severely punished.<sup>3</sup>

Before, however, crossing the frontier the Italian Government made an attempt to persuade the Holy Father to abdicate voluntarily, and Count Ponza di San Martino, a man who when he had been Minister of the Interior had persecuted the religious orders,

<sup>1</sup> Vita di Giovanni Lanza, vol. I., p. 478. <sup>2</sup> De Beauffort, *L'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, p. 491. <sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 492.

was sent to Rome bearer of an autograph letter from Victor Emmanuel to Pius IX. In this document the King protested that he addressed the Holy Father with the affection of a son, with the faith of a Catholic, with the loyalty of a King and with the feelings of an Italian. He then brought forward again the false and absurd accusations so often repeated by his Ministers; namely, that the state of mind of the Papal subjects and the presence of the foreign soldiers were a cause of agitation and a danger to Italy which rendered it necessary for him to send his troops to occupy positions which would ensure the safety of His Holiness and the maintenance of order. He requested the Holy Father not to consider this measure of precaution as an act of hostility, for his government would protect the rights of the people and conciliate them with the inviolability of the Sovereign Pontiff, and he expressed the hope that the Holy Father's benevolent spirit, by satisfying the aspirations of the nation, would enable the Head of the Catholic Church to preserve on the banks of the Tiber a glorious dwelling independent of all human sovereignty. His Majesty concluded by asking for the Pope's blessing and declaring himself the most humble and obedient son of His Holiness. On reading this letter Pius IX. exclaimed: "Why this needless hypocrisy? Would it not be better to say frankly that he wants to deprive me of my kingdom?" He replied to the King's letter in a few eloquent and dignified lines, refusing to yield to his demands or even to discuss them and saying that he placed his cause in the hands of God, beseeching Him to bestow on the King the grace and the mercy of which he stood in need.

This embassy to Pius IX. was, it is said, not the only mission which Count Ponza di San Martino had to perform in Rome: he had been charged, it would seem, with the preparation of a revolutionary movement intended to facilitate the entrance of the royal troops; for *La Capitale*, one of the most violent organs of the advanced party, stated on September 28 that the Italian Government had given him a check for 600,000 francs to enable the Romans to purchase arms wherewith to repel the Papal mercenaries, and asked him what he had done with the money, since no revolt had taken place for want of arms; to which the Count replied that he had not cashed the check.<sup>1</sup> He had probably come to the conclusion that it would be useless to attempt to incite an insurrection in Rome on witnessing the enthusiasm with which an immense crowd of Romans greeted the Holy Father, when on the afternoon of September 10, the day on which he had received Victor Emmanuel's letter, he inaugurated on the Piazza de' Termini, close to the ruins of the Baths

<sup>1</sup> *L'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, p. 93.

of Diocletian, the fountain known as the *Acqua Pia*. This vast basin, from the centre of which a group of jets of water shot high into the air, was the end of the conduit nearly sixty miles long which brought from its source in the mountains the water formerly carried by the ancient Roman aqueduct called the *Acqua Marcia*, ruined since many centuries; and it marked the completion of the last great undertaking accomplished for the good of the people by the government of Pius IX.

Count Ponza di San Martino left Rome on the 11th of September with the reply of the Holy Father to Victor Emmanuel, and on the same day the Italian troops received orders to cross the frontier. Pius IX. could expect no help from any of the other sovereigns; their answers to the circular of Visconti-Venosta were received by the Italian Government during the month of September, and it was not only the Protestant States which expressed their approval of the overthrow of the temporal power, as indeed might have been expected; but even the governments of the Catholic nations declined to interfere, accompanying their assurances of non-intervention with expressions of respect and sympathy for the Holy Father, of their confidence in the good feelings, the generosity and the honor of the Italian Government, and of their conviction that it was under the necessity of going to Rome, and that it would surround the Holy Father with all the guarantees requisite for the maintenance of his dignity and the untrammelled exercise of his spiritual authority. None of them uttered a protest against the misrepresentations and the calumnious accusations which the Italian Government had disseminated against the rule of the Sovereign Pontiff, or denounced the reported attempts to incite his subjects to rise in rebellion against him, or the unprovoked aggression on his States, without declaration of war, when these attempts had proved unavailing.

The army intended to operate against Rome was placed under the command of Lieutenant General Raffaele Cadorna. It consisted of the Fourth Army Corps, formed by the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Divisions, commanded by Lieutenant General Cosenz, a former Garibaldian officer; Major General Mazé de la Roche, and Major General Ferrero. There were besides two auxiliary divisions, the Second under Lieutenant General Bixio, also a former Garibaldian, and Lieutenant General Angioletti. These five divisions and the reserve comprised eighty battalions of infantry of the line, seventeen battalions of *bersaglieri*, 114 guns, twenty-seven squadrons of cavalry, four companies of engineers, five companies of the military train and one company of the pontoon train. The nominal strength of this army amounted to 81,478 men, giving as the effective strength, which is usually one-fifth less, at least 65,000

men.<sup>1</sup> Besides these troops, another body of over 10,000 men entered the Papal States in order to garrison the various towns and leave the whole of Cadorna's army free to march against Rome.

The small force which the Papal Government was able to oppose to the invasion had been much diminished by the departure of many of the Zouaves and of the *Légion d'Antibes* after the beginning of the Franco-German war, and was reduced to a nominal strength of 13,624 men, while the effective strength did not amount to much over 10,900. The Italians in this army were 8,309 (a proportion of 12 per 1,000 of the population),<sup>2</sup> the foreigners only 5,324, of whom 3,040 were Pontifical Zouaves. To these should be added the battalion of volunteers of the reserve, composed of 600 Romans armed and clothed at their own expense, and commanded by the Marchese Patrizi and Prince Lancillotti; and the Palatine Guard, also formed of Romans, who were on duty in the Vatican and in Saint Peter's on state occasions. As the detachments stationed at Civit  Vecchia, Bagnorea and Civit  Castellana were not able to retreat on Rome when the invasion took place, the number of soldiers available for the defense of the city did not amount at the time of the siege to more than 7,857; or, adding the volunteers and the officers, to about 10,000 men.<sup>3</sup>

Although Rome is surrounded by a wall, it cannot be considered as a fortified city capable of offering a serious resistance to a well-equipped army. It is only the portion situated on the right bank of the Tiber and known as the *Trastevere*, which is defended by modern fortifications provided with bastions, constructed under the reign of Urban VIII. (1623-1644); that on the left bank, by far the larger part of the city, is enclosed by a brick wall dating, for the most part, from the reigns of the Emperors Aurelian, Honorius and Justinian (270 A. D.—565 A. D.); surmounted with battlements and flanked at every 50 or 60 yards by square towers. In some places, as at the garden on the Pincian mount, to the north, these walls are strengthened by the hill behind them, of which they form the outer face, or by high ground a little in their rear, which might serve as a second line of defense, as in the neighborhood of the Porta San Paolo or the Porta San Sebastiano. But on all the eastern side of Rome the walls, without backing of earth and not commanded by buildings or heights, presented no such obstacles to an assailant, and the weakest part of all was that between the Porta Salara and the Porta Pia, about 300 yards in length. To defend this circuit of about thirteen miles there were only 160 guns, not more than fifty-four of which were rifled: the rest were for the most part antiquated

<sup>1</sup> L'*Invasion des  tats Pontificaux*, p. 112. <sup>2</sup> L'*Invasion*, p. 121. <sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 192.

and hardly fit for use, and there were but 526 artillerymen to serve them.<sup>1</sup>

It had been the original intention of General Cadorna to enter the Papal territory with his *corps d'armée* at Passo di Correse, on the left bank of the Tiber, at a distance of only two days' march from Rome, while General Bixio marched from Orvieto towards Cività Vecchia and General Angioletti advanced from the Neapolitan frontier towards Velletri, and his three divisions were already in the positions assigned to them when the Italian Government, guided, as it stated, by political motives, suddenly changed its plans and ordered the general to transfer his troops to the right bank of the Tiber at two points, Ponté Felice and Orte, eighteen and twenty-five miles higher up, and thence to march to Rome. The reason for this movement, so unadvisable from a military point of view, since it would necessitate the recrossing of the Tiber close to Rome, may perhaps have been the desire of affording the Holy Father more time to reflect on the impossibility of opposing any resistance to such greatly superior forces, and thereby persuade him to yield without fighting; or else the hope that, according as the different towns and villages along the line of march were annexed, anti-Papal demonstrations could be organized, the result of which would be to excite the populace of Rome and bring about that insurrection which the Italian politicians so ardently desired that they might have a pretext for their iniquitous invasion of the territory of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

General Bixio, who was the first to cross the frontier at 5 o'clock on the afternoon of September 11, had fought under Garibaldi at the siege of Rome in 1849, in the war against Austria in 1859 and in the expedition of Marsala against Francis II., when he was raised to the rank of lieutenant general, which he retained on being admitted into the regular army in 1862. He was a decided enemy of the Church, and had declared openly in Parliament that the Cardinals ought to be flung into the Tiber; and General Cadorna, knowing his violent character, had protested, but in vain, against his appointment to a command.<sup>3</sup> The troops forming his division consisted of sixteen battalions of the line, three battalions of *bersaglieri*, six squadrons of cavalry, twenty-four guns and a company of engineers, amounting in all to about 13,000 combatants.

The small detachments of zouaves of twenty men each, stationed at Acquapendente and San Lorenzo, two villages close to the frontier, had already retreated to Montefiascone, held by Major de Suisy with two companies (173 men); but that at Bagnorea was surprised

<sup>1</sup> *L'Invasion*, p. 192. <sup>2</sup> *Cadorna*, p. 105; *De Beaufort*, p. 116. <sup>3</sup> *Cadorna, La Liberazione di Roma*, p. 61 and p. 536.



by the sudden advance of Bixio's troops and obliged to lay down its arms. On the following day Bixio turned aside from the road leading to Viterbo and, leaving one battalion to threaten that town, he passed along the southern shore of the lake of Bolsena, marching towards Corneto on the road to Cività Vecchia, where he hoped to intercept Lieutenant Colonel de Charette as he retreated towards Rome. De Charette, who held Viterbo with four companies of zouaves (396 men), forty gendarmes and forty artillerymen with two guns and a *mitrailleuse*, had been ordered to withdraw according as the Italian army advanced, and on being informed of the invasion he recalled the garrison of Montefiascone and prepared to retire. The Piedmontese columns were already in sight about noon on the 12th. The detachment left behind by Bixio was advancing from Montefiascone, and the troops of General Ferrero belonging to Cadorna's army were approaching from Orte, where they had that morning crossed the Tiber. It was only when they were close to the northern and eastern gates of the town that de Charette, who had taken up a position on a height outside the walls, marched away by the road to Vetralla, where he arrived that evening. There he was joined by about 200 gendarmes collected from their stations in the surrounding country, and the next morning he continued his march towards Cività Vecchia, meeting everywhere with the utmost cordiality and assistance in the way of provisions and transport from the inhabitants of the villages through which he passed.<sup>1</sup> But his further progress was stopped at Monte Romano, for there he learned that the advanced posts of Bixio's troops, which from Marta on the lake of Bolsena had marched through Toscanella to Corneto, had seized the roads leading to Cività Vecchia, and left him no means of escape except through a wild and mountainous district through which it seemed impossible for heavily laden troops to make their way. It was, however, through this labyrinth of wooded hills and precipitous ravines, across which the guns and the baggage wagons were dragged by the soldiers, that de Charette led his 900 men by a daring and fatiguing march of twelve hours, the greater part of which took place during the night. At one point, from the summit of a height, the camp fires of the enemy were seen in the plain below; but no alarm was given, and at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 14th the detachment entered Cività Vecchia, whence that afternoon it proceeded to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

The garrison of Cività Vecchia was composed of the four companies of zouaves which formed the *dépôt*, three companies of *cacciatori*, half a squadron of dragoons, four sections of artillery with eight field pieces, some gendarmes and *squadrilieri*, in all between

<sup>1</sup> L'Invasion, p. 135. <sup>2</sup> J. Powell, Two Years in the Pontifical Zouaves, p. 251.

800 and 900 men.<sup>1</sup> The fortifications which had been recently enlarged were defended by 120 guns, but there were not artillerymen enough to work them. On the morning of the 15th the Italian fleet which, under the command of Vice Admiral del Carretto, had been cruising for some days off the coast of the Papal territory, drew nearer to Civit  Vecchia. It consisted of twelve vessels, ten of which were iron-clads, carrying 105 guns and 4,295 men, and it took up its position opposite the town in order to co perate with General Bixio. The commander of the place, Colonel Serra, a Spanish officer who had distinguished himself in the campaign of 1860, had declared to the foreign Consuls that he would defend the town according to the orders which he had received from Rome, and on the approach of the Italian advanced guard the gates were closed, the guns were manned and every preparation was made to repel an attack. But when General Bixio sent an officer of his staff to demand the surrender of the town and threatened to bombard it if it did not capitulate within twelve hours, the entreaties of the terrified citizens and the noisy demonstrations of the populace so prevailed over the colonel's sense of duty and honor that in spite of the indignant protests of Major d'Albiousse, the commander of the zouaves, he consented to give up the town without firing a shot.

The invasion of the southern portion of the Papal territory took place at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, when General Angioletti entered the province of Frosinone at the head of the Ninth Division, consisting of sixteen battalions of infantry, two battalions of *bersaglieri*, eighteen guns, six squadrons of cavalry and a company of engineers, in all about 12,000 men. According as he advanced he established provisional governments in the different towns, and on the 19th his troops encamped about three miles from Rome.

The province of Frosinone as well as that of Velletri were under the command of Colonel Azzanesi, whose troops, which did not amount to 2,000 men, were all Italian, and as he had been ordered to withdraw before the superior forces of the enemy without offering any resistance, he recalled his outlying detachments stationed along the frontier, falling back with them gradually on Velletri, whence they were conveyed to Rome by rail. One of these detachments, commanded by Major Lauri, of the gendarmes, was intercepted on its way by Angioletti's advanced guard, and in order to escape had to make a dangerous night march like that of Colonel de Charette through the rugged and intricate range of mountains which lies to the south of Velletri; and it is a remarkable fact that, with every facility for deserting and with the certainty that in presence of such

<sup>1</sup> L'Invasion des  tats Pontificaux, p. 141.

an overwhelming hostile force the Papal cause was hopelessly lost, not one of his soldiers, all Italians and Papal subjects, abandoned his flag to pass over to the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

In the meanwhile the army of General Cadorna, consisting of forty-eight battalions of infantry, twelve of *bersaglieri*, seventy-two guns, fourteen squadrons of cavalry, two companies of engineers, three of the military train, a company of the pontoon train and a squadron of guides, in all about 35,000 men, had crossed the Tiber at dawn on the morning of the 12th. The Thirteenth Division, under Major General Ferrero, which had seized the bridge at Orte during the night, marched on Viterbo, whence, as we have seen, Colonel de Charette retreated on its approach, while the Eleventh Division, under General Cosenz, and the Twelfth, under General Mazé de la Roche, crossed at Ponte Felice and advanced towards Cività Castellana. The town, which occupies the site of an ancient Etruscan city, stands upon a high table-land of rock surrounded on three sides by deep ravines, and the road from Ponte Felice crosses that lying to the north by a bridge 120 feet high. The fort which gives its name to the town was built in the fifteenth century by Antonio San Gallo for Alexander VI. and enlarged by Julius II. and Leo X. It had served for a long time as a civil and military prison, and contained at the time of the invasion a company of discipline of seventy men belonging to different regiments and 180 convicts. The garrison consisted of Captain de Résimont's company of zouaves (110 men) and twenty-five gendarmes and *squadriglieri*. Warned on the night of the 11th that the enemy was about to cross the frontier, Captain de Résimont stationed a detachment of zouaves in a Capuchin convent situated beyond the bridge and commanding the road leading to it, and when General Cadorna's advanced guard appeared it was received with a heavy fire. The post could not, however, be long defended, for a battalion had been sent by a narrow path leading from the high road down into the ravine to turn the position, and two other battalions which had crossed the Tiber by a railway bridge lower down had already occupied the road leading to Rome and were about to enter the town. The zouaves then retreated into the castle, on which a battery of six guns, strengthened shortly after by two more batteries, and screened by the surrounding gardens and plantations, opened fire from a distance of 1,000 yards. The garrison, which had no artillery, could only reply with musketry, and thus inflicted very little damage on the enemy; but when, after a bombardment of two hours, during which more than 400 cannon balls had been fired against the fortress and 240 shells had burst within its circuit, the

<sup>1</sup> L'Invasion des États Pontificaux, p. 167.

massive towers were on the point of falling and the lives of the prisoners were in danger, Captain de Résimont and Lieutenant Sevilla, who had already refused to capitulate when requested by the Governor of the prison, consented at last to treat with General Cadorna. The general complimented the Papal troops on the gallant resistance which they had opposed to such greatly superior forces, and the next day the garrison marched out with the honors of war, and having laid down their arms were brought as prisoners to Spoleto, whence the foreign soldiers were sent to their homes. On the side of the Italians the loss had been ten killed and wounded; of the zouaves only five had been wounded.<sup>1</sup>

On the same day General Cadorna received orders from the Minister of War to advance by forced marches to Rome, and his troops, taking two days' rations with them and leaving all their baggage behind, started at noon and encamped that night at Monterosi, about twenty-two miles from Rome. They continued their march next morning at 3, and halted that afternoon about ten miles from Rome, where General Cadorna established his headquarters at a wayside inn named *La Storta*. An advanced guard of nine squadrons of cavalry and six guns, commanded by General Chevilly, had preceded them, and on arriving near Rome had sent detachments to patrol the roads in the environs of the city. It was then 8 o'clock, and the mists which float over the Campagna in the early morning had not yet passed away, so that they were not perceived till they were close to the outpost of a company of zouaves stationed at the Convent of Sant' Onofrio, a few miles to the northwest of Rome. Sergeant Shea, who commanded the post, went forward with four men to demand the watchword, but was surrounded, severely wounded and made prisoner with his men after a desperate resistance. The rest of the company retreated upon Rome after having inflicted some loss on the enemy and taken their lieutenant, Count Crotti di Costigliole. The father of this officer sat in the Italian Parliament, where he had distinguished himself by his eloquence in defense of the rights of the Church, and he died suddenly a few days after the taking of Rome, most probably from the grief and indignation caused by the spoliation of the Holy See.<sup>2</sup>

The anxiety of the Italian Ministers to induce Pius IX. to yield on the question of the temporal power and to condone the sacrilegious aggression of the House of Savoy by the voluntary cession of the territory of the Church, was again rendered evident by the action of General Cadorna, who before undertaking the difficult operation of transferring his army from the right to the left bank of the Tiber, tried to accomplish the object of the campaign by diplo-

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<sup>1</sup> *L'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, p. 179. <sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 156.

macy rather than by violence. On the 15th he sent one of his staff officers, Lieutenant Colonel Count Caccialupi, with a letter to General Kanzler, asking him in the name of the King of Italy to allow his troops to occupy Rome, assuring him that their object was purely to maintain order, and that the Italian officers of the Papal army would be allowed to preserve their rank, while the foreign soldiers would be sent to their respective countries; to which General Kanzler simply replied that the Holy Father preferred to see Rome occupied by his own troops, and not by those of another sovereign. In spite of this rebuff General Cadorna sought once more to overcome the resistance of the Papal Government, and on the following day he sent Major General Carchidio to inform General Kanzler of the taking of Civit  Vecchia, and to request him again to admit the Italian troops into Rome, appealing at the same time to his feelings of humanity and pointing out to him that resistance was useless in presence of the superior force assembled round the city. General K nzler in his reply remarked that the loss of Civit  Vecchia could have no influence on the defense of Rome, and he reminded the Italian general that the Holy See had not provoked this war, and that it was rather for the invaders to show their humane feelings by desisting from an unjust aggression.

In the meanwhile preparations were actively carried on by Cadorna's orders for throwing a pontoon bridge across the Tiber near a farm called Grotta Rossa, about four miles above Rome; the steep banks of the river had been cut down to allow of easy access to it, and roads to connect it with the high road constructed across the fields. At nightfall three battalions of *bersaglieri* were ferried across to protect the working party. Nine other battalions followed about midnight, when the bridge was completed, and they seized the bridges over the Aniene to guard against an attack from the garrison of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the army followed in the course of the 17th, and on the evening of the 18th the Eleventh Division was encamped on the *Via Salara* nearest to the Tiber, the Twelfth on the *Via Nomentana* and the Thirteenth on the *Via Tiburtina*, where its left was in touch with the troops of the Ninth Division under General Angioletti, which on arriving from the southern provinces took up their positions on the *Via Latina*. Bixio, too, received orders to hasten forward with the Second Division, and on the evening of the 19th his troops were seen advancing on the road from Civit  Vecchia.

As all the applications made directly by the Italian Government had failed to persuade Pius IX. to lay down his sovereign power and to allow the army of Victor Emmanuel to occupy Rome, an-

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<sup>1</sup> Cadorna, p. 169.

other attempt to treat was made through the intervention of Count von Arnim, the Prussian Minister at the Vatican, and at that moment, owing to the absence of the Austrian Ambassador, the head of the diplomatic body in Rome. Taking upon himself, apparently unsolicited, to negotiate in the interests of Italy, he came to General Cadorna while he was watching his troops crossing the Tiber, and asked him to put off the attack on Rome for twenty-four hours, as he hoped by applying directly to Pius IX. to persuade him to cease a resistance which was altogether owing to the predominant influence of the military party among his advisers.<sup>1</sup> General Cadorna was only too happy to grant his request, not only because he was aware that the Italian Ministers would much prefer to obtain possession of Rome without fighting, but also, as he confesses in his report of the campaign, because he would require more than twenty-four hours to place his troops in the positions they were to occupy and give their officers time to study the ground over which they were to operate. Count von Arnim's mendacious assertion with regard to the pressure brought to bear on the Holy Father by the "foreign mercenaries" was a favorite theme with the revolutionary politicians and journalists, who tried to explain the constancy with which Pius IX. guarded the possessions of the Church by spreading the report that Colonel de Charette and the zouaves refused to obey the orders of the Pope to lay down their arms, and that they were masters of Rome and terrorized the citizens.<sup>2</sup> This calumnious statement was soon after publicly refuted in the principal journals of Europe by Count Blume, a former Austrian Minister, then present in Rome. Count von Arnim's efforts to persuade Pius IX. to abandon his temporal power met with no more success than the previous endeavors of Ponza di San Martino and Cadorna, and the Italian Ministry, perceiving that there was no hope of entering Rome peaceably, ordered their general to take the city by force, with the exception of *la Città Leonina*, or that part of the *Trastevere* which encloses the Castle of St. Angelo, St. Peter's and the Vatican, reminding him at the same time that the political situation demanded prudence, moderation and dispatch. Another telegram on the following day informed him that from the political point of view delay might be fatal.<sup>3</sup>

Within Rome all was quiet; the people showed no disposition to facilitate the entrance of the Italian army by an insurrection against the Papal troops; but when a *triduo* was held in St. Peter's at the altar of *la Madonna della Colonna* the Romans flocked thither in crowds, through which the Swiss Guards could hardly make a way

<sup>1</sup> Cadorna, p. 171. <sup>2</sup> Italian Correspondence of September 18 and 19 in the London *Times* of September 24 and 27, 1870; *La Nazione* of Florence, September 19, 1870. <sup>3</sup> Cadorna, p. 185.

for the Holy Father, and when, a few days later, on the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, he visited the Church of *Ara Caeli*, he was received with enthusiastic applause by the throngs which lined the streets. The preparations for the defense of Rome were still actively carried on; by a proclamation of General Kanzler the city was declared to be in a state of siege; the gates were closed with the exception of six, in front of which earthworks were thrown up and armed with artillery; the troops left their barracks and bivouacked at the various points where an attack was to be apprehended; and posts of observation were established on the cupola of St. Peter's and the belfries of the Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore, which were put in telegraphic communication with the Ministry of War and the Vatican.

General Cadorna had given orders to begin the attack at dawn on the 20th, and his troops took up their positions in the course of the two preceding days. On the right of the besieging army General Cosenz placed the batteries of the Eleventh Division at 500 yards from the Porta Salara; twelve pieces of heavy artillery under General Corte, destined to make a breach in the wall between the Porta Salara and the Porta Pia, were stationed on some rising ground about 1,000 yards away, and six others at 400 yards. General Mazé de la Roche was to attack the Porta Pia with the three batteries of the Twelfth Division, and the infantry of the line and the *bersaglieri* of these divisions, together with the six battalions of *bersaglieri* of the reserve, the cavalry and the *ambulances*, were drawn up in the rear near the Church of St. Agnes, while Cadorna fixed his headquarters at the Villa Albani. To the left General Ferrero, with the Thirteenth Division, was to attack the Porta Maggiore and the opening in the city wall called *I tre Archi*, through which passed the railway to Naples; General Angioletti, with the Ninth Division, was to cannonade the Porta San Giovanni and the salient angle where is situated Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, while Bixio's guns were to be directed against the line of bastions on the right bank of the Tiber. The real attack was that against Porta Pia and the adjacent wall; the others were intended to divert the attention of the besieged and oblige them to scatter their forces.<sup>1</sup> While the Italian army was thus drawing nearer to the walls of the Eternal City, Count von Arnim made a last effort to persuade Pius IX. to lay down his sovereignty and surrender his temporal power, seeking to alarm him by pointing out that if Victor Emmanuel were unable to make Rome the capital of Italy, the proclamation of an Italian Republic was inevitable, which would be far more dangerous for the Holy See. But Pius IX. was neither to be deceived by diplomacy nor intimi-

<sup>1</sup> *L'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, p. 263.

dated by threats, and the arguments of Count von Arnim were unsuccessful, as was also his attempt to induce the rest of the diplomatic body in Rome to support his demand by signing an address to the Pope with the same object.<sup>1</sup>

When the Holy Father was informed that Rome was to be bombarded on the following day he addressed to General Kanzler a letter, in which in dignified and solemn words he bade farewell to his army. His object had been attained; he had obliged the enemies who had approached his throne with feigned respect and perfidious offers of protection to cast aside the mask and show themselves in their real character of oppressors and spoliators of the Church. He knew, indeed, that with his small army a prolonged resistance could have no other result than a useless shedding of blood; but he was resolved that if the House of Savoy was to usurp the temporal power entrusted to his keeping, it should be in virtue of superior might, not in consequence of any abdication on his part or any failure to perform their duty on the part of his soldiers; and he, therefore, commanded that as soon as a breach was opened in the walls the garrison should capitulate.

During the 19th the movements of the enemy were carefully watched from the ramparts, and when possible a shell or a volley of musketry was directed against the detachments of Italian troops which advanced to occupy the surrounding villas; and that night the sentinels on the walls could see close at hand the watch fires of the outposts and hear the distant rolling of the artillery as it took up the positions where the batteries were to be established.

It was not yet daylight when, at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 20th, General Ferrero's three batteries opened fire on the earthwork armed with two guns and a howitzer which protected the three arches by which the railway enters Rome, and at the same time General Angioletti began to bombard the Porta San Giovanni, defended by two guns in the earthwork covering the gate and by two more guns and a howitzer mounted on the adjacent rampart; but his attack on the Porta San Sebastiano did not begin till about an hour later. The guns at the *Tre Archi* were soon put out of action by the masses of brick and stone which fell round them as the walls crumbled away under the heavy and well directed fire of the Italians, and the two companies of Swiss Carabineers, two of infantry of the line and two of zouaves, which under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Castella defended the position, could only reply with musketry. The walls were already tottering and two companies of Italian infantry were held in readiness to give the

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<sup>1</sup> *L'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, p. 254; Ideville, p. 180.



assault, when, at 10 o'clock, a dragoon brought a verbal order to cease all resistance, which the lieutenant colonel refused to obey, and it was only on receiving a written order half an hour later that he displayed the white flag, when the firing ceased, and at noon further orders made the troops abandon the post and retreat to Sta. Maria Maggiore.<sup>1</sup>

The Porta San Giovanni was guarded by some companies of Swiss Carabineers, one of zouaves and one of *squadriglieri*, under Lieutenant Colonel de Charette. They were soon obliged by General Angioletti's more powerful artillery to withdraw their guns from the earthwork before the gate and place them on the bastion beside it, where they were reinforced by four mountain pieces under Captain Daudier. But, though the Papal guns were few, their fire was so skilfully directed by their officers, Prince Rospigliosi and Count Macchi, that three of the enemy's guns were dismounted, two ammunition wagons were blown up and the Italian batteries were three times forced to change their position. The neighboring Basilicas narrowly escaped destruction. More than fifty shots struck that of St. John of Lateran.

Some of the side chapels in Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme were laid in ruins and a shell burst in the Passionist Convent near the Santa Scala, wounding one of the monks and killing Lieutenant Piccadori, of the Pontifical dragoons. Though the gates of the Porta San Giovanni took fire and fell, the Papal soldiers still maintained an obstinate resistance until de Charette received the written order to cease the combat and some time after another commanding him to retire with his men to the *Città Leonina*.<sup>2</sup>

The troops stationed at the Porta San Sebastiano and the Porta San Paolo withdrew at the same time; they had so well defended the approaches to those gates by two guns placed on the bastion of San Gallo that four of General Angioletti's guns stationed near the tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Appian way were obliged to change their positions several times, but at 10 o'clock the order came to cease fire and had to be obeyed.

General Bixio had been instructed to set his troops in movement as soon as he heard the first cannon shot fired by General Ferrero, and it was therefore about half-past 6 when his four batteries opened fire against the Porta San Pancrazio and the fortifications which crown the heights of the Janiculum. This part of the city, under the command of Colonel Azzanesi, was defended by native troops, the *cacciatori* under Lieutenant Colonel Sparagana and the regiment of the line under Lieutenant Colonel Tanetti, and in spite of the efforts which had been made to turn them away from their allegiance

<sup>1</sup> De Beaufort, *L'Invasion*, p. 272. <sup>2</sup> *id.*, pp. 277 and 279.

to Pius IX.,<sup>1</sup> they performed their duty as courageously and as loyally as any of the foreign soldiers. Only fifteen of the guns, mostly smooth-bores mounted on bastions, could reply to the twenty-four pieces of General Bixio, but the fire of the Papal infantry was so heavy and so well aimed that his *bersaglieri* were driven back, and his batteries, which he had placed at 400 yards from the walls, had to be withdrawn to 1,200. General Cadorna in his report on the campaign blames severely the recklessness with which Bixio exposed his soldiers to a cross-fire from the ramparts and from the *Città Leonina*, losing thereby more killed and wounded than General Cosenz; and more killed than General Mazé de la Roche, whose troops had taken part in the assault.<sup>2</sup> The fire of Bixio's artillery, whether wilfully or through carelessness, was also badly directed, so that while the bombardment carried on by the other generals injured only the fortifications and caused but little damage to the buildings of Rome, Bixio's shells set fire to a cloth manufactory near the Porta San Pancrazio, to a house in the Piazza Navona, to a house and a forage store in the Via Lungara and to several houses in the Via Giulia, where a woman was killed in the street. Four more shells fell on the Convent of San Callisto, several on the hospital of San Gallicano, where the sick had to be carried down into the cellars, and in another hospital a patient was killed in his bed.<sup>3</sup>

As has been already mentioned, the real attack was directed against the Porta Pia and the adjacent walls. An earthwork holding two rifled guns had been raised before the gate, and a third gun was stationed to its right. Three guns on the terrace of the Pincian mount, one in the garden of the Villa Medici and six in the great square enclosure which advances beyond the line of the walls and is known as the Prætorian Camp, commanded the approaches to the gate, while a detachment of zouaves and another of Swiss Carabineers held the gardens of the Villa Patrizi some distance beyond the walls. General Cadorna's batteries, mounting fifty-four guns, opened fire soon after 5 o'clock, but his artillerymen were much incommoded by the musketry from the Villa Patrizi, which the Thirty-fifth Battalion of *bersaglieri* was sent to take, and succeeded in occupying after a stubborn resistance. Shortly before 7 one of the guns at the Porta Pia was dismounted; it was soon replaced, but an hour later another met the same fate, and the earthwork was in such a ruinous condition that it was abandoned; but the musketry fire was maintained from the walls, where no guns could be mounted, and the Italian pieces, which had advanced to 600 yards from the city,

<sup>1</sup> Roman Correspondence in *London Times*, September 29, 1876. <sup>2</sup> Cadorna, p. 191. <sup>3</sup> De Deauffort, p. 283.

were obliged to recede to 800 yards and then to 1,200, though even at that distance the Remington bullets caused the Italians some loss. To the left of the Porta Pia, on the terrace of the Pincio, which was raked by artillery stationed in the Villa Borghese, some of the guns, on account of the want of artillerymen, were served by zouaves, several of whom, as well as two of their officers, Lieutenants Niel and Brondoï, were severely wounded; and to the right, at the Prætorian Camp, where embrasures had been opened in the walls, the few guns available replied steadily to General Ferrero's batteries as they cannonaded the three railway arches.

It was not long, however, before the ancient wall between the Porta Pia and the Porta Salara began to crumble away beneath the fire of the heavy siege pieces; the Villa Bonaparte in its rear was in flames; the breach was already opened about 9 o'clock, and the Italian infantry, approaching through the grounds of the neighboring villas, formed in columns for the assault. Just before 10 General Botacco reported that the breach, then widened to the extent of thirty yards, was practicable, and Cadorna, hoisting a flag on the tower of the Villa Patrizi, signaled to his artillery to cease fire and to the attacking columns to advance.<sup>1</sup> The Thirty-ninth Infantry Regiment, covered by the fire of the *bersaglieri* stationed in the Villa, ran forward immediately to storm the Porta Pia, while a detachment from the division of Mazé de la Roche, with the Twelfth *bersaglieri* at its head, and another from the division of Cosenz, led by the Thirty-fourth *bersaglieri*, passing through openings made in the walls of the surrounding gardens, rushed towards the breach. A few minutes previously a dragoon galloping up to the Porta Pia had brought a verbal order from General Zappi to raise the white flag, since the breach had been opened; but Major de Troussures, who commanded at the gate, declined to obey except on a written order, and sent Lieutenant van der Kerchove to the general. The two companies of Captains de Gastebois and de Couëssin, stationed to right and left of the gate, maintained in the meantime a rapid fire and kept the hostile column at bay till the officer's return with the order to surrender. The white flag was then displayed and the combat ceased. The companies of Captains Thomalé, Berger and Desclée, reckoning in all about 250 men, which held the breach, though losing heavily under fire of the *bersaglieri* as they advanced, and of the sharpshooters in the neighboring vineyards, made an obstinate resistance, before which the assaulting column recoiled with the loss of its leader, Major Pagliari, two other officers and several men. At that moment a staff officer brought the order to cease fire, the white flag was raised and the troops grounded arms. The

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<sup>1</sup> Cadorna, p. 197.

Italians then crossed the breach, still firing on the zouaves, who could not reply (Cadorna confesses that his soldiers did not perceive the white flag); they insulted the Papal officers and deprived them of their swords and their revolvers; they flung one of them from his horse, which was seized by an Italian officer, and then led their prisoners towards the Porta Pia. There, too, the suspension of hostilities was not observed, and in spite of the white flag two zouaves were killed in the ranks by the *bersaglieri*, who fired as they entered. One of their officers discharged his revolver on Lieutenant van der Kerchove and another tore Captain de Couëssin's cross and medals from his breast. One officer alone drove back his men with the flat of his sword and obliged them to respect the prisoners; the other *bersaglieri*, both officers and men, loaded them with insults, but the infantry of the line showed them more consideration.<sup>1</sup> The Italian troops then, in defiance of the usages of civilized warfare, according to which, when a besieged town hangs out a white flag, there is a truce and the contending forces remain in their respective positions until the capitulation is signed, pressed on into the city and occupied the Quirinal, the garden of the Pincio, the Piazza del Popola and the Piazza Colonna. As they approached, most of the Papal troops, informed of the surrender, fell back on the *Città Leonina*, as they had been directed to do, not only unmolested by the people, but greeted with courtesy and sympathy as they passed through the thoroughly Roman quarter of the *Trastevere*.<sup>2</sup> Several companies, however, surrounded in the positions which they occupied, were obliged to lay down their arms, and were brought to the Prætorian Camp.

Thus, after a bombardment by 114 guns during five hours, was Rome taken; though, as General Cadorna stated in an order of the day to his soldiers, it had been stubbornly defended (*ostinatamente difesa*). The losses of the Italian army, according to some of their own officers, amounted to 2,000 men; according to the official report there were only 32 killed and 143 wounded.<sup>3</sup> Those of the Papal troops were 16 killed and 58 wounded, and even the journals most hostile to the cause of the Holy See rendered justice to their gallantry. According to the Neapolitan journal *La Soluzione*, "they did their duty with modesty and bravery like heroes; the defense of Rome was courageous and brilliant; they were resolved to die on the walls if the Holy Father had not ordered them to surrender;" and *L'Italie*, a Florentine paper, stated that "they fought with a courage and coolness which commands our respect. . . . The zouaves fought like brave men; they proved it at the Porta Pia and the Villa Bonaparte, as I saw with my own eyes."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Beaufort, p. 303. <sup>2</sup> Id., p. 338. <sup>3</sup> Cadorna, p. 484. <sup>4</sup> De Beaufort, p. 312.

Pius IX. had requested the representatives of the foreign powers to assemble at the Vatican as soon as the bombardment began; they assisted at his Mass which he said at the usual hour of half-past 7, while the thunder of Bixio's guns was resounding through the palace, and after Mass he conversed with them in his library, from the windows of which might be seen the columns of smoke rising from the houses set on fire by the shells. The Holy Father spoke of various incidents of his past life; of his visit to Chili in his youth; of the meeting of the diplomatic body at the Quirinal under similar circumstances in 1848, and of the display of the flags of various nations for the protection of foreign residents, which he had seen in the streets of Rome, contrasting it with the decorations made in honor of his return from Gaeta. He mentioned, also, that the students of the American Seminary had asked to be allowed to take arms, but that he had thanked them and told them to take part in assisting the wounded. Just before 10 Count Carpegna, a staff officer, brought word that the breach had been opened and was practicable. The Pope conferred with Cardinal Antonelli for a few minutes, and then, turning to the Ambassadors with tears in his eyes, informed them that he had given orders to capitulate, as any further resistance would cause great bloodshed, which he wished to avoid. "It is not for myself I weep," continued Pius IX., "but for these poor children who have come to defend me as their Father. Will each of you take charge of those of your own country? They are of all nations. And think also, I beg of you, of the English and the Canadians, whose interests are not represented here." Cardinal Antonelli then reminded the Pope that in the absence of Mr. Odo Russell they would be cared for by an English *chargé d'affaires*, and the Holy Father said: "I recommend them to you that you may preserve them from the ill-treatment which others of them suffered some years ago." He then declared that he released his soldiers from their oath of allegiance, in order to leave them at liberty; and he dismissed the envoys, requesting them to agree with General Kanzler with regard to the terms of the capitulation.<sup>1</sup>

When, according to the orders of the Holy Father, the white flag had been raised on the cupola of St. Peter's and on the Castle of St. Angelo, General Kanzler sent two officers of his staff, Lieutenant Colonel Carpegna and Major Rivalta, with a letter to General Cadorna to discuss the terms of the surrender of Rome, which the general consented to do, but which he seemed to consider a great concession on his part, since his troops already held the city. General Kanzler soon followed his delegates, as well as the diplomatic body, whose interference in the negotiations Cadorna refused to

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<sup>1</sup> De Beaufort, p. 323.

allow; but with the Papal general he concluded a capitulation, according to which Rome, with the exception of the Leonine City, was to the frontiers of their country, and the native soldiers were to be given up to the Italians, the garrison was to march out with the honors of war, the foreign troops were to be sent at once by rail remain in a *dépôt* till the government had come to a decision as to their future position. General Cadorna states in his history of the campaign that the brigades furnished by each division for the occupation of Rome were directed to place guards over the churches, monasteries and public buildings for their protection and for the maintenance of order; but it is not the less true that in the rear of his troops came some four or five thousand Garibaldians, the scum of the great cities of Italy, and many political exiles, who, though he had requested them not to compromise his cause by rendering themselves guilty of excesses,<sup>1</sup> joined with the rabble of Rome in heaping every sort of insult and outrage on the defenders of the Pope as they were led disarmed and prisoners through the streets, while in some cases the *bersaglieri* forming their escort either did not protect the Papal soldiers or even, it is asserted, took part in these manifestations of vindictiveness.<sup>2</sup>

With the exception of the companies which had been surrounded and disarmed in the neighborhood of the Porta Pia, and who rejoined their comrades later, the Papal troops had assembled in the Leonine City, which had been reserved to the Pope by the terms of the capitulation, and they passed the night in front of St. Peter's, where, on the great feasts of the Church, they had often knelt while, from the Loggia far overhead, the voice of Pius IX. resounded through the vast Piazza as he pronounced the benediction "*Urbi et Orbi.*" Just before mid-day on the 21st the bugles called the troops to arms and they formed their ranks for the last time. The *Légion d'Antibes* was drawn up at the foot of the steps of the basilica; in their rear the Swiss, then the zouaves, the infantry of the line, the *cacciatori*, the dragoons and the artillery. At the word of command, the bayonets were fixed and the troops were on the point of marching when one of the windows of the Vatican was thrown open and Pius IX. appeared. A cry of "*Vive Pie IX.*" burst from the soldiers, accompanied by the crash of a volley of musketry as the men of the *Légion d'Antibes* and the Swiss fired off their rifles in the air, while the Holy Father, stretching out his hand, gave his army a last blessing, and then fell back fainting into the arms of his attendants.

To avoid all danger of a collision with the populace it had been decided that the Papal troops should not pass through Rome; they

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<sup>1</sup> Cadorna, p. 183. <sup>2</sup> De Beauffort, p. 332.

went out, therefore, by the Porta Angelica, and followed the road which runs at the foot of the ramparts of the Leonine City till they reached the Porta San Pancrazio, a distance of about three miles. There, between the two bastions nearest to the gate, were General Cadorna and the other generals of the Italian army on horseback, and near them, on foot, Generals Zappi and de Courten. On both sides of the road were drawn up lines of Italian infantry, the bands playing, the men presenting arms as the Pontifical troops marched past. Then, turning away from the walls of Rome, each regiment laid down its arms in the Villa Belvedere, and the disbanded troops, to the number of perhaps 8,000, streamed away silently across the parched up fields of the Campagna, towards the station of Ponte Galera, nine or ten miles distant. Conveyed thence in several trains to Civit  Vecchia, the native soldiers were sent to the fortress of Alexandria, in North Italy; the foreigners, classified according to their nationality, were lodged, some in the forts and others in the convict prison. A few days later the French zouaves left for France; one of their captains had succeeded in concealing and carrying away the flag of the regiment; it was unfolded and saluted for the last time on board the steamer, and then divided among the officers. Colonel de Charette soon reorganized his men; their numbers were augmented by fresh recruits, and under the name of *Les Volontaires de l'Ouest* they upheld worthily the reputation of the regiment in the Franco-German war, especially on the stubbornly contested fields of Loigny and Patay. The other prisoners were brought by sea to Genoa, where the Belgians and Dutch were quartered in the fort of *Monte Ratti*, the English and Irish in the barracks of *San Benigno*, whence, after a few days, they departed for their homes. The Italian soldiers of the Pontifical army were for the most part detained for a considerable time in the fortresses of North Italy before being set free, and the *squadriglieri*, or armed mountaineers, who were more especially the objects of the hatred and the calumnies of the revolutionary party, on account of the efficacious assistance they had rendered to the Pontifical gendarmes in the suppression of brigandage, thereby depriving the Italian Government of every pretext of crossing the frontier, were treated with a harshness totally contrary to the terms of the capitulation: they were accused of being brigands; they were made to associate with galley slaves; and when they were at last released, some of them after two years' detention, they were placed under the supervision of the police, as though they were criminals.<sup>1</sup>

The Leonine City had been reserved by the capitulation as the territory of the Pope, where he could be independent of the Italian

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<sup>1</sup> De Beaufort, p. 374.

Government, and he was allowed to retain the Noble Guard, the Swiss Guard, a company of gendarmes and the Palatine Guard for the defense of the Vatican, in all, some 300 or 400 men.<sup>1</sup> His independence did not last long. The Pontifical troops had hardly marched out of Rome, when a crowd, composed of the dregs of the populace, crossing the bridge of St. Angelo, plundered the deserted Serristori barracks, attempted to seize those which had recently been built under the colonnade of St. Peter's and tried to force their way into the Basilica. A detachment of gendarmes from the Vatican drove them off, killing two and wounding several; but the Holy Father, foreseeing that the trifling amount of liberty which had been left to him would henceforth be continually menaced, and not wishing to live in a state of permanent warfare, asked General Cadorna, through the medium of Count von Arnim, to send troops to occupy the Leonine City. The request was presented to the general while he was assisting at the march past of the Papal army; and on receiving soon after the same demand in writing from General Kanzler, he ordered two battalions of *bersaglieri* to enter the Leonine City and mount guard over St. Peter's and the Vatican. For a few days longer the Castle of St. Angelo was occupied by the *sedentarii*, or pensioned-off soldiers of the Pontifical army; but on September 27 it, too, was handed over to the Italian Government, and since then the territorial possessions of the Holy See have been limited to the Vatican, and its gardens and the villa of Castel Gandolfo.<sup>2</sup>

For the next two days and nights the wildest disorder prevailed in Rome; the Garibaldians who had entered along with the troops were joined by crowds of others brought by rail, and one of their first acts was to pillage the law courts at Monte Citorio, where the lists of criminals, the records of their sentences and other legal documents were destroyed and damage inflicted to the amount of 50,000 francs before the arrival of the Italian soldiers. The portraits and busts of the Holy Father exhibited in the shops were taken out and torn to pieces in the streets, the barracks of the Papal troops were plundered of everything they contained, the offices of the *Giornale di Roma* and of the *Osservatore Romano* were saved from being wrecked only by the timely intervention of the troops; the Papal arms placed over the gates of the palaces of the Roman nobles were pulled down and smashed, and attempts were even made to destroy those over the doors of the foreign embassies. The mob succeeded in doing so at the palace of the Portuguese envoy, and General Cadorna was obliged to make an ample apology for the outrage which his troops had failed to prevent, and to allow the arms to be re-

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<sup>1</sup> Der Italienische Raubzug, p. 130. <sup>2</sup> Cadorna, p. 219, p. 304.



placed.<sup>1</sup> Even the Roman correspondent of the Florentine journal *La Nazione* wrote: "Since two days we are without government, and rascals take advantage of it to commit crimes against property and persons under pretense of showing their zeal and their love for Italy and the King. . . . Rome has been abandoned to every organizer of agitation and disorder, to every political firebrand, to every speculator in anarchy who until now had been tramping the pavement of the hundred cities of Italy. . . . One would say that the government intended to make Rome the sink of all that is miserable in the rest of Italy."<sup>2</sup>

On the 22d a tumultuous meeting was held in the Coliseum under the guidance of persons of well-known republican opinions for the purpose of choosing a *Giunta*, or municipal council, of forty-two members; but as some of those elected held anti-monarchical principles, General Cadorna set aside the popular vote; he selected eighteen of the persons named, and, taking no notice of the protests of the Republican party, installed the new *Giunta* in the Capitol, which he had previously occupied with a strong force of *bersaglieri*. One of the first acts of the municipality was to take steps for the performance of the usual grotesque farce known as *il plebiscito*, or the vote of the people, by which the Italian Government had sought on previous occasions to justify its annexations. The Holy Father forbade all Catholics to take part in it, as they would thereby have acknowledged that the invaders were entitled to question his sovereign rights. The electoral lists were drawn up after the parochial registers, which were taken forcibly from the clergy; many of the names of the more respectable citizens were omitted and others inserted.<sup>3</sup> To increase the number of electors, as it was well known that the Catholics would not vote, Lanza obliged the railway companies to carry gratuitously to Rome all those who gave themselves out as Roman emigrants and who were provided with certificates furnished by the authorities of the towns where they were domiciled.<sup>4</sup> There descended thus upon Rome from all parts of Italy over 10,000 persons, whose aspect inspired General Cadorna with such mistrust that he thought it prudent to send strong patrols through the city on the nights preceding the vote. The formula presented to the electors, to be accepted or rejected, was: "We desire to be united to the kingdom of Italy, under the rule of King Victor Emmanuel II. and his successors;"<sup>5</sup> and during all the 1st of October tickets bearing the word *Sì* (yes) were distributed in the streets. To dispel all fear of foreign intervention in favor of the Sovereign Pontiff, thousands of copies of a forged letter from the

<sup>1</sup> De Beaufort, p. 364. <sup>2</sup> Roman Correspondence of September 21 in *La Nazione*, September 24. <sup>3</sup> De Beaufort, p. 393. <sup>4</sup> Der Italienische Raubzug, p. 297; Ideville, p. 219. <sup>5</sup> Cadorna, p. 272.

King of Prussia to the Holy Father were sold in the streets, in which His Majesty was made to express his regret that he could not interfere in the Roman question, and to state that he did not doubt that if the King of Italy were under the necessity of entering the Papal territory in order to guard it against the revolutionary party, he would guarantee to His Holiness the free exercise of his spiritual authority.

The election took place on October 2. Urns to receive the tickets had been placed on high platforms at the Capitol and in each *Rione*, or quarter of the city; the commission which distributed electoral cards gave them to all who applied, without asking any questions with regard to birthplace, age or antecedents, so that many voted who could claim no right to do so, and, as the card was not given up on voting, the same person could vote as often and in as many *Rioni* as he pleased.<sup>1</sup> Towards evening the urns were sealed and carried to the Capitol, where the tickets were reckoned, and the total result, which was solemnly proclaimed to the people assembled before the palace, was 40,785 Yes and 46 No.

The absurdity and falsity of this result are rendered still more palpable by the well-known facts that a large number of the Roman nobility remained faithful to Pius IX., that only sixteen of the Pontifical officers entered the Italian army and that the great majority of the persons employed in the government offices gave in their resignation rather than serve the usurper.<sup>2</sup>

Thus ended the struggle which, since so many years, the heterogeneous band of conspirators, monarchical and republican, known as the revolutionary party had carried on against the Sovereign Pontiff by means of fraud, hypocrisy, calumny and violence; it had at last conquered, and the Temporal Power had ceased to exist; but the glorious era of honor and prosperity which it was hoped that the accomplishment of the unity of Italy would inaugurate has not as yet dawned for the Peninsula.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London.

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<sup>1</sup> *Der Italiensche Raubzug*, p. 208. <sup>2</sup> *De Beaffort*, p. 46.

✓ "THE MAKING OF RELIGION."<sup>1</sup>

**N**O sphere of research has more occupied modern investigators than that known as "Origins," i. e., the beginnings of things. What was this planet and the other planets like when their cycles began? From what previous condition of matter did they emerge? What has been the courses of their evolution? When did life start? What was its primal form and what the stages of this first form's multiplications and developments? How account for characteristics which mark off one order of animal life from another, and the life of man from all other kinds of life? What was the earlier condition of mind? By what stages did thought and speech come to their present advanced state? Whence the race-embracing institutions of to-day, political, social, economic, religious? What the history, the manner and the method of their changes and their growth during the unnumbered years since the natal day of human kind? Every one of these subjects and a hundred others has been made the object of years and years of study, men willingly devoting lifetimes to the acquisition of scant information in what, to the untrained mind, may appear as a very limited, if not unimportant, sphere of knowledge. Thence have resulted "specialists" and "specialties," and that which is commonly spoken of as "the scientific spirit" of our day.

The gain which has accrued to human progress from the pursuit of these various lines of inquiry and discovery is simply immense; however, it would be sheer untruth to overlook the fact that egregious blunders also have been perpetrated and perpetuated to the incalculable injury of the best and highest interests of mankind. As in a new mining country thousands of searchers are misled into staking out valueless claims and into marketing them, in good faith, maybe, at fictitious values; so in the domain of science the discovery here and there of unexpected and valuable "finds" (strokes of genius or of accident) by means of which the light of truth itself has been thrown upon hitherto obscure problems, discovery of this kind has led to all sorts of unbalanced theories, surmises and conclusions, until at last even the newly-found truth has been buried in obscurities and uncertainties as great as those from which it had been but recently set free. Fortunately, the mind of man is restless for the truth; and so, despite disappointment and mistake, the search

<sup>1</sup> "The Making of Religion," by Andrew Lang, M. A., LL. D. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

is taken up again and again. Little by little, a grain here and a grain there is garnered, the dross smelted away and the pure metal, viz., the fact in its natural and proper significance, shines forth in pristine beauty, a permanent benefaction to the race. Thus is science finally justified of herself and of her children.

In no field of research has more wonderful and more unexpected and more helpful things rewarded man's study than in the exploration of religion, its sources and its history; and in none, either, has more that turned out a delusion and a mistake marked the pathway of inquiry. Who knows? It may be that the lesson of failure and error was a providential one, whose beneficent effect is yet to be seen in the clearer light which is thence to illumine our views of God, of the soul and of the moral law?

These considerations and others akin are easily suggested by the recent work of Mr. Andrew Lang, the title of which heads this review. His book is a demonstration of certain blunders made by science in reaching dogmatic conclusions on the fundamental problems of religion, and a presentation on his part of certain facts and deductions which science must recognize as equally her own with those upon which she based her conclusions, but which, unfortunately, she neglected to consider in the case at issue, and which, by their nature, demand the reconsideration of the problems which she had declared closed and a reconstruction of her thesis. Mr. Lang says in effect: Good Mistress Science, I feel it a duty to call to your attention a radical blunder into which you have fallen, it strikes me, on a very important matter. You say that by means of your marvelous methods of research and criticism you have come to know in their utter simpleness the original elements of that at present complicated organization yclept religion. Two ideas, you tell us, lie at the foundation of religion, viz., the idea of a soul or spirit which survives after death and the existence of a "God" or "Gods." That these ideas are at the root of religion we can all, I think, agree; but a very respectable number of us will be loath to accept your account of their source. The original elements of these two notions you declare were neither Revelation nor Experience, but—illusions. Your conclusions may be briefly stated in these terms: "Man derived the conception of 'spirit' or 'soul' from his reflections on the phenomena of sleep, dreams, death, shadow and from the experiences of trance and hallucination. Worshiping first the departed souls of his kindred, man later extended the doctrine of spiritual beings in many directions. Ghosts or other spiritual existences fashioned on the same lines prospered until they became gods. Finally, as the result of a variety of processes, one of these gods became supreme, and at last was regarded as the one only God. Meanwhile man re-

tained his belief in the existence of his own soul, surviving after the death of the body, and so reached the conception of immortality. Thus the idea of God and of the soul are the result of early fallacious reasonings about misunderstood experiences."

Now, ma'am, simple and logical and apparently so well-bottomed on facts as your explanation and conclusion may appear, allow me to tell you in all sincerity and upon scientific grounds that neither explanation nor conclusion will hold water. Upon scientific grounds, ma'am, mind you; for nobody accepts more willingly than I do your methods and results; but in the present important instance (and I am free to confess in other instances also) you have been inconsistent with yourself; for while the evidence about religion in its early stages, which you work into your thesis, may be all well and good in one way, there are withal points of view from which you have not steadily contemplated it, and until these aspects of that evidence receive your due attention you have no right nor title, ma'am, on your own principles, to register a categorical and final answer upon the problem of the origin and early development of religion and its fundamental ideas.

The readers of the *Review* will, no doubt, differ with certain of Mr. Lang's positions just as radically and as emphatically as he does with the published results of science in the particular matter dealt with. Notwithstanding this dissent, a knowledge of his book can be of serious use to them, and through them to some of those whom they instruct, yet part of its contents must be accepted simply in the spirit of an *argumentum ad hominem*. Wherefore is the volume given lengthy consideration.

The work naturally falls into two parts: The first has to do with the rejection and, *passim*, correction of the scientific genesis of the idea of "soul" or "spirit;" the second does a like work for the explanations science offers of the concept of "Gods" and "God." In the present paper we will confine ourselves to a study of the former of these subjects, leaving the latter for a second article.

## I.

The foremost writers in the field of anthropology,<sup>1</sup> men like Tylor, Huxley and Herbert Spencer, as well as their followers and popularizers, maintain that "trance," "vision" and "hallucination" along with dreams, shadow, effects and death played an essential part in leading primitive man to conceive of the idea of "spirit." All these writers, however, take it for granted that "trance," "vision" and "hallucination" are more unreal than even dreams. To them the phenomena of clairvoyance, thought-transference, phantasms of the

<sup>1</sup> i. e., "The science of man or mankind;" it includes physiology, sociology, etc.; "nothing human is foreign to it."

dead and of the dying are at best illusions; in most cases, maybe, nothing more than skillfully planned deceptions. Therefore, their theory: Primitive man excogitated the notion of "spirit" or "soul" from fallacious reasonings upon actual experiences, viz., dreams, shadows and death and from superstitious beliefs and practises which had not in them any element of reality outside of the fears or hopes or ignorance of the believers; consequently, that fundamental element of religion, the idea of "soul" or "spirit," in its first analysis, is nothing more than an example of bad logic mixed in with great credulity and not without a seasoning, mayhap, of expert deception; it is an idea that had no basis in reality; what it was it is, a figment of the imagination.

The current scientific explanation of how the idea of "soul" originated being thus clearly set forth, Mr. Lang proceeds to demonstrate in what a thoroughly unscientific way the conclusion has been reached.

First. If the supernormal phenomena—clairvoyance, thought-transference, phantasms of the dead, etc.—be *more* real than dreams, as real as death itself, matters of actual experience, then, the inference drawn from them by savages—viz., that within man was a something separable from the body and possessed of its own activity—this inference has some sort of basis in fact; it is no longer the outcome of an illusion. By way of illustration: Mr. David Leslie, a Scottish sportsman hunting in Zululand, was alarmed about the welfare of a band of elephant hunters in his employ, who did not report to him at the appointed time and place. He sought, and after much persuasion obtained the offices of a Kaffir medicine-man. The latter went through certain ceremonies, ate some "medicine," lapsed into "trance," seemed to awake from it and then began to recount in exact detail what had happened and was happening to the hunting party. "I was told where the survivors were and what they were doing, and that in three months they would come out, but as they would not expect to find me waiting on them there so long after the time appointed, they would not pass that way. I took a particular note of all this information at the time, and to my utter amazement *it turned out correct in every particular*. It was scarcely within the bounds of possibility that this man could have ordinary intelligence of the hunters; they were scattered about in a country two hundred miles away." The easy explanation of such marvels by the savage mind was the deduction that within the medicine-man there was something independent of the body in its activities which went forth from the seer and gathered the information desired. Facts such as this gave them some experimental basis for their belief independent of their experiences of dream, shadow, etc., which

latter phenomena could also be drawn upon to strengthen the *savage* theory.

Were these extraordinary occurrences matters of real experience?

It is "the business of anthropology, the science of man, to examine among other things the evidence of the actual existence of those alleged unusual and supernormal phenomena, belief in which is given as one of the origins of religion." Nevertheless science and scientists have promulgated their findings without such an examination; as matter of fact, "to make this examination in the ethnographic field is almost a new labor. As we shall see, anthropologists have not hitherto investigated such things as the 'Fire-walk' of savages, uninjured in the flames, like the Three Holy Children. The world-wide savage practice of divining by hallucinations induced through gazing into a smooth deep (crystal-gazing) has been studied, I think, by no anthropologist. The veracity of 'messages' uttered by savage seers when (as they suppose) 'possessed' or 'inspired' has not been criticised and probably cannot be for lack of detailed information. The 'psychical phenomena' which answer among savages to the use of the 'divining rod' and to 'spiritist' marvels in modern times have only been glanced at. In short, all the savage parallels to the so-called 'psychical phenomena' now under discussion in England, America, Germany, Italy and France have escaped critical analysis and comparison with their civilized counterparts."

What scientists of the materialistic schools have neglected, Mr. Lang, representing the new scientific movement in the sphere of physical research, undertakes in modest measure to supply. His position, he acknowledges, can be argued only by dint of evidence highly unpopular in character among scientists and as a general rule condemned by them. Notwithstanding this fact, the evidence itself is obtained by what is a legitimate proceeding in that sphere of science to which the subject belongs—anthropology. The author follows the methods of such anthropologists as Tylor, whose work, "Primitive Culture" (London, 1891) is an admitted authority. He collects the beliefs of savages about "visions," "hallucinations," "clairvoyance" and the acquisition of knowledge through other than the normal channels of cause, and proceeds to compare these savage beliefs with attested records of similar *experiences* among living and educated men. He then outlines what he considers the legitimate scientific course in passing judgment upon them. It will not do, he maintains, to slight the task because of prejudice, nor to assume that terms like "falsity," "mistake" and "illusion" sufficiently characterize and explain phenomena of universal and perennial occurrence. Moreover,

it is the duty of science, to his mind, to separate the actual experiences from the explanations offered of them; however absurd the latter, the former are not thereby discredited. "Say, for the sake of argument, that a person, savage or civilized, obtains in trance information about distant places of events, to him unknown and, through channels of sense, unknowable. The savage will explain this by saying that the seer's soul, shadow or spirit wandered out of the body to the distant scene. This is at present<sup>1</sup> an unverified theory. But still, for the sake of argument, suppose that the seer did honestly obtain this information in trance, lethargy or hypnotic sleep or any other condition. If so, the savage would have other grounds for his theory of the wandering soul than any ground presented by normal occurrences, ordinary dreams, shadows and so forth. A scientific reasoner might be expected to ask: 'Is this alleged acquisition of knowledge, not through the ordinary channels of sense, a thing *in rerum natura*?' Because if it is, we must obviously increase our list of the savage's reasons for believing in a soul; we must make his reasons include 'psychical' experiences, and there must be an  $x^2$  region to investigate." "The real question is: Do such events occur among lower or higher races, beyond explanation by fraud and fortuitous coincidence? If so, the savage philosophy and its supposed survivals in belief will appear in a new light. And we are inclined to hold that an examination of the mass of evidence to which Mr. Tylor offers here so slight an allusion will at least make it wise to suspend our judgment, not only as to the origins of the savage theory of spirits, but as to the materialistic hypothesis of the absence of psychical element in man. . . .

"It may appear absurd to surmise that there can exist in man, savage or civilized, a faculty for acquiring information not accessible by the known channels of sense, a faculty attributed by savage philosophers to the wandering soul. But one may be permitted to quote the opinion of M. Charles Richet, professor of physiology in the Faculty of Medicine in Paris. It is not cited because M. Richet is a professor of physiology, but because he reached his conclusions after six years of minute experiment. He says: 'There exists in certain persons, at certain moments, a faculty of acquiring knowledge which has no rapport with our normal faculties of that kind.'"

Mr. Lang embodies his method, or, more correctly, his thesis, in a happy illustration, which, enriched as it is by incisive comment, readers we are sure will appreciate: "The Northern Indians call the Aurora Borealis 'Edthin,' that is, 'Deer.' Their ideas in this respect are founded on a principle one would not imagine. Expe-

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<sup>1</sup> i. e., to Mr. Lang's mind. <sup>2</sup> X, the algebraic sign meaning "unknown."



rience has shown them that when a hairy deer-skin is briskly stroked with the hand on a dark night, it will emit sparks of electrical fire. So says Hearne in his 'Journey,' published in 1795 (p. 346).

"This observation of the Red Men is a kind of parable representing a part of the purport of the following treatise. The Indians, making a hasty inference from a trivial phenomenon, arrived un-awares at a probably correct conclusion, long unknown to civilized science. They connected the Aurora Borealis with electricity, supposing that multitudes of deer in the sky rubbed the sparks out of each other! . . .

"Now, my purpose in the earlier part of this essay is to suggest that certain phenomena of human nature, apparently as trivial as the sparks rubbed out of a deer's hide in a dark night, may indicate and may be allied to a force or forces, which, like the Aurora Borealis, may shine from one end of the heavens to the other, strangely illuminating the darkness of our destiny. Such phenomena science has ignored, as it so long ignored the sparks from the stroked deer-skin and the attractive power of rubbed amber. These trivial things were not known to be allied to the lightning or to indicate a force which man could tame and use. But just as the Indians, by a rapid careless inference, attributed the Aurora Borealis to electric influences, so (as anthropology assures us) savages everywhere have inferred the existence of soul or spirit, intelligence that

" 'Does not know the bond of Time,  
Nor wear the manacles of Space,'

in part from certain apparently trivial phenomena of human faculty.

"My suggestion is that, in spite of his fantasies, the savage had possibly drawn from his premises an inference not wholly or not demonstrably erroneous. As the sparks of the deer-skin indicated electricity, so the strange lights in the night of human nature may indicate faculties which science, till of late and in a few instances, has laughed at, ignored, 'thrown aside as worthless.'

"It should be observed that I am not speaking of 'spiritualism,' a word of the worst associations, inextricably entangled with fraud, bad logic and the blindest incredulity. Some of the phenomena alluded to have, however, been claimed as their own province by 'spiritualists,' and need to be rescued from them. Mr. Tylor writes: 'The issue raised by the comparison of savage, barbaric and civilized spiritualism is this: Do the Red Indian medicine-man, the Tartar necromancer, the Highland ghost-seer and the Boston medium share the possession of belief and knowledge of the highest truth and import, which, nevertheless, the great intellectual movement of the last two centuries has simply thrown aside as worthless?' Distinguo! That does not seem to me to be the issue. In

my opinion the issue is: 'Have the Red Indian, the Tartar, the Highland seer and the Boston medium (the least reputable of the menagerie) observed, and reasoned wildly from, and counterfeited and darkened with imposture certain genuine by-products of human faculty which do not *prima facie* deserve to be thrown aside?' That, I venture to think, is the real issue."

For many, no doubt, those chapters of Mr. Lang's book, in which he presents sifted evidence in favor of the reality of various supernatural experiences, savage and civilized, will be of greatest interest. "Second-sight," "crystal-gazing," "divining," "spiritualism," "haunted houses," et cetera, are illustrated by cases which certainly startle and also convince the candid reader that investigation in this weird field has made progress all-sufficient to justify the author's contention that the other sciences should no longer treat psychical research as the Cinderella of the scientific family, leaving her "to murmur of her fairies among the cinders of the hearth, while they go forth to the ball and dance with provincial mayors at the festivities of the British Association!" The chapter also on "Demoniacal Possession" might not be altogether wanting in utility to those who have followed or taken part in recent controversy anent the reality of that condition. The thoughtful reader, therefore, who turns to the book and works his way through it leisurely has many an instructive hour before him; although, as already noted—and it is still to be repeated—the absolute correctness of Mr. Lang's position, much as one may also disagree with the materialistic phase of science he contends against, may be neither so evident nor so absolute as the author himself esteems it. In one matter, however, he is beyond cavil. At the outset of this paper it was remarked that much as science has added to the sum total of knowledge, science also has perpetrated radical blunders. This very evident truth the author is not content to let go with the mere saying; he dwells upon it in the course of a long chapter which he describes as "a historical sketch of the relations between science and the so-called 'miraculous' in the past." Rich in quaint information and logical remark as this entire chapter is, there are two points touched upon of special interest to Catholics, and to these the last part of the present article will be confined.

The first of the two subjects referred to is the far-reaching fact that very little *can* be known about the primitive savages, in whose mental operations science seeks to find the original elements of the idea of "spirit:" "The savages who *ex hypothesi* evolved the doctrine of souls lie beyond our ken, far behind the modern savages, among whom we find belief not only in souls and ghosts, but in moral gods. About the psychical condition of the savages who

worked out the theory of souls and founded religion, we necessarily know nothing. If there be such experiences as clairvoyance, telepathy, and so on, these unknown ancestors of ours may (for all that we can tell) have been peculiarly open to them, and therefore peculiarly apt to believe in separable souls. In fact, when we write about these far-off founders of religion, we guess in the dark or by the flickering light of analogy. The lower animals have faculties (as in their power of finding their way home through new unknown regions and in the ants' modes of acquiring and communicating knowledge to each other) which are mysteries to us. The terror of dogs in 'haunted houses' and of horses in passing 'haunted' scenes has often been reported, and is alluded to briefly by Mr. Tylor. Balaam's ass and the dogs which crouched and whined before Athene, whom Eumæus could not see, are 'classical' instances.

"The weakness of the anthropological argument here is, we must repeat, that we know little more about the mental condition and experiences of the early thinkers who developed the doctrine of souls than we know about the mental condition and experiences of the lower animals. And the more firmly a philosopher believes in the Darwinian hypothesis, the less, he must admit, can he suppose himself to know about the twilight ages between the lower animal and the fully evolved man. What kind of a creature was man when he first conceived the germs or received the light of religion? All is guess work here!"<sup>1</sup> The import of this fact is far-reaching and fundamental for the whole domain of science; especially when we remember that science views askance all theory or deduction not based on actual experimentation or tested historical evidence!

The other subject treated in this second chapter, to which we consider it well to direct attention, is the effective way in which the philosophy of Hume (who brushed aside any pretended miraculous event as, *ipso facto*, unworthy of credence) is done for: "Hume derided the observation and study of what he called 'Miracles' in the field of experience, and he looked for an *a priori* argument which would forever settle the question without examination of facts. In an age of experimental philosophy, which derided *a priori* methods, this was Hume's great contribution to knowledge. His famous argument, the joy of many an honest breast, is a tissue of fallacies which might be given for exposure to beginners in logic as an elementary exercise. In announcing his discovery, Hume amusingly displays the self-complacency and the want of humor with which we Scots are commonly charged by our critics:

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<sup>1</sup> i. e., of course as far as Anthropology is concerned.

"I flatter myself that I have discovered an argument which, if just, will, with the wise and learned, be an everlasting check to all kinds of superstitious delusions, and consequently will be useful as long as the world endures.' "

After remarking on one of this philosopher's many contradictions, Mr. Lang continues: "Thus Hume first denies the existence of such evidence, given in such circumstances as he demands, and then he produces an example of that very kind of evidence. Having done this, he abandons (as Mr. Wallace observes) his original assertion that the evidence does not exist, and takes refuge in alleging 'the absolute impossibility' of the events which the evidence supports. Thus Hume poses as a perfect judge of the possible in a kind of omniscience. He takes his stand on the uniformity of all experience that is not hostile to his idea of the possible, and dismisses all testimony to other experience, even when it reaches his standard of evidence." "It is wisdom, according to Hume, to dismiss the most public and well-attested 'miracles' without examination."

Oddly enough, nevertheless, the day dawned when science seemed to have discovered a "natural" explanation of phenomena which previously had been esteemed miraculous! What happened then? "A parallel case of a 'miracle,' the stigmata of St. Francis was, of course, regarded by science as a fable or a fraud. But now that blisters and other lesions can be produced by suggestion, the fable has become a probable fact and, therefore, not a miracle at all. Mr. James remarks: 'As so often happens, a fact is denied till a welcome interpretation comes with it. Then it is admitted readily enough, and evidence quite insufficient to back a claim, so long as the Church had an interest in it, proves to be quite sufficient for modern scientific enlightenment the moment that it appears that a reputed saint can thereby be claimed as a case of 'hystero-epilepsy.'

"But the Church continues to have an interest in the matter. As the class of facts which Hume declined to examine begins to be gradually admitted by science, the thing becomes clear. The evidence which could safely convey these now admittedly possible facts, say from the time of Christ, is so far proved to be not necessarily mythical, proved to be not incapable of carrying statements probably correct which once seemed absolutely false. If so, where, precisely, ends its power of carrying facts? Thus considered, the kinds of marvelous events recorded in the Gospels, for example, are no longer to be dismissed on *a priori* grounds as 'mythical.' We cannot now discard evidence as necessarily false because it clashes with our present ideas of the possible, when we have to acknowledge that the very same evidence may safely convey to us facts which

clashed with our fathers' notions of what is possible, but which are now accepted. Our notions of the possible cease to be a criterion of truth or falsehood, and our contempt for the Gospels as myths must slowly die, as 'miracle' after 'miracle' is brought within the realm of acknowledged law. With each such admission the hypothesis that the Gospel evidence is mythical must grow weaker, and weaker must grow the negative certainty of popular science.

"Examples of the folly of *a priori* negation are common. The British Association refused to hear the essay which Braid, the inventor of the word 'hypnotism,' had written upon the subject. Braid, Elliotson and other English inquirers of the mid-century, were subjected to such persecutions as official science could inflict. We read of M. Deslon, a disciple of Mesmer, about 1783, that he was 'condemned by the Faculty of Medicine, without any examination of the facts.' The Inquisition proceeded more fairly than these scientific obscurantists."

The author's conclusion is clear-cut and striking: "This brief sketch shows that science is confronted by certain facts, which in his time Hume dismissed as incredible miracles, beneath the contempt of the wise and learned! The scientific world laughed not so long ago at Ogham inscriptions, meteorites, and at palæolithic weapons as impostures or freaks of nature. Now nobody has any doubt on these matters, and clairvoyance, thought-transference and telepathy may, not inconceivably, be as fortunate in the long run as meteorites or as the more usual phenomena of hypnotism.

"It is only Lord Kevlin who now maintains, or lately maintained, that in hypnotism there is nothing at all but fraud and malobservation. In years to come it may be that only some similar belated voice will cry out that in thought-transference there is nothing but malobservation and fraud. At present the serious attention and careful experiment needed for the establishment of the facts are more common among French than among English men of science. When published these experiments, if they contain any affirmative instances, are denounced as 'superstitious' or criticized after what we must charitably deem to be a very hasty glance by the guides of popular opinion."

In presence of the facts collected by Mr. Lang and of his very logical remarks, we think it permissible to venture a suggestion: since those who are supposed to know somewhat of Science and serve her faithfully find reason ever and anon and on scientific grounds for reforming certain of her dogmas, it may be advisable for those who wait outside the magic circle of her adepts to hold their own judgments in patient reserve: not too easily accept her every dictum as absolute truth, especially pronunciamientos that are

supposed to shake the foundations of man's fondest hopes and beliefs. When the necessary conditions of reliable scientific work, viz., experimentation and tried historical evidence, have been fulfilled, then accept the words of Science with the degree of certainty the nature of her subject-matter in each instance demands; but when here and there through the upbuilding of a demonstration you find a stratum of surmise, a cluster of possibilities, or a bold attempt at a guess, measure your acceptance of her results by corresponding restrictions. Josh Billings' homely admonition applies here as elsewhere: "Better not to know so many things than to know so many things that ain't so." See how much in the present instance Science has claimed to have established finally and dogmatically; step by step she could describe for you man's first mental processes and their mistaken results; nothing of importance was beyond her ken! Science could overlook or dismiss with a shrug of the shoulders "spiritual" phenomena of world-wide and time-long existence, and yet tell you all about the origin of the idea of "spirit?" Besides, it is ever to be borne in mind that we have not the least assured ground for believing the laws of exact science to be the only laws at work in the world: "Science, however exact, does not pretend to have discovered all laws." Withal Science goes right ahead as if this unassur-  
ance were assurance doubly sure; and woe betide him who dares think or say otherwise: at once he is branded as behind his day, an idiosyncrasy in the path of Progress. No wonder, then, that Mr. Lang appeals again and again for the open hearing, which, notwithstanding his strong premises (even from a scientific standpoint) and the candor of his convictions, he evidently has small hope of obtaining. In this, too, there is a Nemesis; for Mr. Lang himself rests all too easily in the belief that if research should by some chance do away with the actualness of the experiences which he makes the core of his argument, then, indeed, the idea of "spirit" must resolve itself into a figment of the imagination; as if the unreality of telepathy, clairvoyance, etc., should they prove unreal, would be equivalent to or necessitate the non-existence of soul! Fundamentally weak as this position may be in the present state of our ignoscience in regard to these phenomena, it possesses serious importance and within proper restriction has its effectiveness as a corrective of the current materialistic drift of scientific work; wherefore has it been thought worth while to deal with it at such length.

JOSEPH V. TRACY.

## THE LATEST OUTBURST OF BIGOTRY.

FACING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. OUR COUNTRY: ITS POWER AND PERIL.

By James M. King, General Secretary National League for the Protection of American Institutions. New York: 1899.

**T**HE religious bigot, like the troublesome small boy, has the disagreeable knack of making his presence felt just at the most inopportune times. There certainly never has been a time, since the United States became a nation, when we were less disposed or less prepared to raise sectarian issues than in this present hour, when we find ourselves confronted with so many serious and delicate problems, which we can hope to solve only through the calm judgment of a united people. We are not apprised that the "National League," of which Mr. King is "General Secretary," distinguished itself to any appreciable extent by "protecting American institutions" on the field of battle, and although this writer delights in statistics, he nowhere informs us how many of his consociates are to be found among our brave soldiers and sailors. The genuine and the mock patriotism, the patriotism which fights and bleeds and the patriotism which confines itself to idle vaporings and to malignant attacks upon loyal fellow-citizens, are not wont to dwell in the same tent. One consoling result of our Civil War was that it gave the vast bulk of our countrymen their first opportunity for beholding the Catholic Church as she really is, and emancipated them from the tyranny of Protestant prejudice, at least in its grosser forms. Up to that time, owing to the narrowness and provincialism of our national life, the No-Popery howlers had a clear field, and their vile calumnies and wild denunciations fell on fertile soil. In those halcyon days of bigotry it required but little effort to rouse the fanaticism of the mob. But in proportion as the mental horizon of the population has expanded, Protestantism, which is essentially a religion of negation and hatred, has lost its hold on the nation, and the task of the professional anti-Catholic agitator has ceased to be an easy one.

There is something supremely humorous, and all the more humorous because the author has himself no developed sense of humor, in Mr. King's reiterated lamentation that our statesmen, the public press and the people at large cannot be made to see that which he beholds so clearly with his jaundiced eye, namely, that the very existence of our country is imperiled by the "claims of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism." But in view of the fact that these claims are unknown even to the Pope and have no existence outside the

warped imagination of Mr. King and his fellow Leaguers, we cannot be surprised at the apathy and nonchalance of those whose office it is to watch over our liberties. Besides, it has grown into an axiom in American public life that religious bigotry and suicide are convertible terms; and since a propensity to self-slaughter is a weakness from which our aspirants to popular favor are notoriously exempt, we wish that every one of them would read our author's narrative of the dismal fate which has overtaken all those who have sought to rise in politics or business by attacking or slandering the religious principles of their fellow-citizens. As for assaults upon the Catholic faith, he proves to demonstration that our Catholic people stand ready to resent the slightest slur cast upon their religion. Indeed, one of the interesting passages in a very stupid book is his account of the famous "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" episode in the Presidential campaign of 1884, in which it seems he was a prominent actor. We agree with him that the incident is "pregnant with instruction," and only regret that he has derived so little benefit from that which has served the country generally as a solemn lesson. We shall let him tell the story in his own words.

"On the morning of October 29, 1884, about a thousand clergymen of New York and vicinity assembled at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in the city of New York to meet James G. Blaine, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. When the list of names of those present is perused it must be admitted that they were not only representative, but that an overwhelming majority of the Protestant ministers of the great centre of population were present. They had been invited by a printed, unsigned card sent out by a clergyman, Rev. Dr. McMurdy, who was serving the Republican National Committee in some capacity. Two or three days previous to the meeting, Dr. Spear and Dr. Armitage requested the writer to prepare some resolutions to be presented to the meeting for its action. He did as they requested. When the clergymen were assembled in the parlors of the hotel, Rev. Dr. S. D. Burchard, being the pastor of the longest consecutive service in the city, was chosen chairman, and Rev. Dr. MacArthur was chosen secretary. The resolutions which had been prepared were presented and their author moved their adoption. They were seconded in a speech made by Dr. Spear and then adopted. The writer, known to be well acquainted with Mr. Blaine, was appointed to wait upon him in his rooms and request his presence, which he did, presenting him to the chairman and to the assembled ministers. Then Dr. Burchard made the address to Mr. Blaine in which he used the phrase 'Rum, Romanism and Rebellion.' Short addresses were made by Dr. Spear of the



*Independent*; Dr. MacArthur, of Calvary Baptist Church; Rabbi Browne, of the Temple Gates of Hope; Dr. Roberts, of the Congregational Church; Rev. S. B. Halliday, of Plymouth Church, and Mr. Lawrence, of the Friends. Then Mr. Blaine made his address, which in intellectual grasp was perhaps the most remarkable of all his scores of speeches delivered during the campaign. After Dr. Burchard had made his speech and two or three other brief addresses had been made, Mr. Blaine turned to the writer and said: "That 'Rum, Romanism and Rebellion' remark of Dr. Burchard is exceedingly unfortunate. I wish you would see Mr. — (who was editor of a prominent New York daily) and with him get the press reporters to suppress the remark." The following Sunday circulars giving the famous phrase and appealing to sectarian prejudice and hate were extensively distributed at the doors of Roman Catholic churches, and as a result it is claimed that the solid Roman Catholic vote was massed against Blaine. If this is true, then a vote that could be thus, and for that reason, suddenly and without opportunity for argument, alienated from one candidate and massed for another is a peril to the Republic."

To begin where the author ends, we wish to point out that this concluding sentence gives in a nutshell the idea foolishly entertained by Mr. King and his associates regarding the constitution of "Romanism" as a "politico-ecclesiastical" body. So far as I have been able to penetrate into the inner thought of a writer who is utterly impervious to logic and whose bulky volume is full of mutually destructive statements, the fundamental fallacy which disturbs their repose is this: "Romanism," it seems, is a vast organization recruited from and perpetuated by the dregs of the population throughout Christendom, marshalled like cattle by officers called priests and bishops, who are themselves the blind, unscrupulous tools of a "foreign potentate," the infallible Pope of Rome, the autocratic and irresponsible dictator of thought and action to the entire body. Easy-going Americans have made the mistake of assuming that the Catholic Church is a religion, solicitous for the amelioration of mankind and the salvation of souls. Nothing could be wider of the mark. It is simply "a system which, wearing a triple crown of tyranny, enforces disgusting arrogance, blasphemous claims, refined perfidy, compelled ignorance and assassinated individuality." (p. 205). The aforesaid Americans are all the more inexcusable because they might have read the Papal claims set forth at considerable length by the venomous apostate Von Schulte, who certainly is, in the estimation of Mr. King, an all-sufficient and thoroughly reliable witness. His exposition of Popery can be found on page 188 *et seq.*, and is of a nature to make every patriot tremble for his coun-

try. We shall not inflict it on our readers, for, in the language of Dean Swift, it merely

" Revives the libels born to die,  
Which *Pope* must bear as well as I."

But it suits our reverend maligner's purpose to concede to the apostate that same measure of infallibility which his soul revolts against in the Bishop of Rome. Do not produce any Roman doctors in rebuttal. "Such men as Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Keane and Archbishop Ireland are permitted to give vent to liberal, patriotic and tolerant utterances for consumption by the easily deceived among Americans; but they are not speaking by authority, but schooling the public mind for new encroachments, and they are easily halted when they give too loose rein to their tongues or pens." In other words, the only trustworthy witnesses to the true character of Catholicism are its sworn enemies, mainly degraded ex-priests and narrow bigots of the "National League." To endeavor to hold a serious argument with such a man would, of course, argue a folly equal to his own. All that can be done is to expose the insipidity and childishness of his utterances for the benefit of those who lack the time or the patience to follow him through seven hundred mortal pages of monotonous abuse. His treatment of the Blaine incident is a fair specimen of his general mode of procedure.

He undertakes to draw two conclusions from the story, not having wit enough to perceive that they mutually destroy each other. First he represents the "solid Roman Catholic vote" as "massed against Blaine," and proceeds to rant upon the "peril to the Republic" therein implied. A page or two later he tells us that the vote in New York State was already so close that "a change of six hundred votes would have changed the results of the entire national election," and he mentions several incidents during the campaign which operated to the disadvantage of the Republican candidate. His hatred of the Catholics is so insane that he does not wish them to enjoy even the poor credit of having determined the election as a rebuke to Burchard for his impertinent speech and to Blaine for his cowardly silence. The truth is that many Catholics did change their vote in consequence of the incident, but not the "solid" mass, otherwise Mr. Cleveland's plurality would have run into the thousands, instead of being twelve hundred. But those who changed did so spontaneously, without the shadow of ecclesiastical dictation. It is a well-known fact that a large number of the Catholic clergy of New York State were strongly in favor of Blaine, and voted for him notwithstanding Burchard's "unfortunate remark." Naturally, a professional man makes up and changes his mind much more slowly

than the common people. Mr. Blaine, after all, had done or said nothing wrong, and a few days later gave utterance to noble sentiments which would have anchored him in popular favor had he spoken them in the presence of that reverend mob of schemers. The Catholic laity are fully as sensitive as their priests, and quicker to resent any slur upon their religion. I remember speaking about the affair some time after the election to a prominent priest of that State, and was amused to hear him say: "Unfortunately, the thing was sprung so late in the day that *we* had no time to counteract it."

The Catholic people are not in the habit of consulting their clergy as to how they shall vote, nor are they edified when any of their priests take an active share in politics. Does Mr. King know of any instance where a Catholic priest has been found imitating his friend, "Rev. Dr. McMurdy, who was serving the Republican National Committee in some capacity?" Who ever heard of priests assembling in a hotel to meet a candidate for the Presidency? On the famous Sunday of the circular one might have attended every Catholic service in the land and gone away ignorant of the fact that a heated Presidential campaign was closing that week, unless perchance some pastor should have exhorted his flock to avoid election brawls and not to sell his vote. But whilst the Catholic clergy were about their Father's business, preaching the Word of God, the Protestant churches, with few exceptions, resounded with political harangues. Does Mr. King imagine that the American people are too dull to draw their own inferences?

The main inference which the American people have drawn from the Blaine episode and from many a similar experience is that their preachers are extremely poor political advisers, and it is exhilarating to read our author's account of the growing opposition which he and his fellow-bigots encounter in their efforts to have anti-Catholic planks inserted in the platforms of the National Conventions. Their influence was supreme in 1876, in the good old days of fraudulent Hayes and Tom Nast, when the corrupt party in power endeavored to stem the rising flood of popular indignation by injecting Protestant prejudice into the campaign. It was the gambler's last throw, and the Republicans spared no effort to expel every decent Catholic out of their ranks. In this they succeeded pretty well. But they did not succeed in building up a party of anti-Catholics. Religion sits too lightly on the shoulders of our countrymen to remain a rallying cry for any length of time. The American people have no personal quarrel with "Romanism." It is a matter of total indifference to the majority of voters whether the Lord instituted two sacraments or seven. Even among the preachers the only way to keep up that hatred of Popery which is essential to

Protestantism is to continue importing ranters from Belfast and Toronto. The work of the Catholic Church is so public and so conspicuously beneficent that the American people are not compelled to borrow Mr. King's spectacles in order to study it. The Republican leaders soon came to a realizing sense of the stupidity of allowing fanatics to dictate their policy and to utilize their organization for the dissemination of sectarian literature. In order to make amends for their temporary insanity and to coax back to their ranks those whom they had alienated, they boldly placed a distinguished Catholic at the head of the National Committee and paid scant courtesy to the "National League." This infamous libel of King's would no doubt have appeared in 1876 under the patronage of the Republican party as a companion to the wretched screed, "Vaticanism in Germany and the United States," which was published as a "political pamphlet" by the "Union Republican Congressional Executive Committee" in Washington. But we venture the prophecy that that egregious blunder will not be repeated in the coming Presidential campaign.

The Catholics of this country are asking no favors from any political party or candidate, but they do insist most emphatically that their religious instincts and principles be respected. We cannot read without a smile the author's dolorous narrative of the solemn snub administered to his fanatics by both parties in their last two National Conventions. We have no apprehension that next year's conventions will be any more favorable to the lost cause of religious intolerance. Nor do we regret in the least the efforts made by the "National League" and kindred organizations to commit the political parties to declarations insulting to Catholics; for, as he sorrowfully admits, the outcome was a frank pronouncement by both parties in favor of religious liberty. The Republicans, disciplined by a dearly bought experience, made, in 1892, the following noble declaration of principles, which we can all heartily endorse:

"The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instruments which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State."

Not to be outdone by their rivals, the Democrats delivered themselves as follows:

"Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free public schools are the nursery of good

government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government."

The Catholics of America owe a deep debt of gratitude to the A. P. A. and to the "National League" for having been the indirect cause of the issuance of these two noble deliverances, which might have been drawn up and subscribed to by the Bishops in Council. The bigots had gone to the conventions clamoring for stones, and instead they got wholesome bread. It is one of Mr. King's hallucinations that anti-Catholics enjoy the exclusive privilege of endeavoring to exert an influence on political parties; that a Catholic prelate who should raise his voice in opposition to the intrigues and lobbyings of our sworn enemies would be guilty of a most heinous crime. Now we can assure him that religion will disappear out of politics, as an annoying sectarian issue, just as soon as he and his friends retire from business; but not one moment sooner. He has not to deal with emigrants from Europe, like his predecessors of a generation ago; the majority of American Catholics at the present day are native born, and trained to fighting bigotry with American weapons from their childhood. We neither overestimate the power of organizations like his, nor do we underestimate their baneful influence upon women and innocent country people whom modern civilization has not yet reached, but who remind us of the *pagani* of the ancient Roman world who were so late in learning the *Good News* announced by the messengers of Christianity.

Many Catholics in times past have sought to curry favor with non-Catholics by becoming renegades to the religion of their fathers. Now, if we could believe Mr. King's statements, the wind has completely veered around. Let the weak-kneed amongst us ponder the following words of the General Secretary:

"About ten millions is the outside rational limit claim for the numbers of Roman Catholics in our population of over seventy millions, yet under the general government and under local governments where they control the balance of power at the polls, they hold a number of offices more nearly representative of the ratio due to sixty millions than to ten millions" (p. 311).

Think of it! Out of seven office-holders caught up at random,

six are likely to be Catholics. Convince our office-loving countrymen that this is the case and you will witness a stampede towards Romanism unparalleled since the conversion of Constantine. But, unfortunately, this is merely another mare's-nest with no existence outside of Mr. King's disordered brain. A fair proportion of the brawny sons of Catholic Erin may, indeed, be seen among the police and in other subordinate positions; but when there is question of high and remunerative offices, the Catholics are conspicuous for their absence. Our author affords us an instructive illustration on page 303, where he informs us that whilst "the Catholic Cadets" at West Point are "few in number"—about ten per cent. of the entire corps—yet "the Catholics outnumber the Protestants among the *enlisted men*." We regret to say, therefore, that the day has not yet arrived when any one can follow the Lord into the Catholic communion with any reasonable expectation of an increased supply of political loaves and fishes. And this is all we care to say at present regarding Mr. King's insipid effusion.

J. F. LOUGHLIN, D.D.

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- FRA GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA; a Biographical Study based on Contemporary Documents. By Herbert Lucas, of the Society of Jesus. 8vo, pp. xxii., 474. London: Sands & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder.
- THE TRAGEDY OF CALVARY. By the Abbe Henry Bolo. 12mo. pp. 287. New York: Benziger Brothers.
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- SONGS OF THE SETTLEMENT AND OTHER POEMS. By Thomas O. Hagan. 12mo., pp. 70. Toronto: William Briggs.
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## **SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE.**

### SCIENCE GETTING BACK TO FIRST PRINCIPLES.

Evidences of a natural law ruling both scientific and metaphysical discussion is not difficult to find by any one in search of the phenomena of mental inquiry. The general tendency seems to be, that as new theories arise and exercise the intellectual world for a little while, failure to establish them by demonstrable proof generally results in a reaction toward older beliefs, to antagonize which the new ones had been started. When the new school of materialistic philosophy was begun it was the belief of many scientific men, very confidently stated, that we were getting down very close to the origin of things, and that it was only a matter of a very brief time ere science would be able to lay bare the most hidden secrets of nature and life, and with these, as a natural consequence, of mind and spirit and the duality of human nature. To follow the clue of life, from its highest expression in mankind, step by step down to the lowest in the protoplasm, was conceived to be the sure if not the very facile path of the seeker after light. Allowing for differences in bulk and structure, the laws prevailing throughout all organic life had only to be studied on the theory of some simple universal underlying principle, in order to establish the proof of a material reason for all the phenomena of life, and shatter the ancient superstition of a Divine plan in all creation. Huxley thought he was getting at the root of the mystery when he struck on the substance called protoplasm. Here was a thing which, formed from the simplest elements, seemed to afford a basis for all the complex developments of the higher forms—a thing that, by its relation to albumin, might be produced in the chemical laboratory. But this wonderful discovery has been blown to pieces by the researches of Professor Conn, of the Wesleyan University. This scientist has analyzed protoplasm, and has found it to be a very complex compound, containing fibres, liquids and granules, possessing a quasi-organism and performing its own particular part in nature's economy by means of delicately adjusted mechanism. No human power is capable of producing this bit of rudimentary life, which in its extreme simplicity, as it appeared to Professor Huxley, seemed to offer a beginning for the whole phenomena of animated nature.

Professor Conn publishes a diagram of the species of protoplasm he has selected for analysis, and this shows that it is a semi-organic creation, provided with automatic-working apparatus for the fulfil-

ment of its functions, whatever these may be. What the real character of this substance proves to Professor Conn is the utter inability of science to account for the principle of vitality in even the very lowermost scale of creation. It is equally plain, he concludes, that science, with all the chemical forces the world can command, can no longer be looked upon as capable of producing a bit of living matter. To this it may be added that it is not even able to produce of its own motion even the smallest particle of inanimate matter. It may produce a change in material form and even constituents, in many kinds of inanimate matter, but change is not creation. Science is incapable of causing the existence of the minutest atom that floats in space, and its efforts at solving how this was done in the beginning seem destined to be equally futile.

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#### THE ASTRONOMICAL ATTRACTION OF THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

To the world of science the chief value of the forthcoming exhibition on the banks of the Seine must be its possibilities in astronomical research. These ought to be great, if all the preparations now being made for stellar exploration work out to their mathematical conclusion. Nothing so daring, in regard to dimensions of lens or focal distance had ever before been attempted. The largest apparatus at present in use is the telescope at Yerkes Observatory, and the object-glass of the Paris structure will be nearly one-third as large again as that of this famous instrument, while its focal distance will be more than three times as great. In the Yerkes structure, to be more specific, the object-glass measures 3 feet 3 inches in diameter, and the focal distance is 65 feet; while in the Paris one the diameter of the object-glass is 4 feet 1 inch, and the focal distance provided will be 195 feet. The instrument is the production of M. P. Gautier, after the plans of M. F. Delonde. Owing to the difficulty of having a dome sufficiently large for its proper movement, it is to be fixed on the plan of Foucault's siderostat—that is to say, the telescope tube will be horizontally north and south, and the face of the firmament, reflected on a mirror or siderostat, will be projected on a screen in front. This mirror will have a diameter of 6 feet 6 inches. The siderostat promises to be the triumph of dioptric construction. It is a glass cylinder 2 metres in diameter, 27 centimetres (14.6 inches) thick and weighing 3,600 kilograms (7,920 pounds). It is set in a frame of barrel weighing



3,100 kilograms (6,820 pounds) and is kept in balance by a system of weights and counterpoises. All this is fixed in a mounting whose weight is 15,000 kilograms (16 tons). The base of this mounting floats in a vessel of mercury that supports nine-tenths of this weight. Thus the clockwork that runs the apparatus has to move only a mass of 1,500 kilograms. The object-glasses intended for visual observations and for photographic work are mounted together on the same car, which moves on rails in such a manner that either can be easily fitted to the end of the telescope that is nearest to the siderostat. The flint-glass as well as the crown-glass sections can be separated to allow of the removal of dust. M. Barre, the chief of the French National Observatory, has described the instrument in *Nature*, but he is conservative in his opinions as to the probable results to be obtained from it. Yet, even allowing for possible drawbacks at the beginning, these can hardly fail to be of enormous value to astronomical science.

## PAPER AS AN HISTORICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTOR

Sufficient attention is not generally paid to the importance of paper as an agency in civilization. Within the memory of living men the utilization of this agency has increased so enormously as to defy all attempts at computation. With the improvements in printing machinery, enabling millions of copies to be thrown off where formerly there could only be thousands, and the spread of the printing press all over the known world, the demand for paper has grown in incalculable ratio. One serious effect of this increased demand is the deterioration in quality of the materials used for the manufacture of the article. The paper made from straw and wood pulp becomes so brittle after a little use as to melt away after a very brief time. There are other compounds, including a sort of clay, which enter into the composition of paper to make the product more perishable still. So grave has the question of the durability of paper become that the Holy Father has entrusted the question of the material of historical documents to a committee of experts at the Vatican. Public documents are presently being printed in many countries on paper which must certainly perish before many years are over. It was gravely stated not very long ago that the State archives in Washington are printed on such material that not one of them can be available for historical purposes a hundred years hence.

It is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of such a contingency as such a vista as this opens up. It cannot but lead to innumerable complications between individuals and communities, perhaps even between States and outside nations.

It is a curious fact that concurrently with the discovery of improved methods of paper manufacture we find deleterious effects, resulting from these improvements, upon human physiology. The glazed surfaces of new papers are accountable, many oculists say, for a widespread deterioration of eyesight. The mischievous effects of small type were in themselves an evil of sufficient magnitude without having the dangers of highly calendered paper superadded. The old rag paper had an enormous superiority over these highly finished products of the paper mill. It was durable and its surface was pleasant to the eye. The taste for brilliant colors in printing and high art in typography has necessitated the introduction of highly glazed surfaces and intense whiteness in papers. Medical and optical science shows this so-called advance in art to be altogether in a wrong direction. As the *Druggists' Circular* remarks: "In the old books or letters, with a mild and soothing light, the surface contrasted easily from the thicker and darker type or writing characters; now the highly glazed surface offers reflections of the light which, with the more elaborate and thinner type, produces a lot of shades and lights which are most trying to the eyes. The paper has often to be turned in various directions to be seen more clearly in order to distinguish the gray (or maybe other shades) of the type from the shining white of the paper. This is similar in effect to the result of trying to decipher writing in the dusk. An experiment would prove this."

Doctors now propose that the public inspectors of schools should order the use of sanitary paper for the eyes, by which they mean that a glazed or highly polished surface should be avoided, and the colors chosen should rather be gray or light blue, but no white, and, in fact, no brilliant colors at all. The type should be clear and simple, and not too thin.

We plume ourselves mightily on the "progressive spirit" of our age, and believe there were never before such very clever people in the world. In printing especially we believe ourselves to have made the most stupendous strides. But to test the truth of such a boast, let any one take up a book printed only ten years ago and compare it with one of the last century. Here, for instance, is a copy of one of Swift's works, printed in Dublin in the year 1704. The paper is strong, with hardly a tinge of discoloration after its nearly two centuries of wear and tear, the type is beautifully clear and neatly arranged, and the binding so solid and uninjured as to promise to

last for centuries yet. What is the case with the modern book? The covers are hanging from the back, the paper is faded and chipping at the angles and frowsy at the edges; and the only thing that will stand comparison with the old product of the hand-press is the type; but even this is not a whit better or more tasteful than the old lettering. The oculists' business was not quite so flourishing in the days of Swift as in our own, but advance in that direction cannot logically be described as unqualified progress.

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### THE PERPETUAL MOTION HOBBY AGAIN.

Our venerable friend, the theory of mechanical perpetual motion, which seems as difficult to kill as the sea serpent, has once more bobbed up. The immediate cause of his emergence from the vasty deep is the discussion over the wonderful possibilities of liquid air. Mr. Tripler, the eminent New York scientist, who has created such a stir by his application of the newly-discovered principle, denies there is ground for the deduction of a demonstration of perpetual motion from what he has been exhibiting. But, inasmuch as he claims to be able to realize the apparent paradox of "something out of nothing" in his method of evolving liquid air, other scientists maintain that the process he explains has its logical termination in the establishment of perpetual motion as an attainable thing in physics. The *rationale* of his process is described by Mr. Tripler himself. "The heat of atmosphere," he says, "boils the liquid air in my engine and produces power just exactly as the heat of coal boils water and drives off steam. I simply use another form of heat. I get my power from the heat of the sun; so does every other producer of power. Coal is only a form of the sun's energy stored up. The perpetual-motion crank tries to utilize the attraction of gravitation, not the heat of the sun. I find that I can produce, for every two gallons of liquid air that I pour into my engine, a larger quantity of liquid air from my liquefier. I have actually made about ten gallons of liquid air in my liquefier by the use of about three gallons in my engine. There is, therefore, a surplussage of seven gallons that has cost me nothing and which I can use elsewhere as power." This, however, so far from being regarded as a disproof of the perpetual motion theory, is accepted by other scientists as a plain exposition of a means of demonstrating it. Says a writer in the *Electrical World and Electrical Engineer*: "If three gallons of liquid air be put into a liquid air engine, then it is claimed that the

engine will be able to compress and liquefy air to the extent not merely of three gallons, but even of ten gallons. Were this true, it would be evident that by continuing the operation of engines of this character we could—starting with three gallons of liquid air—produce an unlimited quantity of this material, and if such engines were allowed to work indefinitely, which, of course, they could do if they required no extraneous energy to drive them, the whole atmosphere on the surface of our globe might ultimately become liquefied. The mere suggestion of this consequence should prove a *reductio ad absurdum*.” Whatever the logic of the propositions which Mr. Tripler seeks to establish by his experiments in liquid air manufacture, the practical world, which is never frightened by a regard for the security of accepted dialectical axioms, seems to be taking the matter up very seriously. Companies are being formed, we perceive, for the application of liquid air as a motive power. It is not for us to say whether these are likely to be more successful than the Keely Motor combinations or not; but the final determination of the new perpetual motion argument raised over the subject must be awaited with interest.

## SCIENCE AND METAPHYSICS.

One of the most surprising foibles of the atheistical school of scientists is their tendency to attribute to Nature a power which they scoff at when it is claimed for an Almighty Creator. Formerly it was “blind force” which was held accountable for the myriad phenomena of the visible universe; now it is Nature which works with an intelligence so subtle as to be able to discover instinctively the adaptation of means to ends in the ceaseless process of transformation and development. The old discussion as to “final causes” is being revived by the claims and admissions of the scientists. M. Charles Richet, editor of the *Revue Scientifique*, has announced his conversion from the principles of “determinism” to those of final causes. His study of the question “Has Nature an aim?” has led him on, by means of observation, to the conclusion, if she has not, she acts as though her object were to evolve organic from inorganic life. The arguments in which he elucidates this conclusion have been examined and dissected by another scientist, M. Sully-Prudhomme. He condemns the conclusion as inadequate to the premises, saying it savors of scientific prudence without scientific boldness. There is no “perhaps” in the matter with M. Sully-

Prudhomme. He affirms unhesitatingly that Nature has a will of her own and acts on it; in other words, that Nature is a very elevated sort of rational being. All this beating about the bush would be very amusing in the case of clever children, but when it is grown up men—men of “science”—whom we find engaged in it, it looks rather pitiful. They deny the existence of God, but they find fault with those who object to the thesis of a “final cause.”

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## THE QUESTION OF LONGEVITY AND OCCUPATIONS.

Some months ago the *Lancet* discussed the causes of longevity, and gave some valuable axioms on the secret of prolongation of life, deduced from observations made by careful students of the subject. Since that time one of the largest insurance companies has had tables prepared by an expert on the same topic, and these, while presenting the equation in an analytical shape, arrived at conclusions which bore out in a very striking way the theorem propounded by the great medical journal on the basis of a much more restricted field of observation. Before any scientific investigation had been made into this very interesting field of research, many illusory opinions prevailed regarding the class of pursuits most conducive to the attainment of a patriarchal age by those who labor. The men who cultivate the soil, for instance, were supposed to be more likely, from the nature of their occupation and the absence of those worries that affect men engaged in trade and commerce, to live to a ripe old age. Those who “go down to the sea in ships” were ordinarily supposed to be a very long-lived race by reason of the healthy conditions which, in the minds of those who know nothing of the hardships of the sea, amid which their lives were cast. Examination has dispelled these, as it has many other fallacies. Literary men live longer than farmers, or for that matter any other class, it is believed—a fact which shows that brain-toil, always supposed to be the most wasteful of the tissues, is the lightest form of labor. Clergymen stand at the head of the long-lived classes. A proportion of forty-two out of every 170 attain, in this class, the age of seventy. Farmers make a good second showing—forty to the others’ forty-two. Teachers are third on the list, with a proportion of thirty-four; lawyers can only produce twenty-five; and the medical faculty, which one would naturally suppose to be at the head of the list, is last of all, with the very poor figure of twenty-four out of the 170. The writer in the *Lancet* found seventy-four centen-

arians in a thousand persons whom he had examined, and the general conclusions he drew by his investigation were that, in order to attain the longest term of mortal existence, the conditions were four, viz.: 1. That the primary factor in a long life consists in an inherited durability; the vital machinery is wound up to go for a given period, and but for accidents or in spite of them it will go on till the time appointed. 2. That an important part of the primary inheritance is good digestive and nutritive power. 3. That temperance is necessary in the use of the nutritive functions both in eating and drinking and in regard to all kinds of food and drink. 4. That an energetic temperament and active habits conduce to longevity.

### DUPLEX-ACTION MUSHROOMS.

We are so accustomed to read of the fatal results of poisonous fungi that it comes as a pleasant surprise to learn that mushrooms have been found to afford an antidote for poison. A French scientist, M. Physalix, who has been experimenting in the field of snake-bites and the natural remedies for those deadly mishaps, has made some important discoveries. He tried the juices of mushrooms on guinea-pigs, and found that snake-bites had no effect upon the animals into whose veins the preparation had been injected. The immunity thus conferred lasted from fifteen to twenty days. This property is inherent, he finds, in the juices of all species of mushrooms, edible as well as poisonous. In some 200 cases he used the juice obtained from the ordinary cultivated mushroom by cutting them up finely, expressing the juice, filtering the liquid and adding a small amount of chloroform as a preservative. The liquid thus obtained sometimes caused ulcers, mortification, etc., and sometimes, indeed, caused death, but the immunizing effect on the animals that survived was very marked. If a method of controlling evil effects of the antitoxin can be discovered, this discovery may be of some real value, but, judging from the author's report, the mushroom juice is as much to be feared as the snake-bite.

## BOOK NOTICES.

D. A. Mougél: *DIONYSIUS DER KARTHÄUSER*, 1402-1471. Sein Leben, sein Wirken, eine neuausgabe seiner Werke. Aus dem Französischen mit einigen Ergänzungen des verfassers in's Deutsch übersetzt von einem Priester des Karthäuser-Ordins. Mulheim, A. D. Huhr. Verlag von M. Hegner. 1898, pp. 111.

DOCTORIS ECSTATICI D. DIONYSII CARTHUSIANI in unum corpus digesta ad fidem editionum Colonensium cura et labore Monachorum S. Ordinis Carthus, farente Leone XIII. Tom. XVII.

SUMMA TIDEI ORTHODOXÆ (Libr. I.-III.) Pp. 566. Tom. XVIII. SUMMA TIDEI ORTHODOXÆ (Libr. III.-IV.) DIALOGION DE TIDE. Pp. 574. Monstrolii, Typis Carthusæ S. Mariæ de Pratis.

In all the thirty tomes of the *Britannica* and its supplement one finds no mention of Dionysius the Carthusian. His name is not in the latest edition of *Johnson*, nor yet in the *Century Dictionary*. A brief and appreciative notice, however, of him is given in the *Biographie Universelle*, and a fuller article in *Wetzer & Welte's Kirchen-Lexicon*. His life has been written in Italian by Campanini, Venice, 1736, and Dinbani, Siena, 1782; in Spanish by Cassani, S. J., Madrid, 1738; in French by Welters, 1882; but the original biography is the *Vita beatæ memoriæ Dionysii Cartusiani*, by Dom Theodor Loer, given in the *Bollandists* under March 12, the day of Dionysius' death. The most recent information as to his life and works will be found in the interesting sketch by D. A. Mougél, the German version of which, with some additions, is here presented. A few facts taken from this book may here be pertinent as introductory to some remarks on the new edition of the great Carthusian's works.

Dionysius was born, in the year 1402, of respectable parentage in the little village of Ryckel, in the Belgian province of Limburg. Together with a constitution of iron he was gifted from earliest childhood with an insatiable love for knowledge, equaled only by an astounding memory and an unsurpassed intellectual penetration. Having taken his degree of doctorate at Cologne, he entered the Carthusian monastery of Roermond in 1423, laying aside most probably at this time his baptismal and family name, Heinrich Van Leeuwen, and adopting Dionysius, in reverence for his saintly patron—whose spirit he so closely afterwards assimilated—and Van Ryckel in humble memory of a seemingly lowly origin. The succeeding forty-five years of his life were passed for the most part in the cloister. Prayer, studying, writing—these three words sum up, says his latest biographer, these two-thirds of his life. Simple words they are, but with Dionysius they stood for such great mental activity that each seemed sufficient to absorb an ordinary human existence. "A Carthusian who lives up to his rule devotes about

eight hours a day to religious exercises. So far from curtailing in the least this time, Dionysius prolonged it, so that he devoted eleven to twelve hours daily to spiritual duties." An interesting document which he wrote at the command of his superiors towards the close of his life gives us some knowledge of the range of his studies. It is written with the simplicity that characterizes all his works. A portion of it runs thus: I, Brother Dionysius, thank God with all my heart for having called me in early life, at the age of twenty-one years, to the religious state. I am now by Divine grace forty-six years a Carthusian, and have during this time, thanks to God, studied indefatigably and have read many authors. On the sentences, St. Thomas, Bl. Albert, Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentaise, Ægidius Romanus, Richard of Middletown, Durandus (of St. Pourçain) and many others. [In the opening of his commentary on the Sentences he gives a fuller list. In it are mentioned Henry of Ghent, William of Auxerre Ulrich, Scot and Hannibal.] I have read the works of St. Jerome, especially his commentaries of the Prophets, all of Sts. Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory and Dionysius the Areopagite, my favorite author, Origen, Sts. Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, Basil, Chrysostom and John Damascene, Boethius, Sts. Anselm and Bernard, Ven. Bede, Hugh (of St. Victor), Gerson, William of Paris and others; moreover, all the Summæ and Chronicles, Civil and Canon Law, so far as it was of service to me, further all commentaries on the Old and the New Testaments. Finally, I have studied all the philosophers whose works I could procure—Plato, Proclus, Aristotle, Avicenna, Algazel, Anaxagoras, Averroës, Alexander (of Aphrodisia), Alphorabius (Al-Farabi), Abubather (Ibu-Tofail) Evempotus (Ibu-Badja), Theophrastus, Themistius and others." [Elsewhere he adds a much larger number.] The document continues with the same simplicity. "With much difficulty, labor and weariness has this exclusively mental work been of course performed; but just for this reason has it been to me of greatest service, being helpful to me in mortifying the senses and in conquering lower tendencies; these studies, moreover, preserved in me love for my cell."

When one surveys this long list of authors one is tempted to the conclusion that Dionysius must have either read them only in part or at best superficially or, on the other hand, must have consumed his life in mere reading. Yet how far of the truth such inferences would fall is evident from the list of his written productions. The mere titles of his works if mentioned here would fill two pages of this *Review*. Three catalogues of them drawn up by himself have come down to us. One is found at the beginning of his commentary on the Pauline Epistles. Another preserved in



the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains 118 articles. Another in the Library of Trier gives 141. Trithemius, in his *Liber de Scriptor. Eccles.*, gives a list of 144 titles taken from a catalogue made likewise by Dionysius. These writings may be roughly divided into principal works and occasional opuscula. The former cover the entire field of scholastic studies as cultivated in mediæval times. In Exegesis there are his commentaries on every book of the Sacred Scripture, from Genesis to the Apocalypse. To theology belong his work on the *Sentences* and on Boethius, his *Summa Fidei*, his *Compendium philosophicum* and *theologicum*, *Dialogion de Fide Catholica* and other special treatises. His ascetical writings include a commentary on the Areopagite, on Cassian and on Climacus, his Tracts on Prayer, Meditation, Contemplation, the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, etc.

To the second class of the great Carthusian's treatises belong such as were occasioned by requests of friends and correspondents, but especially such as bear upon the social-ethical and religious state of his times. Amongst these are found his work in refutation of the Koran, his treatise *de Auctoritate Papæ et generalium Conciliorum*, on the various states of life ecclesiastical and lay, etc.

Quantity, however, is not the just gauge of an author's merit. That the quality of Dionysius' works is quite as remarkable as their number will appear to any one who cares to read them. Another test of their real merit may be found in the multiplied editions through which many of them early passed. Thus, for instance, his commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures passed in a very short time into many editions; all of them at least into three, others into eight to twenty-one. His *Monopanton* went into ten editions, the *Summa Fidei* into six, the *De IV. Novissimis* into thirty-seven; the same treatise was translated into French, Italian, Spanish, German, Flemish, etc. Various printed collections have been made from time to time of these different works, the fullest being that of Dom. Loer, printed at Cologne, 1535-1536. It has been reserved, however, to the closing year of our own century to greet a complete edition of the Dionysian writings, an edition as worthy in its splendid form as can be, both of their matter and of their author. The edition now under way will extend to forty-eight quarto volumes. Fourteen to fifteen of these tomes will be taken up with the commentaries on the Bible, twenty-six will be devoted to theological, ascetical and kindred matter, four will contain the sermons and three supplemental volumes will be given to the doubtful and the hitherto unpublished opuscula.

As an illustration of the general character of the undertaking and of the matter and spirit of the Dionysian writings generally may

be cited the two volumes placed at the head of this paper. Materially considered, these volumes are models of the printers' and the book-makers' art. Excellent paper, broad margins, large, clear letter press—they have all the features that make it a joy to take them up, and that go so far to lighten the study of matter which in itself calls for close and sustained attention. The two volumes contain two distinct theological works. The first takes up the entire first volume and about two-fifths of the second.

Its sub-title indicates its scope and contents. It is a *Medulla Operum Divi Thomæ*. Dionysius herein has taken the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas and compressed it into smaller compass. The matter falls directly into four "Books" answering to the distinct "Parts" of the *Summa*, and these divide at once into articles which answer to the "Quæstiones." The "Articles" divide into paragraphs, each of which represents an "Article" of the *Summa*. Though not an original production, it manifests the firm grasp the author possessed of the work and thought of St. Thomas and a happy power of expression which, whilst highly condensed, is not obscure. Its value to the theologian consists chiefly in its bringing into a more easily compassed field of vision the vaster areas of the *Summa*.

The originality, penetration, learning and flexibility of the author's mind are more apparent in the work that fills the larger part of the second volume. It is made up of a Dialogue between a theologian and a philosopher covering almost the entire field of religious truth. Throughout it breathes the characteristic of the author's theological habit—an interfusing of the affective with the intellectual. Two words signalize his whole method here as elsewhere—knowledge and piety. "Above all things he is a theologian and an ascetic, or rather a theologian in the service of asceticism. Willingly would he have subscribed to the proposition of a recent writer: 'Dogma makes and reforms the nations.' He strove to know much in order to love much, for he belonged to that great family of monks of the olden time with which 'to know was to love.'"

Like the *Summa* the *Dialogion* is a work that never grows old. The one is a compend of eternal truth which though ever ancient is ever new. The other is a summary of the same truth, but shaped into a system which whilst losing none of its scientific exactness is invested with the more concrete and life elements lent to it by the conversational style. Looking over the vast spiritual and intellectual labors of Dionysius one realizes the meaning of the words of Trithemius: "Contemplationi et orationi cum tanto fervore instabat ut eum scribere nunquam putares; rursum in scribendo et legendo tam sedulus erat ut nec orare nec contemplari eum posse unquam aestimares."

Not less pertinent in this connection is the comment of his first biographer: "Neminem audiui qui viri hujus laborem sine stupore viderit, qui non senserit mecum absque ingenti miraculo fieri non potuisse ut unus vir tot scripserit libros." And yet other labors filled in his days and, we might add, his nights, for he slept usually but three out of the twenty-four hours. Besides carrying on an extensive epistolary correspondence covering all manner of difficult subjects, he occupied for a time the troublesome positions of procurator and superior in his monastery and was the companion and counsellor of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa in his long legational mission through Germany. He died March 12, 1471, and was buried in the Chartreuse of Roermond. "One lesson," observes his recent biographer, "is unmistakably conveyed by his labor-loving existence—the power of a life that knows how to have and to hold singleness of purpose."

For the benefit of any of our readers who may desire to subscribe for this truly royal edition of the Dionysian writings it should here be added that the subscription price has been placed at the very modest figure of eight francs per volume (quarto). After the close of the subscription list the price is to be raised to fifteen francs. Subscriptions should be sent to the Imprimerie de Notre Dame des Prés a Neuville-S-Montreuil, France. F. P. S.

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INSTITUTIONES METAPHYSICÆ SPECIALIS QUAS TRADEBAT IN COLLEGIO MAXIMO LOVANI-  
ENSI. P. Stanislaus De Backer, S. J. Tom. 1. Cosmologia. Pp. 361. Paris, Librairie  
Del homme et Breguet, 83 Rue de Rennes, 1899.

Though the number of Latin text-books on metaphysics is not small, there will always be a welcome from earnest students for a work such as the present latest addition to the list. The claims to welcome do not lie in novelty of subject nor of argument, nor even in adjustment of the olden truths to modern discoveries and theories. What most strongly commends these *Institutiones* is the remarkable simplicity of the treatment and the perfect transparency of the style. The author does not attempt the impossible, the making of metaphysics *easy*. His treatment, however, goes as far to this end as the abstruse nature of the subject allows. In company with the more recent scholastic philosophers he adopts on the whole the analytic instead of the synthetic method followed by earlier writers. Accordingly the work opens with an analysis of the phenomena of the corporeal world—extension, quality, force, motion, etc. This prepares the way for a discussion on the various systems regarding the essential nature of bodies. Space and time come logically next. The laws of nature and the possibility of their suffering recognizable derogation receives adequate treatment. The appendix, on the nature of "Acci-

dents," will be found helpful to the young philosopher and suggestive to the older, especially the portion on "relations." The student who reads this volume will no doubt look eagerly for its successors, in which psychology and theodicy are to be treated. Though but one section of the entire work, the present volume is in itself complete and is indexed as such.

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PRÆLECTIONES DOGMATICÆ QUAS IN COLLEGIO DITTON-HALL HABEBAT. Christianus Pesch, S. J. Tom. IX. DE VIRTUTIBUS MORALIBUS, DE PECCATO, DE NOVISSIMIS, pp. x. 366. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, Mo., 1899. Price, \$2.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICÆ DOGM. TRACT. DE VERBO INCARNATO. Auctore Petro Einig, D. D., Ph. D. Pp. viii. 264. Treveris, ex Officina ad S. Paulinum, 1899. Price, 3.20 marks.

Whilst Doctor Einig's series of text-books on dogmatic theology is still advancing, Father Pesch's series has reached completion. The individual parts of both these *courses* have been commented on in this *Review* in the order of their appearance. It is but merited praise to add here that the present volumes are quite up to the high standard of excellence which we have noted as characterizing the preceding volumes. Father Pesch aptly places the crown on his work by his treatise on the moral virtues. The ripened fruit of faith and of theological science is a virtuous life. But virtue, though simple in its ultimate aim, is wonderfully complex in its psychological and spiritual genesis, functions and direct relations. It is the duty of the professional theologian, especially the priest, to have clear and fixed ideas on these states of the spiritual life, and a most efficacious help to the gaining of this information will be found in the present treatise. Sermons and instructions, properly built out of the solid truths, so strongly set forth in this volume, cannot fail of good results, not only to individual souls, but to society generally.

The same remark is pertinent to Doctor Einig's treatise on the Incarnation. Here the fruiting of dogma is not dissected, but its root and stem are studied. The "*vita quam Verbum nobis assumpsit*" is the root of the soul's highest life, and the "*vita quam nobis contulit*" is the trunk. These two aspects of our Lord's Being and Work are clearly and solidly expounded in Dr. Einig's Christology and Soteriology, the two parts into which the treatise on the Incarnation naturally divides.

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CHATTERBOX. Edited by J. Erskine Clarke, M. A. 1 vol., 8vo., pp. 412. Boston: Dana Estes & Co.

For the twenty-second time Chatterbox makes its annual appearance. Even a cursory glance reveals that the old-time care in editing and illustrating has suffered no diminution. Particularly is it to be commended for its freedom from misstatements regarding the Church historically and its fair treatment of Catholic subjects,

defects which are unfortunately too common in the literature usually prepared for juvenile readers.

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**HISTORY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, Founder of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) and of the Sisters of Charity.** By Monseigneur Bougand, Bishop of Taval. Translated from the second French edition by the Rev. Joseph Brady, C. M. With an Introduction by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Two vols., 8vo., pp. xxi., 338, and vii., 276. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The biography of any man who has instituted two religious communities, who has reformed and elevated his fellow-men, both lay and cleric, and who has so stamped his individuality on the times in which he lived that it has become an indelible part of them, as did St. Vincent de Paul, is always a valuable contribution to literature. But when such a biography is written by so great a master of the art as Bishop Bougand, the work is indeed invaluable.

The life of St. Vincent de Paul has been written many times, and unusually well by Abelly, his first biographer in point of time and first also in authority. Bishop Bougand quotes largely from him, and so does every other biographer. But Mgr. Bougand, the saint's latest historian, has the advantage of being able to quote from a large collection of the saint's letters, which have been found only within the last few years. These volumes of correspondence contain about 2,500 letters of the 30,000 that were in existence at the time of his death in 1660. The editor of the French edition, after calling attention to these points of excellence, adds:

"The special value of his work, however, consists less in the new matter which he brings to light than in the manner he narrates a life so well known. Thanks to his art, to his wise and clear arrangement, notwithstanding its innumerable details, the history develops itself with a charming rapidity and clearness that delight one. A quiet and restrained ardor is felt which sometimes waxes into an eloquence that moves and fascinates; in a word, his style is at once dignified and literary, graceful and vivid. Hence perusal of the book produces a deep impression. Men of the world, for whom especially it was written, believers or non-believers, will not lay it down without feeling that they have contemplated in St. Vincent de Paul, and in almost superhuman proportions, a great man and a great saint."

Such high praise is not unmerited when we remember that Mgr. Bougand had distinguished himself before taking up this work by his admirable lives of St. Jane Chantal, St. Monica and Blessed Margaret Mary, but especially by his great apologetic work in five volumes, "Christianity and the Present Age." After such a preparation he devoted the last years of his life to the present biography in order to vindicate Christianity by its saints. It may truthfully be called a sequel to the great apologetic work. Nor was the sub-

ject chosen at random. On the contrary, the author studied carefully the list of Christian heroes in order to find the one whom he might most profitably place before the present age to attract and win it. He chose St. Vincent de Paul as the one who would most directly and forcibly appeal to the spirit of the times.

Cardinal Vaughan, in the introduction which he has written for the English edition, speaks especially of its opportuneness. "A two-fold work is before the English-speaking Catholics of the world," he says, "upon the faithful execution of which must depend the influence they will eventually exert upon society. That work consists in nothing less than a reform of society and the elevation and sanctification of the priesthood." He then shows that St. Vincent de Paul devoted his life to that two-fold work, and that therefore the study of his biography must have an immense influence for good on every community.

The translation has been done by Rev. Joseph Brady, C. M., and it runs so smoothly that one forgets that it is a translation.

The book is beautifully made and the publishers are to be congratulated on their good taste and liberality. We seldom meet so happy a combination: a great saint, a master biographer, an expert translator and a liberal publisher.

J. P. T.

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**NATURAL LAW AND LEGAL PRACTICE.** Lectures delivered at the Law School of Georgetown University. By René I. Holaind, S. J., Professor of Ethics and Sociology, Woodstock College, Lecturer on Natural and Canon Law, Georgetown University. 8vo., pp. 344. New York: Benziger Brothers.

As families increase in number and form the community; as communities multiply and form the State; as States unite and form the nation, and as nations, remaining distinct, yet form alliances for mutual profit and protection, so are different laws enacted corresponding to the needs of these various interests and regulating the claims of conflicting or disputing parties. As the world has grown, laws have multiplied and have been divided and grouped according to the various relations of men. We have made rapid progress since the first simple code of laws was framed. The lawyer of ancient times did not need a large library, to which each year new volumes were added. The laws were few and clear and stable. The modern lawyer finds himself confronted by so many complex relations in the social and business and political world that he cannot hope to master the laws bearing upon them all, and hence, after studying the foundations of law in general and legal practice, he must limit himself to some specialty. Hence in every State we find civil lawyers, criminal lawyers, orphans' court lawyers, patent lawyers and many other classes, according to the various needs of the community. Even in a limited field constant study is required if one would keep pace with the new decisions of courts and the new enactments

of legislative assemblies. In so broad a field, and with limited vision, it is not easy to see the centre: as one who is carried by a swift elevator to the top of a high building, where he transacts his business day after day, knows little or nothing about the foundations of the structure. And yet such a one would be very foolish to place a large, heavy fireproof safe in his office or to add another story to the building without first studying those foundations. So in the study of the law, we must start from the centre; we must begin with the foundations; we must master the fundamental principles. Many men fail to do this, hence so many are superficial and work harm to themselves and to their fellow-men. Unless we understand the fundamental principles of law, unless we study the natural law which underlies all others, we shall not be able to judge rightly.

Confronted by this truth Rev. René I. Holaind, S. J., delivered a course of twelve lectures before the law school of Georgetown University on Natural Law and Legal Practice.

As the author very well points out in his preface, "the complexity of laws is bewildering, but unavoidable; for it is in keeping with the nature of the human mind, which cannot comprehend a whole subject at a glance, but must break it, as it were, into fragments in order to master successively all its parts and to conquer the difficulties one by one. But if differentiation is called for, integration is no less needed; analysis presupposes principles or needs at least some *postulates*; again, it remains almost barren unless it lead to synthesis, in which all human knowledge must at last culminate. All the branches of judicature are interdependent, all assume the incompatibility of right and wrong, all rest on general principles of morality deeply rooted in human conscience and held as certain by the common sense of mankind; and yet these familiar truths need scientific treatment in order to bear a scientific superstructure." "It is to emphasize these principles and to demonstrate their soundness that these lectures have been written." In carrying out his purpose the author takes up the theories of Determinism, Utilitarianism, Positivism and other similar systems and shows their unsoundness.

Father Holaind's general learning, as well as his special fitness for such a work, give promise that it will be well done. This promise has been kept. The subject has been handled clearly and concisely, as befits such a subject, and the result is a very important contribution to ethical-legal literature. This volume should find a place awaiting it in the library of every lawyer, and theological students will be glad to place it on the same shelf with the excellent English manuals of philosophy which Father Holaind's companions in the Society of Jesus have given to the reading world in recent years.

J. P. T.

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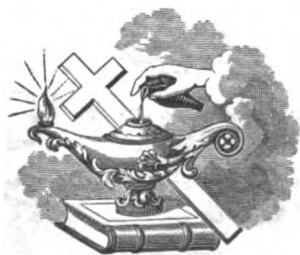
No. 94.

APRIL, 1899.

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THE  
AMERICAN  
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat  
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.  
S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.



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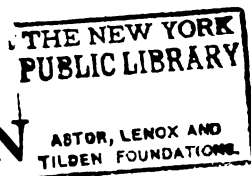
Vol. XXIV.

No. 96.

OCTOBER, 1899.

INDEXED

THE  
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# CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat  
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.  
S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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Insurance Reserve	- - - -	1,586,453.92
Unpaid Losses, Dividends, Etc.	- - - -	41,126.03
Net Surplus	- - - -	1,150,149.78
Total Assets, January 1, 1899,		\$3,177,729.73

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## A BLESSING FROM HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII.

DIE 3 JANUARI, A. D. 1884.

EXCEPIMUS GRATO ANIMO LIBROS PER ARCHIEPISCOPUM BALTIMORENSUM VESTRO NOMINE NOBIS OBLATOS. STUDIUM OPERAMQUE VESTRAM EDENDIS LIBRIS IMPENSAM, QUI ECCLESIE ET FIDEI CAUSAM TUEANTUR, LAUDIBUS PROSEQUIMUR; ATQUE UT COEPTA ALACRIUS INSISTATIS, APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM VOBIS OMNIBUS PERAMANTER IN DOMINO IMPERTIMUS.

*Leo XIII.*

(Translation.)

JANUARY 3, A. D. 1884.

WE HAVE RECEIVED WITH GRATITUDE THROUGH THE ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE THE VOLUMES OFFERED TO US IN YOUR NAME. WE APPLAUD YOU FOR YOUR ZEAL AND LABOR IN PUBLISHING BOOKS TO DEFEND THE CAUSE OF THE CHURCH AND OF THE FAITH; AND THAT YOU MAY CARRY ON YOUR WORK WITH GREATER ALACRITY WE LOVINGLY IN THE LORD BESTOW THE APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION UPON YOU ALL.

LEO PP. XIII.

"If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well  
It were done quickly;—"

*Macbeth.*

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